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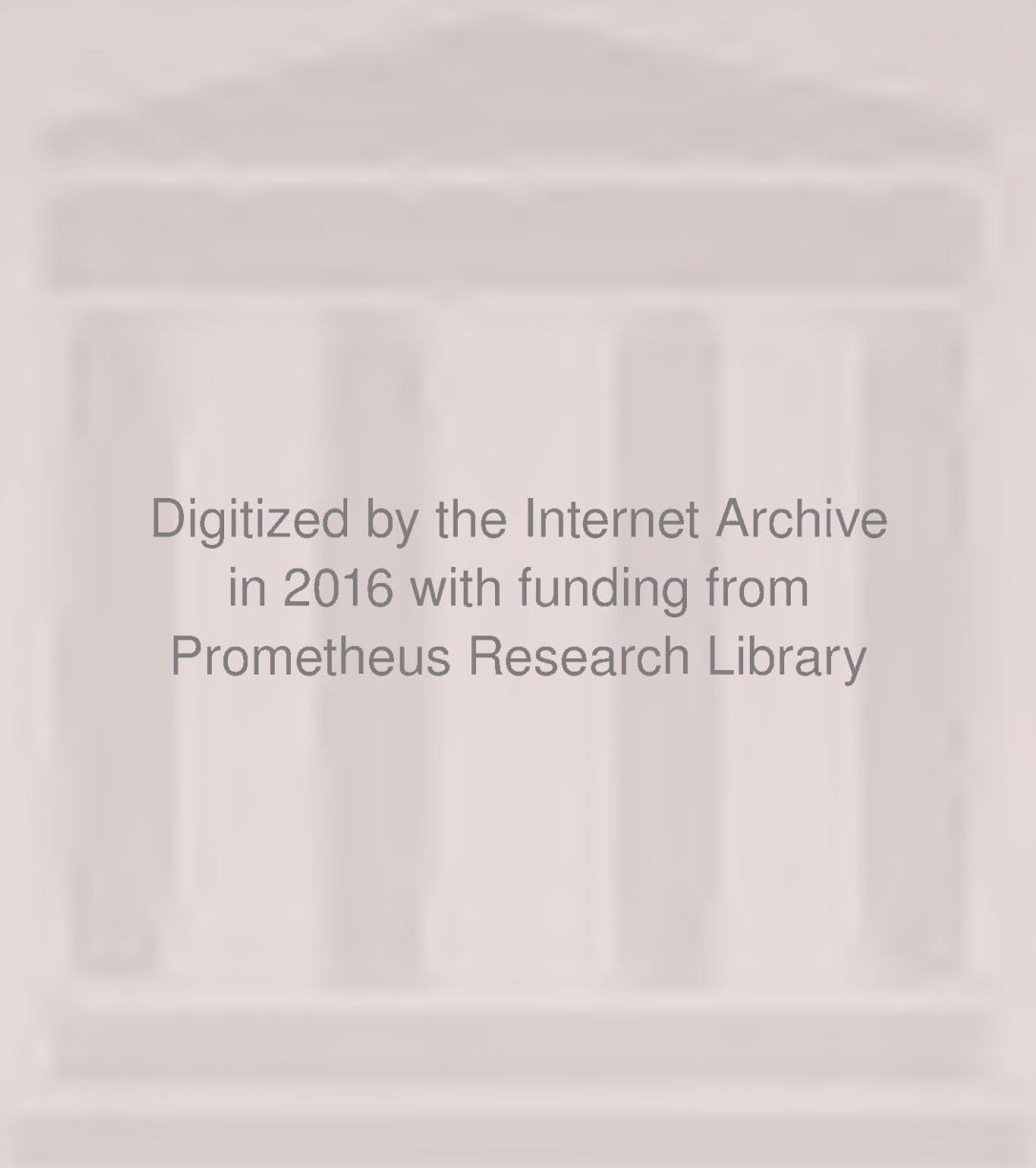
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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 566

1 January 1993

Navy Seals Take the Beach...from the Press

Making Somalia Safe for Imperialism

In the early morning hours of December 9, U.S. amphibious assault forces of "Operation Restore Hope" hit the beaches of Mogadishu. But the only "hostile" forces they encountered were mobs of reporters, who followed them around the beach taking interviews and shooting television footage. The top brass had seen the opportunity for a colossal public relations ploy—"combat" scenes without the unseemly sight of dead bodies—and timed the "attack" to be televised live at prime time in the eastern U.S. The "objectives" of the mock attack were the airport and the port area, both of which have been in the hands of Pakistani UN troops since October. But the commandos who carried out the "attack" weren't given the script, and they went berserk as they stealthily waded ashore into a media circus.

It was supposed to be a textbook operation, beginning with Navy SEALs (frogmen) in wetsuits, followed by Marine reconnaissance teams paddling ashore in rubber dinghies, followed by an "assault" force of attack helicopters, hovercraft and amphibious landing craft. But the commandos, wearing fancy night-vision goggles, were blinded as they emerged from the surf and stumbled

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Robert/Sygma

Pentagon's orchestrated "photo op" backfires as phalanx of reporters besieges Navy commandos, blinding them with TV lights.

"Collective Guilt" Deportations, Death Squad Murders

Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!

Christmas is killing season in the "Holy Land." On December 19, Israeli troops fired into a crowd of protesters in the Gaza town of Khan Yunis, murdering an eight-year-old girl and five others, raising to some 40 the total number of Palestinians gunned down in the Occupied Territories in the past two months alone. On December 8, the fifth anniversary of the Palestinian *Intifada* (uprising), the Zionist state completely sealed off the Gaza Strip, imposing a starvation regime on the Palestinian population as revenge for the drive-by shooting of three Israeli soldiers by militants from the Islamic fundamentalist Hamas group.

A week later, as collective punishment for the kidnapping and execution of an Israeli border guard, the Rabin "Labor" government rounded up 1,600 Palestinians supposedly associated with Hamas and another fundamentalist group, Islamic Jihad. On December 17, more than 400 of them were thrown blindfolded into military buses and helicopters to be deported to Lebanon. They were dumped in the border area in a driving rain. With the Lebanese government massing tanks to block the deportations, the Palestinians are penned in on a strip of freezing wasteland, with no shelter other than tents from the Red Cross, while facing mortar fire from the Israelis' puppet "South Lebanese Army."

Reuters

More than 400 Palestinians rounded up and dumped in freezing wasteland on Lebanese border.

Concerned at upsetting the year-old sham "peace" talks, through which they hope to establish a Pax Americana in the Near East, the U.S. imperialists have criticized the mass deportations. Only six months ago, Yitzhak Rabin was grotesquely touted by the American media as the "peace" candidate in the Israeli elections. Rabin is a Zionist pig par excellence, whose bloody career dates back to the mass expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians during and after the 1948 war. He is the architect of the notorious "iron fist" policy of murderous terror aimed at suppressing the *Intifada*. His decree of "force, might, beatings" ordered Israeli troops to systematically break the legs of young protesters.

The Israeli border guard, Nissim Toledano, was seized by Hamas in an attempt to ransom their imprisoned 57-year-old leader Sheik Ahmed Yassin. After rejecting the appeals of Toledano's family to release Yassin, the government cynically fueled anti-Arab hysteria with live radio broadcasts of the family wailing when

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MacKinnon Clique Seizes Women's Art

Feminist Anti-Porn Prof and Her Junior Jesse Helms

Dworkin (left) and MacKinnon: anti-sex censors.

Pelila Onne

A clique of aspiring sex witchhunters at the University of Michigan law school, home of notorious anti-porn crusader Catharine MacKinnon, recently put their mentor's precepts into practice by seizing and removing part of an artist's exhibit there.

Artist Carol Jacobsen's multimedia exhibit, titled "Porn'im'age'ry: Picturing Prostitutes," had shown for several weeks in October without incident in the U-M union. But when MacKinnon allies in the crusade against "the demon porn" hit town for a symposium on prostitution, away went one of the "offending" videotapes. One segment, a self-portrait by performance artist Veronica Vera, included not only clips of her in commercial adult movies, but also tape of Vera's testimony to the Senate judiciary committee against anti-pornography legislation drafted by MacKinnon and others.

The student paper, *The Michigan Daily* (6 November 1992), stated in its editorial, "Freedom from Speech": "This was a reprehensible act of censorship." What we have here are rabidly anti-sex feminists doing the work of Reagan reactionaries like Senator Jesse Helms, the racist bigot who has tried to censor what he calls "obscene art."

Eager to please the anti-porn heavy hitters, a clique of law students snatched the video because speakers at the symposium on "Prostitution: From Academia to Activism" didn't like it. Law student Ann Kraemer, defending the censorship, claimed, "Pornography is linked to violence against women, and some of our guests and speakers...thought it would direct violence towards them" (*Ann Arbor News*, 3 November 1992).

The *News* noted: "Some law students also worried that they'd lose the support of the major symposium speakers, which included prominent feminist writers Andrea Dworkin and John Stoltenberg, director of the Council for Prostitution Alternatives Susan Kay Hunter, and U-M law professor Catharine MacKinnon." The only "safety" these would-be thought police were interested in was safety from opposing viewpoints.

Jacobsen only found out by accident that one of her videos was missing when she visited the show on a Saturday morning. The outraged artist confronted the students: "I told them they couldn't just pick out a selected artwork and remove it from the exhibit, but they didn't seem to get it.... I said if they wished to censor any part they would have to censor the whole thing. They came back and said, 'Take it down.' And that's what happened" (*New York Times*, 13 November 1992).

Jacobsen wrote to the "Issues Forum" of the *Michigan Daily*: "I was then prohibited from speaking about it to the audience, out of fear that I might 'ruin Andrea Dworkin's speech'." *Times* reporter Tamar Lewin noted that "Jacobsen...has been an outspoken critic of Ms. MacKinnon's anti-pornography efforts."

MacKinnon furiously berated the *New York Times* for the "disproportionate visibility" of its lengthy article on the incident. She tries to deny the blatant censorship by delicately referring to "the videotape, while interrupted at one point." Moreover, she complained, "The article falsely implies I was responsible and belittles the students as my lackeys" (*New York Times*, 12 December 1992).

Coming from a person whose entire public career is devoted to the proposition that the blame, or "responsibility," for violent criminal acts can be pinned on books, videotapes or pictures the perpetrators happen to have looked at, this is pretty thick. MacKinnon, along with Dworkin and other right-wing feminists, is notorious for her assaults on "First Amendment fundamentalists." "The bottom line of the First Amendment is that porn stays. Our bottom line is that porn goes," is MacKinnon's line (quoted in "Woman on the Verge of a Legal Breakdown," *Playboy*, January 1993).

There is no known link between violent crime and pornography—despite the expensive efforts of government "guardians of morality," such as the notorious Edwin Meese Commission on Pornography, to endlessly and in great detail probe into this question. Holding hearings across the country, the sleazy Meese police tried to establish that pornography causes marital infidelity, divorce, child molestation, rape, incest, serial murders, hairy palms and zits.

The false equation of whatever you want to call sexually explicit fantasies—one woman's art is another's pornography—with the very real brutality of the world around us is dangerous. Introducing an *amici curiae* (friends of the court) brief by the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee in defense of Indiana booksellers accused of selling "obscene products," we argued against those feminists "who've allied themselves with the Meese sex police in an anti-porn frenzy, the real purpose of which is not to protect women or children, but to instill fear and social conformity. Indeed, anti-obscenity laws have historically been used against women's rights, especially in censoring birth control information" (*Women and Revolution* No. 35, Summer 1988).

The first victims of official legal crackdowns are all too likely to be those fighting for their own freedom from racist or sexist stereotypes. The Canadian Supreme Court last year upheld obscenity laws in agreement with the MacKinnon argument that porn harms women by leading to violence—and the very first charges brought were against a lesbian magazine.

The furor over this blatant censorship hopefully will help deflate the anti-sex feminist censors who flourished under "Reagan reaction." But it's not only Republican reactionaries who are the problem. Because organized religion and the institution of the family are necessary social props for capitalism, the Democrats too find it necessary to launch periodic "family values" crusades against anything perceived to challenge these institutions, especially anything smacking of sex outside authorized marriage.

Last time we faced a Democrat in the White House, we noted in a piece defending porn star Harry Reems (*The Devil in Miss Jones*) and *Screw* publisher Al Goldstein against obscenity charges: "the forces of law, order and cleanliness...are doubtless encouraged by the prospect of religious fundamentalist peanutboss Jimmy Carter as the next president" ("God-Fearing Hypocrites Revile Sin and Smut," *Women and Revolution* No. 12, Summer 1976). Update that to Southern Baptists Bill Clinton and Al (and rock 'n roll censor Tipper) Gore.

As we concluded then: "It is, of course, true that many films, magazines and books perpetuate the image of women as simply sexual objects and are genuinely offensive in this regard. But state censorship of sexual fantasies and of personal relationships between consenting adults is not the solution to women's oppression. Abolishing women's oppression requires uprooting the oppressive and deeply corrupt bourgeois state through socialist revolution." ■

NOTICE
The closing date for news in this issue is December 22.

U.S. Imperialism: Enemy of the World's Oppressed

TROTSKY

LENIN

With its "humanitarian" invasion of Somalia, the United States is masquerading as the friend of the starving black masses of Africa. In fact, the American occupation is aimed at pursuing its strategic interests in the Horn of Africa. The "benevolent" mask of U.S. imperialism was ripped off by American Communist John Reed, speaking to the 1920 Congress of the Peoples of the East sponsored by the young Soviet republic in Baku. As American capitalists offered millions in "aid" to famine-wracked Armenia, Reed warned that their aim was to enslave the Armenian nation and prevent the spread of socialist revolution.

I represent here the revolutionary workers of one of the great imperialist powers, the United States of America, which exploits and oppresses the peoples of the colonies.

You, the peoples of the East, the peoples of Asia, have not yet experienced for yourselves the rule of America. You know and hate the British, French and Italian imperialists, and probably you think that "free America" will govern better, will liberate the peoples of the colonies, will feed and defend them.

No. The workers and peasants of the Philippines, the peoples of Central America and the islands of the Caribbean, they know what it means to live under the rule of "free America"....

In North America itself there are ten million Negroes who possess neither political or civil rights, despite the fact that by law they are equal citizens. With the purpose of distracting the attention of the American workers from the capitalists, their exploiters, the latter stir up hatred against the Negroes, provoking war between the white and black races. The Negroes, whom they lawlessly burn alive, are beginning to see that their only hope lies in armed resistance to the white bandits.

At the present time the American capitalists are addressing friendly words to the peoples of the East, with a promise of aid and food. This applies especially to Armenia. Millions of dollars have been collected by the American millionaires in order to send bread to the starving Armenians. And many Armenians are now looking for help to Uncle Sam....

Promising food to starving peoples and at the same time organizing a blockade of the Soviet Republics—that is the policy of the United States....

Uncle Sam is not one ever to give anybody something for nothing. He comes along with a sack stuffed with straw in one hand and a whip in the other. Whoever takes Uncle Sam's promises at their face value will find himself obliged to pay for them with blood and sweat. The American workers are demanding an ever larger share of the product of their labour; with a view to preventing revolution at home, the American capitalists are forced to seek out colonial peoples to exploit, peoples who will furnish sufficient profit to keep the American workers in obedience and so make them participants in the exploitation of the Armenians. I represent thousands of revolutionary American workers who know this, and who understand that, acting together with the Armenian workers and peasants, with the toiling masses of the whole world, they will overthrow capitalism. World capitalism will be destroyed, and all the peoples will be free.

—John Reed, Speech to the Baku Congress (September 1920)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 566 **1 January 1993**

Down with Solidarność Reaction! Workers to Power!

Coal Strikers Shake Walesa's Poland

WARSAW, December 21—For the second time this year, mass working-class struggle threatens to topple President Lech Walesa's widely hated "shock therapy" regime and the shaky coalition government of Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka, Poland's would-be Margaret Thatcher. Beginning with a wave of rolling strikes last Monday, every pit in the Silesian coal fields has now been shut down, as the country's more than 300,000 coal miners strike against a government "restructuring" plan which would lay off more than half the workforce. The coal strike has also sparked walkouts in rail, stopping all freight trains in Silesia, which accounts for 70 percent of the country's total freight traffic. Now steel workers are about to vote on whether to strike as well.

Like last summer's wave of strikes by copper miners and metal workers, the current upsurge has thrown the weak Polish capitalist government into crisis. The strike forced the government to postpone debate in the Sejm (parliament) on a draconian abortion ban being pushed by the Catholic hierarchy and the Suchocka government, a coalition of reactionary Solidarność offshoots. The anti-abortion bill is widely unpopular. Then on Saturday, the Sejm voted against the government's "restructuring" scheme to privatize the mining industry.

The refusal of the Sejm to approve the government's economic program has placed the collapse of the Suchocka coalition on the agenda. Suchocka is furiously negotiating with Solidarność union leader Krzaklewski, who has agreed to mediate a deal with the miners, and appeared on TV side by side with the prime minister over the weekend. And in an open letter to the miners, Walesa pleaded: "You can win a lot but lose as much...you can even bring down the government, but will you gain anything, will Poland gain anything?" Labor Minister Jacek Kuron lashed out at the miners, saying that their demands amounted to calling for a new social system. Indeed, the strike wave poses the question: who will rule Poland, the Solidarność front men for the IMF and the Vatican, or the powerful working class?

The miners strike issued out of a two-hour general protest strike last Monday called by the Solidarność trade-union federation. During last summer's strike wave, the Solidarność unions acted as strikebreakers for the Walesa government. They have signed a pact with the government on the privatization of state enterprises which would tear up existing contracts in exchange for 10 percent of the shares in privatized enterprises. But with unemployment climbing to 14 percent this year and inflation running at 40 percent, they have felt the need to take some action or lose what influence they have to the much larger ex-Stalinist OPZZ union federation or the militant-sounding right-wing nationalist Solidarność 80, whose leadership issued out of a rightist split from the mainstream clerical-nationalists. Last August Solidarność 80 closed down a militant strike at the Fiat plant in Tychy after appealing to the Catholic bishops to intervene as arbiters.

The top leaders of the OPZZ initially supported this sellout pact, though it was opposed by a majority of the federation and has been denounced by key divisions like the Lodz textile workers. But in the face of mass unrest, the OPZZ today withdrew its support. The ex-Stalinist Social Democrats (SdRP) fear the independent mobilization of the working class more than the catastrophic consequences of the counterrevolution. While the ex-OPZZ Federation of Miners Unions (FZZG) has joined the current strike, they have allowed the virulent clerical-nationalists and anti-Semites of the various Solidarność factions to take control and use it for their maneuverings with the government.

Faced with the ravages of capitalist restoration, the miners are demanding that wages keep up with inflation and credit guarantees to assure salaries are paid on time, as well as preservation of the health care system in the mines. While nationalized industries under a capitalist state are subordinated to the dictates of capital and the market, the government's privatization package for the mines would mean massive layoffs and a sharp attack on workers' livelihoods. But with the mines running losses of 7.5 billion zlotys (just over $500,000) in the first ten months of this year alone, the miners' leaders are engaged in a futile attempt to keep the industry afloat in the framework of ramshackle Polish capitalism with subsidies and bailouts.

As the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski (SGP) warns in the current issue of its newspaper being sold to strikers in the Silesian coal fields:

> "Workers can't defend their living standards in the framework of this bankrupt state which seeks to introduce capitalism without capital... What is needed is a struggle to smash Walesa/IMF's 'shock treatment' and sweep away the fledgling capitalist state through workers revolution."
>
> —"Down With the Walesa/IMF Regime!" *Platforma Spartakusowców* (Autumn 1992)

Ironically, the coal miners struck just as the imperialists were touting Poland as a "success" story for brutal austerity policies, contrasting it to the "backpedaling" in Moscow as a new prime minister associated with the managers of state industry is put into the Yeltsin regime. Thus the *New York Times* (17 December 1992) carries a glowing front-page headline, "21 Months of 'Shock Therapy' Resuscitates Polish Economy," and quotes the execrable Harvard shock therapist Jeffrey Sachs crowing, "I think they've made it.... The panic is over. The reforms are secure."

Solidarność wants to put the seal on its clerical-nationalist counterrevolution by replacing the relatively liberal abortion law of 1956 with one of the most reactionary laws in Europe. With more than 70 percent of the population opposing a ban on abortion, this is an explosive question. A petition calling for a referendum to oppose criminalization garnered a half million signatures as soon as it hit the streets. The working class must be mobilized in defense of women's right to abortion as part of the fight for free quality health care for all. For the strict separation of church and state! Priests out of the bedroom, out of the operating room and out of the classroom!

The shock waves from the present strike can spread far beyond Poland's borders, notably to the beleaguered workers of the former Soviet Union. The miners strike shows the evident capacity of the Polish proletariat to overturn capitalist counterrevolution and take power. But for that it needs a revolutionary leadership which seeks to mobilize the working class in struggle against Solidarność reaction down the line. Nationalism has been the driving force for counterrevolution. It is crucial for the proletarian vanguard to combat anti-Roma (Gypsy) racism and anti-Semitism. The SGP fights to forge the internationalist, Leninist-Trotskyist party which is urgently necessary to lead the combative Polish proletariat to power. ■

Leo Erken

Polish miners, demonstrating above for higher wages in 1990, have thrown Walesa's "shock therapy" government into crisis with militant strike action in Silesian coal fields.

Philly March Demands: Save Mumia!

Barbara R. Lee

On December 9, over 300 people marched down Philadelphia's Broad Street in support of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Jamal, former Philadelphia Black Panther and radical journalist, is known as the "voice of the voiceless" for his crusading radio reporting. The march and rally at City Hall was initiated by the Ad Hoc Coalition to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, and Equal Justice. The Partisan Defense Committee joined the protest, raising our banner, "Abolish the Racist Death Penalty! Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!"

It will take an international campaign of protest to stop the state's murder machine. Join the campaign to free Jamal and stop "legal lynching"! Contact the PDC at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

Scandal in Vienna

"Workers Power" Rallies with Serbian Chetnik Fascists

The following is adapted from Workers Hammer *No. 132 (November/December 1992), published by the Spartacist League/Britain.*

"For the following political horror trip there is no precedent in the history of the Austrian left. At least I cannot remember having seen such a bizarre 'bloc constellation' during the last 30 years."

—*Die Linke*, 4 September 1992

Not "just another scandal" from the right-centrist Workers Power (WP) and its misnamed League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI) but a mind-boggling whopper has emerged from Austria. In late July the LRCI's Austrian group ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt (ASt) carried out a united-front action with Greater Serbian *monarchists* and *fascists*—an event so disgusting that even the Austrian supporters of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec) were repelled. Recall that the USec saluted the Estonian Nazi "Forest Brothers" as well as the sinister Croatian HDP in the service of Cold War "anti-Stalinism," and that French USec honcho Alain Krivine recently signed an appeal to the imperialist Common Market "Europe of Twelve" to "act collectively" in Yugoslavia. It takes *a lot* to disgust the USec.

Die LINKE
4 September 1992
Hand in Hand mit den Tschetniks
AST/LRCI im offenen Bündnis mit serbischem Nationalismus
Klassenkampf
Sept./Oct. 1992

Austrian left press reports spectacular blow-up of Workers Power's scandalous bloc with Serbian monarchist-fascists.

The story: according to ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt's own account, it had participated at "a public forum on the imperialist aggression in the Balkans" with the leader of the monarchist Serb National Rebirth, as did the Sozialistische Alternative (Austrian USec), another pseudo-Trotskyist group (the RKL) and the CP. The Austrian Workers Power group, in their own words, were "warned by all possible sides not to go into a united front with 'such reactionary Serb nationalists'" (*ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt*, September 1992). The ASt goes on to recount that "it should not in any case be prettified that Milatovic [leader of Serb National Rebirth] proved to be at this forum a Greater Serbian chauvinist, an anti-communist and a proponent of the free market economy, as well as an admirer of the interwar Serbian monarchy. Without any doubt a reactionary Serbian nationalist."

The ASt's conclusion was...to organise a joint rally with Milatovic & Co.! We print below excerpts from the report of the Austrian USec's *Die Linke*:

> "On July 18 the group 'ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt' together with 'Serb National Rebirth,' the Vienna branch of the Serbian monarchist Vuk Draskovic, had called for a rally in front of parliament and then a march to the U.S. embassy...
>
> "A kind of nationalist masquerade developed that was frightening. In front of the parliament some 250 Serbs had gathered, so the ten representatives of the 'ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt' already quantitatively had to play the role of extras. The rally therefore was marked with the portraits of the former Serbian royal house and of the pretender to the crown, Alexander, with Chetnik symbols and cheers to the Serbian army. A speaker of the 'Serb National Rebirth' lambasted his listeners with a barrage of chauvinism ...
>
> "Grotesque indeed was the speech of the representative of the ASt that followed. He carefully tried to avoid confronting his 'bloc partner' in the fight against military intervention, and barely addressed a single concrete question of the war in former Yugoslavia. There was not a single mention of Croats, Albanians and Kosovo. The very general-sounding rhetoric against nationalism was interrupted by the audience with shouts of 'Long live Serbia.'
>
> "There can be no justification for the ASt running amok politically. Already at a forum called by the ASt held prior to the rally, this same speaker of the 'Serb National Rebirth' had appeared and demanded: 'May God not forgive the Croats, because they know what they do.'
>
> "Attempts, at the beginning of the rally, when it was already clear that the comrades would be only the fifth wheel on the cart of the Chetnik supporters, to convince the ASt that it was necessary to leave the rally were brusquely dismissed."

At least as hair-raising is the account provided by the Austrian RKL's *Klassenkampf*:

> "On a truck which was the speakers platform, the leader of the 'Serb Rebirth' and then that of the 'Trotskyist' ASt blared out their speeches in front of pictures of Serbian kings and the Greater Serbian emblem on the rostrum. The former more than half an hour on God, King and Serbian fatherland, the ASt speaker finally against Austria and imperialism and against imperialism and Austria. Applause of the roughly 1,000 mainly Serbian people was assured, namely when the Serb leader on the platform ordered applause from the masses with a hand signal....
>
> "Then they marched, and at the final rally the ASt's 'united-front politics' definitively came to an end. When, there near the U.S. Embassy, an ASt cadre finally tried to criticise Chetnik nationalism...he was dragged down from the truck by Chetnik fascists. Soon the ASt found themselves running away from the place, chased by a group of Chetniks, whom they escaped from in the end only by hiding in a pastry shop...."

AP

Der Spiegel

Anti-communist Serbian monarchist Vuk Draskovic (far left). Fascist Serbian militia who call themselves Chetniks (left).

Saved by the strudel

This "political horror trip" is not denied by Workers Power, it is not repudiated—quite the opposite! In its amusingly titled article "Yugoslavia: Bringing the War to Austria" (*Trotskyist International*, September/December 1992), Workers Power complains that "the whole left" refused to participate in this circus of reaction! "Why? The wretched pretext they offered was that the demonstration was supported by Draskovic-ite 'Serb National Rebirth,' a nationalist grouping.... Without their participation, of course, few or no Serbs would have marched with us." And a damn sight fewer Chetniks might have been out on the streets chasing unprincipled and criminally idiotic leftists into pastry shops as well. Workers Power's article admits that "a group of Chetnik fascists physically attacked a Serbian ASt comrade," and goes on:

> "In that situation the 'moderate' nationalists of the Serbian Rebirth failed to actively join in our defence or kick the Chetnik scum off the demonstration. *Indeed, they even gave the microphone to a Chetnik speaker to placate them, thus turning the demonstration into a reactionary nationalist event.*" (our emphasis)

A "reactionary nationalist event" indeed—an event initiated by the ASt jointly with monarchists and pursued until the monarchists' Chetnik buddies dragged them off! And Workers Power is quite clear that it is not interested in what it calls "nonsense about 'principle'": "Unfortunately, there are no Serbian workers' organisations or leaders in Vienna, independent of one or another type of nationalist. If there were, we would happily organise a demonstration with them." As for Draskovic's "anti-imperialism," he has come out as a more extreme anti-communist than Milosevic and offered his links with the Chetniks to promote "peace," i.e., to secure the Balkans for imperialist exploitation.

Fresh from organising its "reactionary nationalist event," WP has made a *pas-tiche programme* out of the complete absence of principle which led to the Vienna scandal. The *Trotskyist International* article concludes with a grotesque parody of Leon Trotsky, who urged the crushing of the fascist scum: "For our part, we take those lessons into the struggles and organisations of the working class as they now exist, learning from them how to advance the cause of communism. *We do this not simply despite having to make temporary alliances with 'the Devil and his grandmother but, indeed, through such alliances*" (our emphasis). In the LRCI's French publication, they add for good measure: "The Austrian example illustrates well our method" (*Pouvoir Ouvrier*, Autumn 1992). That it does!

WP's third-campist methodology has in fact placed them squarely *in the camp of capitalist counterrevolution*, on the barricades with the Yeltsinite lowlifes and racketeers in Moscow in August 1991. It was a decisive act of its rightist degeneration and, from sponsoring the infamous tour in Britain of Yuri Butchenko, supported by the Russian fascist NTS and the British scab miners "union" UDM, to pimping for the "rights" of Ustashi-loving Croat nationalists against the then-Yugoslav deformed workers state, to its Viennese waltz with Chetnik fascists—whatever cause Workers Power is advancing with its "temporary alliances," it certainly isn't communism.

Nationalism has been the spearhead of capitalist counterrevolution which has

Ekonomska Politika-Borba, Belgrade

Chetniks murder Communist Partisan in 1942.

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

Pittsburgh Press Fight Sold Out

At the end of July, Teamster newspaper drivers in Pittsburgh declared, "this was where a stand had to be taken." The *Pittsburgh Press* had been struck since May 17, as the newspaper bosses vow to wipe out almost all drivers' jobs. When the *Press* tried to run a scab paper in the early morning hours of July 27, Teamsters, press workers and supporters massed, 5,000 strong, in the streets in front of the *Press* building and stopped the scabs cold. Pittsburgh workers showed all labor a crucial lesson: mass picket lines backed down the cops and stopped the scabs. The scabs never returned, but negotiations between the Newspaper Unions Unity Council and the *Press* dragged on for months.

Now the Teamsters and the other press unions are handing in hundreds of jobs in a deal for Blade Communications to buy the *Press* from E.W. Scripps Co. *in order to close it down*. The *Press* agreement allows Blade, the owner of the *Post-Gazette* (the other Pittsburgh daily sharing facilities with the *Press* under a joint operating agreement), to purchase the *Press* and fold the two papers into one. The *Press* will disappear, *at least 260 out of 627 Teamster jobs* will be eliminated, and the jobs of *hundreds* of pressmen, printers, mailers, typesetters and other unionists will be destroyed. Blade's guarantees of lifetime health insurance benefits for retirees are as believable as a snowball in July.

After militant pickets stopped the scabs in July, *Workers Vanguard* warned: "The company claims the scabs are leaving town. But Press Co. is still demanding the elimination of hundreds of jobs. They're trying to get back from the federal mediator at the bargaining table what they lost in the streets. *Press* workers: Don't be suckered! You've won a big round, now keep the bosses and their scabs on the run! Occupy the plant and ring it with pickets—Stop the *Press*!" But instead of playing hardball, the union tops played ball with the company, with disastrous results.

The *AFL-CIO News* (7 December 1992) claims "victory" in Pittsburgh, giving kudos to the AFL-CIO's "Strategic Approaches Committee," brought in to "help" with the negotiations. They also credit the SAC for the NY *Daily News* strike. But it was the determination of the drivers and pressmen, not the bureaucrats' lousy boycotts, that beat back the Tribune Co.'s attempt to crush the unions at the *Daily News* (while the demise of the new owner, swashbuckling pension fund looter "Cap'n Bob" Maxwell, put the *News* back on the auction block).

The *Pittsburgh Press* settlement, however, was a real stab in the back. Pittsburgh labor didn't pour out into the streets last July for more givebacks. The *Press* strike could have been the one to send a message around the country that *scabherding can be stopped*. No BS about waiting for Congress to pass a "replacement worker" bill—raw union power did the job. But with their faith in federal mediation and reliance on a boycott of capitalist advertisers, the unions' Newspaper Unity Council snatched defeat from the jaws of victory.

Strikers burn copies of scab rag in July, as 5,000-strong mass picket stopped the *Pittsburgh Press*.

This year's Pittsburgh Labor Day rally was a big red, white and blue pep rally to get out the vote for Clinton. Thousands of unionists marched in downtown Pittsburgh, but instead of marching into the *Press* building and occupying it, the workers were subjected to hot air about the need for a new administration in Washington. So now a new administration is coming in, and the workers still get screwed. Democrats and Republicans are two wings of the capitalists' property party—we need a fighting *workers party*.

Hands Off the Newspaper Drivers Union!

The bosses and their state have revived an old weapon in their anti-labor arsenal—declare the unions criminal enterprises and seize control of them. In recent years this tactic has been used against the Teamsters and Longshoremen. Now the latest victims of this union-busting tactic are newspaper drivers in New York City. On November 23, the Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union (NMDU) was hit with a string of criminal indictments by the Manhattan district attorney claiming that the union itself is an organized crime racket.

Just like labor-hater, redbaiter Robert Kennedy went after Jimmy Hoffa, Democratic D.A. Robert Morgenthau (and his pals in the *New York Times* executive suite) are out to get the drivers union because it represents union power. Kennedy nailed the Teamsters leader after Hoffa won the first-ever national Master Freight Agreement. Similarly, the drivers have the muscle to shut down the Big Apple's dailies, and the paper bosses are still seething over the NMDU's militancy during the bitter *Daily News* strike last year.

Morgenthau is using the New York State Organized Crime Act to put the NMDU in receivership and appoint a government overseer to run the union. This is the way feds took over the Teamsters after a five-decade vendetta against the union, with plenty of help from fake-leftists and union "dissidents" like the Teamsters for a Democratic Union. TDU dragged the union into the bosses' courts and provided the feds with a "democratic" cover for their campaign to hamstring the unions.

When the federal government filed suit against the Teamsters, a member of the NY State Organized Crime Task Force crowed that the real reason behind the government's move was that the Teamsters "could still tie the nation up in knots if they wanted to." So now Governor Cuomo and his junior G-men in Albany are going after the NY newspaper drivers for the same reason.

At the bitter end of the *Daily News* strike, we wrote: "New York press unions have been fighting a decades-long defensive battle over technology and jobs—if this deal goes down, the labor-hating *New York Times* bosses, with a $450-million ultra-modern printing facility at Edison, NJ ready to roll, are ready to sock it to the unions."

Now the government, the *Times* and another publishing pirate, Mortimer Zuckerman, who is bidding for the *Daily News*, want to make sure the press unions can never shut down a New York paper again. Allied Printing Trades Council president George McDonald knifed the Guild, announcing that the Council is "100 percent supportive" of Zuckerman, who has demanded that one-third of the 540 Guild workers at the *News* be cut while the rest reapply for their own jobs!

As Morgenthau pursues the bosses' vendetta against the NMDU, all of the unions in the Allied as well as the rest of city labor must rally to the defense of the drivers against the government's attempt to blackjack the union. The working class must clean its own house! Feds hands off the drivers union! ■

perforce plunged the former multinational Yugoslav workers state into a fratricidal bloodbath. That state, bureaucratically deformed as it was from its inception, was built after Tito's Partisans defeated not only the Nazis and their Croatian Ustashi allies but also the Serbian monarchists, the Chetniks. Tito *shot* Chetniks and Ustasha. In the genocidal slaughter of World War II, workers and peasants came to know that they were safe when the Partisans with the red stars on their caps arrived in town.

Even given our fundamental differences with the Yugoslav Stalinists, whose later "market socialism" policies paved the way for the triumph of counterrevolution, we Trotskyists stand with the tradition of Tito's Partisans against those like the LRCI who have grossly defended in turn Ustashi-loving Croatian nationalists and Chetnik-loving Serbs. Now they are calling for "the establishment of military control of all and any areas within Bosnia-Herzegovina by Muslim forces" and demanding "unconditional military aid to the Bosnian Muslims" (*Workers Power*, December 1992)!

World Jewish Congress

Former Austrian president Kurt Waldheim (second from left). Workers Power allbis this Nazi war criminal, responsible for massacre of Jews and Communists in Yugoslavia during World War II.

In short, WP *echoes* the imperialists' saber rattling for full-scale military intervention in Yugoslavia. For our part, we demand: *Down with the imperialist embargo of Serbia! NATO/UN—Out of the Balkans!* Amid the horror of nationalist slaughter, we look to the cohering of a new generation of internationalist proletarian militants to defeat the all-sided counterrevolutionary drive.

The ASt should have been something of an embarrassment ever since it alibied the Nazi war criminal Kurt Waldheim, calling two years after his exposure to "unconditionally subordinate all his decisions to parliament" and to pay him "the average wage of a skilled worker." But with its soft-core support to German unification under capitalism, its goading of the "one fatherland" mobs of skinheads and social democrats to "hunt down" the Stalinists, its calls on the government of Margaret Thatcher to aid the Nazi-infested Lithuanian Sajudis, the Butchenko scandal and, not least, openly siding with Yeltsin/Bush counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, Workers Power has more than moved far to the right—it has become *unhinged*.

While the pages of *Workers Power* in Britain have contained not a word on its Greater Serbian "united front," it has become infamous throughout the European left.

In Russia, the political platform which the ASt shared with the monarchists/Chetniks in Vienna is called the "red-brown bloc." Workers Power's LRCI now bears the "distinction" of singularly translating the "red-brown bloc" to the murderous competing nationalisms of the Balkan cockpit that have savagely torn apart the Yugoslav deformed workers state. Now all the "old crap" is coming back and Workers Power are up to their necks in it. We think you should be told. ■

Ali Paczensky

Half a year after reunification, east German workers protest (above) under banner, "Yesterday Unity, Today Bankrupt?" Chancellor Helmut Kohl (below) pelted with eggs in industrial city of Halle, May 1991.

Der Spiegel

Germany Disorganizes Europe

The image of Nazi skinheads firebombing Turkish families and shouting "Heil Hitler!" has evoked horror, fear and outrage around the world. The resurgence of fascist terror underscores the continuity between the Fourth Reich (empire) of German imperialism and the Third. When in 1990 the disintegrating Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy under Gorbachev abandoned the German Democratic Republic (DDR—East Germany), the German bourgeoisie recouped its defeat at the hands of the Red Army in World War II. The masters of the Fourth Reich believed they would now achieve through economic means what Hitler tried and failed to achieve by military means. They envisioned an empire of the D-mark stretching from Iberia to Siberia.

PART ONE OF TWO

Where the Nazi regime crushed and terrorized the German working class through a totalitarian police state, the rulers of the capitalist successor state to Hitler's Reich promised to maintain and extend the postwar "German model" of class collaboration, dubbed the "social market economy." No one would be worse off as a result of reunification, Helmut Kohl proclaimed as he assumed Hitler's old title of "chancellor of the German people." There would be no higher taxes in western Germany, while citizens of the former DDR were told they would attain western living standards in five years. But barely a year after the Fourth Reich won the March 1990 DDR elections, tens of thousands of East Germans were in the streets of Leipzig furiously protesting the "chancellor of lies."

In reality, capitalist *Anschluss* (annexation) led to the dismantling of the East German industrial economy as half the labor force was put on the dole. Kohl spoke of "creative destruction," citing the architect of the postwar German "economic miracle" Ludwig Erhard (who borrowed the phrase from economist Josef Schumpeter). But this is destruction pure and simple. The illusions of East German working people that they would instantly achieve the "good life" of the West were quickly and brutally shattered. In the spring of 1991 Kohl was pelted with vegetables by angry protesters as he tried to speak in the eastern German industrial center of Halle. To prevent far more serious social unrest, Bonn had to transfer vast sums of money to eastern Germany for unemployment insurance, pensions for early retirement and make-work jobs.

Hoping to avoid a confrontation with the powerful west German labor movement, the Kohl regime resorted to massive deficit spending rather than raise taxes or cut social programs. Between 1989 and 1991 the combined budget deficits of the federal, *Länder* (state) and local governments *multiplied more than tenfold*, from $8 billion to $83 billion! This scale of borrowing cannot long continue.

Both the ruling Christian Democrats and Social Democratic (SPD) "opposition" have been demanding that the west German populace bear the cost of reunification in the name of the "solidarity" of the German nation. Real sacrifice, not just belt-tightening, is needed, declares east German Social Democrat Wolfgang Thierse. Even IG Metall union president Franz Steinkühler joined the chorus for a "solidarity pact." But the west German working class—which includes two million Turkish, Yugoslav and other immigrant workers who were euphemistically known as *Gastarbeiter* ("guest workers")—is in no mood to sacrifice to restore the financial order of the Fourth Reich.

This was dramatically demonstrated by the public and transport workers (ÖTV) strike this past spring, the biggest strike in western Germany in four decades. For eleven days, from Bavaria to the North Sea ports, garbage piled up, trains did not run and mail was not delivered. The strike ended in a political humiliation for Kohl, who had provoked it, and a setback for the German ruling class as a whole.

The failure to extract a greater surplus from their own proletariat has upset the plans of Frankfurt bankers and Ruhr industrialists to transform East Europe into a German neocolonial empire. Kohl & Co. promised generous subsidies to the new right-wing regimes from Tudjman's Croatia to Yeltsin's Russia. By early last year Bonn had pledged over 60 percent of all Western financial aid to the former Soviet republics. But since then the paymaster of the East European counterrevolution has been pleading shortage of funds.

"Until now, Germany has done much more than its allies—indeed too much—for eastern Europe," Bonn defense minister Volker Rühe complained to an Anglo-German conference last April (London *Guardian*, 2 April 1992). The following month Kohl told reporters at the UN, "we Germans have reached the limit of our capacity to help" East Europe. Without massive financial "help" from their Western imperialist godfathers, the fledgling bourgeois states from the Balkans to the former Soviet republics remain weak and fragile, trying to build capitalism without capital. The result is total economic collapse, political chaos and fratricidal nationalism.

The economic dislocations of the Fourth Reich are wreaking havoc in West Europe as well. The grandiose proclamation of a new era of "European unity" made at Maastricht a year ago is in tatters. By jacking up interest rates, the Bundesbank detonated the spectacular collapse of the European Monetary System last fall. France—its farmers running wild in the streets—is denouncing Bonn for capitulating to the U.S. attack on the European Community's agricultural protectionism. And the so-called "poor four"—Spain, Portugal, Ireland

Schmidt/Reuters

Rostock, August 1992: Fascist firebomber heaves Molotov cocktail at immigrants' hostel. Escalating Nazi terror is direct consequence of capitalist reunification.

Spartakist

Der Spiegel

East German women protesting impending loss of day care, March 1990. Sign reads: "Nursery out? Cooking pot in? Doesn't make sense."

and Greece—are threatening to hold up all Community decisions unless they get more "cohesion" money from the richer countries, meaning mainly Germany. Fat chance these days!

The eastern German *Länder* of the former DDR remain a devastated region economically, while western Germany is in the first stages of what could be a long and deep recession. Germany used to be called the locomotive pulling forward the European capitalist economy. Today, the German locomotive is pulling the rest of West Europe on a fast track downhill. It's said nowadays that reunified Germany is economically weaker than was West Germany. It is not so much weaker in absolute terms as enormously overextended. And that overextension is generating increasing national conflict, social turmoil and class struggle throughout Europe, not least in Germany itself.

The "German Model" Becomes Too Expensive

"In the past, we've been too generous with wage increases," stated Achim Dickmann, managing director of the motor industry association, on the eve of the 1991 ÖTV strike. Reunification has intensified a growing structural weakness of German capitalism, namely, that labor costs have become far higher than its main international competitors'. Taking sick leave and pension benefits into account, employee compensation in west German industry is over 50 percent higher than in the United States and the other major West European countries, and over a third higher than in Japan. At the same time, the average work year in western Germany is 1,700 hours a year, compared to 1,750 hours in France and Britain, 1,900 hours in the U.S. and 2,150 hours in Japan.

Before reunification, West Germany was held up as a model of prosperity and labor-capital amity by SPD union bureaucrats, Frankfurt bankers and Ruhr industrialists alike. The postwar "German model" rested on three main elements: 1) a highly competitive, export-driven economy based on superior productivity and advanced technology; 2) a strong trade-union movement led by social-democratic bureaucrats committed to preserving class peace and profitability, and to *politically subverting the East German deformed workers state in the interests of German imperialism*; and 3) relatively low political/military overhead costs as long as West Germany functioned as a junior partner of American imperialism.

The Cold War division of Europe between the U.S.-dominated alliance and the Soviet bloc, running along the Elbe through the heart of Germany, circumscribed the global role of German imperialism. This was codified in the constitutional ban on deploying the Bundeswehr outside the West European region of NATO. (A similar prohibition was written into Japan's postwar constitution, which was dictated by the American proconsul Douglas MacArthur.) As a consequence, in the late 1980s the West German military budget amounted to 3 percent of its huge gross national product compared to 4 percent for France, almost 5 percent for Britain and 6.5 percent for the U.S.

On the other hand, while Japanese capitalism has even lower military overhead costs than Germany, Toyota and Nippon Steel—their workers imprisoned in docile, company unions—provide nowhere near the wage levels of Volkswagen and Krupp, although they certainly have the financial resources to do so. Rather, the Japanese *zaibatsu* (cartels) used the surplus value extracted from their factories in Tokyo and Osaka to expand the superexploitation of workers in their East Asian neocolonies, from South Korea to Indonesia.

At a time when Reagan's America and Thatcher's Britain were breaking strikes and gutting the labor movement, West German unions were still able to make significant economic gains. The 1984 auto strike, organized by IG Metall, cracked the traditional 40-hour workweek long prevalent in Western capitalist countries. Why were Frankfurt bankers and Ruhr industrialists prepared to maintain the institutionalized class collaboration symbolized by the system of union-management "co-determination"? The answer lies in German imperialism's revanchist appetite toward the DDR, which claimed to be a German socialist state of the working class.

Der Spiegel

Treuhand bosses have been shutting down east German industry wholesale. Right: workers at Wolfen film factory, now devastated by layoffs.

Despite its lower level of productivity and bureaucratic deformations, the DDR provided its workers with attractive and substantial benefits, like free, enterprise-based childcare, which allowed over 90 percent of East German women to participate in the labor force. Not only was it the tenth largest industrial power in the world, individual incomes were as high as Italy or Britain and 50 percent higher than Spain. The mass of workers and intellectuals in the DDR desired a decent socialist society and had no sympathy for the Deutsche Bank and its Christian Democratic political agents. However, as we wrote in the early 1980s:

> "Social Democratic sympathies persist in the DDR, where many see the SPD as a 'democratic' alternative to their own Stalinist regime. This was shown by the ecstatic welcome Willy Brandt received when he visited Erfurt in 1970....
> "Brandt's *Ostpolitik* of the early 1970s *appeared* to represent acceptance of the permanent division of the German nation. In reality it was a more subtle form of Bonn's revanchist ambitions toward the East. In place of Adenauer's shrill Dulles-era bellicosity ('the policy of strength'), the Social Democrats have sought to economically undermine and politically subvert the East European Stalinist-ruled states."
>
> —"Europacifism and German Nationalism," WL No. 299, 19 February 1982

During the 1980s, had the Kohl regime followed the Reagan/Thatcher line of breaking strikes, imprisoning union militants, driving down wages and slashing social programs, this would have greatly strengthened popular opposition to Western capitalism in the DDR. The seductive lies of Brandt, Schmidt & Co. about the virtues of the "social market economy" would have had little effect east of the Elbe. Today, even Social Democratic union bureaucrats can see the connection between the collapse of the Soviet bloc and the bosses' harder line on the labor front at home. Last May Day IG Metall chief Steinkühler asked rhetorically "whether the social provocateurs will succeed in drastically weakening the trade unions after the rival system has fallen away."

Before reunification German capitalism had a compelling *political* reason to buy off the Social Democratic-led unions, and sufficient resources to do so. The political motive has now disappeared and the resources are fast dwindling. One out of every three jobs in western Germany depends on exports. These exports depend on high productivity, superior quality and meticulous after-sale servicing. Mercedes, Porsche and BMW are the automobiles of choice for yuppies around the globe. However, Germany's competitive advantage lies not so much in luxury consumer durables as in producer goods. "For most of our textile machines, we have no competition," boasts the son of the founder of Karl Mayer Textilmaschinenfabrik. "Many products can only be made on our machines" (quoted in Philip Glouchevitch, *Juggernaut*, Simon & Schuster, 1992). But fewer and fewer German firms can claim "we have no competition."

Consider the machine tool industry, key to an industrial economy. This is the terrain of the German *Mittelstand*—the middle bourgeoisie, whose medium-size companies are run, in the words of a British journalist, by autocratic bosses who know their business to the last millimeter and pfennig. There are 450 toolmakers in western Germany, which taken together employ more people than the auto industry. Almost all are highly specialized and often design machines to the requirements of a specific customer.

For most of the postwar era Germany dominated the world market for machine tools, accounting for 31 percent of global exports in 1970, compared to 12 percent for the U.S. and a mere 3 percent for Japan. But then Japan and its East Asian neocolonies began making major inroads into the machine tool market, beginning with standard items like lathes and upgrading to more complex models. Japanese firms now enjoy economies of scale not available to the smaller-sized German companies. By 1990 the German share of world exports of machine tools had fallen to 24 percent and the U.S. was reduced to a miniscule 3 percent, while Japan took 18 percent of the international market.

Since then the west German machine tool industry has been in the doldrums. The American recession and the collapse of the Soviet bloc economies drastically cut demand in two of Germany's major foreign markets while sky-high interest rates discouraged industrial construction and retooling in Germany itself. Orders for German toolmakers fell by 20 percent in 1991 and an additional estimated 25 percent last year.

Now with the collapse of the artificial

continued on page 8

Der Spiegel

Kohl and German imperialists rammed through capitalist reunification with offers of a "quick D-mark." With 1:1 bribe money, East Germans junked their Trabis and bought a new Fiat (ad at left) or VW, or a used Opel. Now they can't afford the gas.

Germany...

(continued from page 7)

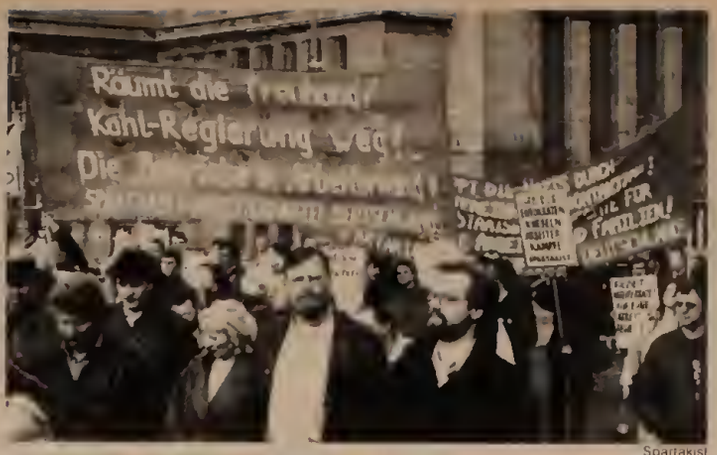
boom in consumer goods consumption induced by the terms of reunification, the slump has spread to German industry as a whole. Auto and steel bosses as well as tool makers are screaming they can no longer afford the wage increases of yesteryear. Denouncing their workers in the Ruhr and Nordrhein-Westfalen as overpaid lazybones who always take their sick leave on Fridays, German capitalists are threatening to transfer operations abroad, and have begun to do so. In 1991, German firms spent $20 billion to buy or expand productive facilities in other countries, while foreign multinationals invested less than $2 billion in Germany. This is clear proof that the rate of profit in Germany is now unsatisfactory from the standpoint of capital.

"The exodus of German industry is getting under way," proclaimed BMW boss Eberhard von Künheim (*Business Week*, 25 May 1992). Daimler-Benz is planning to open a new factory in Mexico. Volkswagen is expanding its already extensive Mexican operations and will produce autos in China's "free trade zones." German manufacturers are also increasing investments in the U.S., which from their standpoint has become a low-wage country. Thus BMW, whose only foreign assembly plant is in South Africa, is planning a second one in South Carolina. But it will not be easy to degrade the conditions of workers in western Germany to those of the non-union, rural American South.

The Destruction of East Germany's Industrial Economy

While threatening to degrade the workers of western Germany, the rulers of the Fourth Reich have already subjected the working people of the former DDR to immiseration and dependence on the dole. A liberal American economist, Robert Isaak, observed: "In a visit to the Eastern state of Thüringen in the summer of 1991, the only people who could afford to buy more than a coffee or a beer in the restaurants were the tourists" ("Germany: Economic Powerhouse or Stalemate," *Challenge*, September-October 1992).

A year earlier the socialized economy of the DDR was dissolved when the deutschmark became the medium of exchange in East Germany and the nationalized enterprises were taken over by the West German Treuhandanstalt (Trusteeship Agency). "The collapse in industrial production which followed went beyond almost anything that hitherto has been observed anywhere in the world," wrote the conservative bourgeois economist Lutz Hoffmann (in Paul J.J. Welfens, ed., *Economic Aspects of German Reunification*, Springer-Verlag, 1991). Industrial output has plummeted *75 percent* since 1989. A year after the establishment of the currency union, almost 5 million workers out of a labor force of 9.5 million were either unemployed outright, on "short-time work" or forced out of the labor market.



Spartakist

Workers protest plant closures, Leipzig, April 1991. Spartakist banner reads, "Sweep Away the Treuhand/Kohl Regime! Factories to the Workers!"

The economic collapse has been especially devastating for the women of eastern Germany, who comprise 65 percent of those officially registered as unemployed. The elimination of free day care made it difficult, if not impossible, for many women to work. Part-time jobs, largely held by women, were among the first to be done away with in the Treuhand's "cost-cutting" drives. And men thrown out of the factories began competing for jobs in which women had predominated, such as bank clerks, mail carriers and public transit workers.

Crassly blaming the victims, German bourgeois economists like Hoffmann claim that the exchange of deutschmarks for DDR marks at a one-to-one ratio with the July 1990 currency union priced east German workers—contemptuously described as "a labor force not used to working efficiently"—out of the world market. Yet factory wages in Dresden and Leipzig are still only half the level of Munich and the Ruhr.

But in deciding where to invest, German firms are comparing labor costs in Prussia and Saxony to those in Mexico and Brazil. In fact, Daimler-Benz recently canceled plans to build a truck factory at Ludwigsfelde, south of Berlin, while going ahead with its Mexican project. At the same time, Krupp backed off from a proposal to take over EKO Stahl at Eisenhüttenstadt, eastern Germany's largest steelworks, citing the "general misery" prevailing in the European steel market.

Even where west German companies have taken over the former enterprises of the DDR, they've slashed the workforce on average *by two-thirds*. For example, Opel (General Motors' German subsidiary) bought and retooled the automotive plant in Eisenach which used to produce the Wartburg. The old Wartburg plant employed 14,000 people; the new Opel operation employs 2,000.

This graphically illustrates the differences between a collectivized economy, even where deformed by Stalinist bureaucratic mismanagement, and a capitalist economy. The overriding economic goal in the DDR was maintaining full employment while maximizing total output for the country as a whole. Workers in enterprises where production per head was relatively low were not laid off for that reason. At the same time, they could voluntarily transfer to better-paying jobs in other enterprises, which usually corresponded to higher productivity.

The overriding goal of a capitalist firm is to maximize the rate of profit, i.e., the return per unit of money invested. This means simultaneously minimizing the number of workers employed while maximizing output per worker. In eastern Germany today, mass unemployment coexists with speedup and overwork for those lucky enough to have jobs. "We have people who are working day and night, and those who have no work at all," the deputy mayor of Bautzen, the regional center of eastern Saxony, told the London *Financial Times* (11 August 1992). The threat of unemployment is being used to condition east German workers to the discipline imposed by their new capitalist bosses.

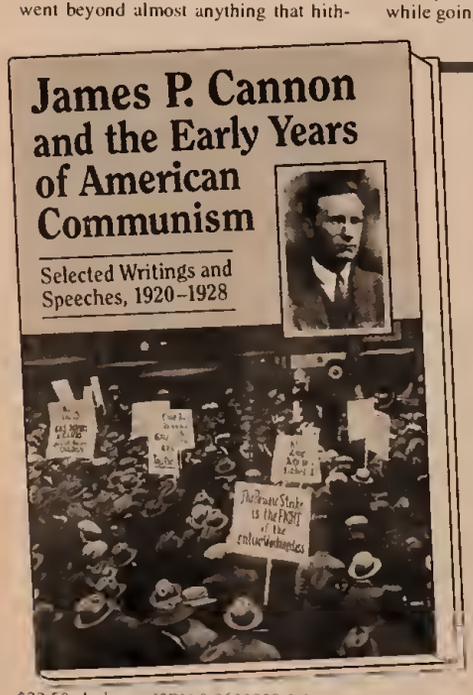
This points to the fact that the dismantling of the DDR's industrial economy was not based simply on calculations of profitability. It was also designed to *atomize and terrorize* the traditionally socialist proletariat of the DDR, thus preventing popular resistance to the new order of the Fourth Reich. Contributing to the economic devastation was the Treuhand's firing of 1,400 enterprise managers ostensibly due to incompetence. In reality, this purging of the east German industrial cadre is part of a broader anti-Communist witchhunt (symbolized by the show trial of Erich Honecker) intended to portray the DDR as a criminal state and to wreak vengeance for Germany's defeat at the hands of the Red Army in World War II.

By 1991 the output of eastern Germany had fallen 45 percent to $120 billion. This supplied roughly half of consumer demand. The other half was covered by government transfer payments in the form of unemployment insurance, pensions and social programs. What the Kohl regime called funds for the "reconstruction" of eastern Germany was in effect a *massive internal export subsidy* for west German manufacturers of consumer goods. The only productive investment was concentrated in communications and transportation in order to facilitate the marketing of commodities made in western Germany. Philip J. Bryson, an American specialist on the economy of the DDR, pointed out:

> "there is no compelling case for West-German-based firms to invest to gain access to the East German market, which is now just a part of their own. It is simple enough to exploit production capacities in western firms and merely transport the appropriate share of larger outputs to the East for sale."
>
> —"The Economics of German Reunification," *Journal of Comparative Economics* (March 1992)

In 1990-91, western Germany experienced a mini-boom, concentrated in consumer goods, generated by subsidized exports to the new eastern *Länder*. For example, over three-quarters of the 4,000 DDR marks per person which could be exchanged at a rate of one to one was spent on purchases of new and used cars from the West. But once the initial spending spree was over, the financing of the reunification deficit soon depressed the entire European capitalist economy, and has now rebounded back against Germany itself.

[TO BE CONTINUED]



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Somalia...

(continued from page 1)

into the television spotlights and photo flashes. The SEALs, surrounded by dozens of journalists illuminating their every step, threatened to shoot the reporters if they didn't go away. At the port, helicopters fired tracer bullets over the heads of reporters as Marines arrived. The London *Independent* (10 December 1992) described the scene as "a farcical blend of the Normandy landings and opening night at La Scala." Later at a Pentagon press conference, a reporter taunted the brass, asking how it felt to take a beach that had already been "liberated" by the press.

But behind the bumbling shenanigans, the ugly racist reality of U.S. imperialist intervention came across only too clearly. Marines stormed the airport, yelling at the Somali guards employed by the UN to lie down, kicking them to the ground when they didn't react fast enough (they didn't speak English) and binding their hands with plastic strips, the handcuffs of choice used on blacks in South-Central Los Angeles. At the port, Somali workers were separated from the reporters and were pushed to the ground and tied up. When it was over, the smug Marine sergeant, in a scene reminiscent of the movie *Apocalypse Now*, confided to reporters, "I enjoy a bit of adrenalin early in the morning."

The U.S. military quickly staked out its turf in Mogadishu, acting, as one news account put it, like the "biggest warlord on the block" (*U.S. News & World Report*, 14 December 1992). When Cobra helicopters buzzing the city spotted a battle between rival clans, they blew three vehicles to smithereens with anti-tank rockets, killing nine people. However, when a frenzied mob dragged a Somali woman from a French jeep and, accusing her of "prostitution," kicked her, beat her with sticks and ripped off her clothes, French and U.S. soldiers calmly stood by and watched. Meanwhile, U.S. forces piously declared a war on *khat* (a plant whose leaves contain a mild amphetamine), which is chewed socially by Somalis much the way Americans slug down beer. As the London *Independent* (11 December 1992) observed: "Washington is in Crusader mode here, and will not permit what it sees as drug trafficking."

We have repeatedly pointed out that the U.S. imperialists are not intervening in Somalia out of "humanitarian" considerations. Only after eleven days, during which food distribution got much *worse*, did convoys deliver supplies to famine-struck Baidoa. Meanwhile, you don't see media coverage of elsewhere in sub-Saharan East Africa, which is suffering from the worst drought in a century. Rather, Washington is seeking military bases, strategically situated on the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden, in competition with their imperialist rivals. In this, Bush has the enthusiastic support of president-elect Bill Clinton. After initially pretending that the intervention in Somalia was only a short-term affair, administration officials are now admitting that U.S. troops will still be in Somalia a year from now.

The U.S. military presence is opening the floodgates to intervention by other imperialist powers and their Third World lackeys, who are pouring massive numbers of troops into Somalia. More than *30 countries* are expected to contribute some 20,000 additional troops in the next several weeks, from the French (with 2,000 troops) who seek to extend their control out from their unstable port-colony in Djibouti, to the Italians (2,400) who dream of returning in force to their former Somali colony. German chancellor Helmut Kohl, announcing that he intended to send 1,500 soldiers to Somalia early this year in defiance of the constitutional ban on deploying troops outside the NATO region, declared: "This is extremely important for Germany's world reputation" (*New York Times*, 18 December 1992).

Reformists, such as the Socialist Workers Party and the Marcyite Workers World Party, pretend that the rapacious imperialists in Washington can be pressured to provide "real humanitarian aid." In a classic case of appealing for "butter instead of guns," the SWP's *Militant* (18 December 1992) counsels: "Rather than send troops to Somalia, Washington should send massive quantities of food aid and medical supplies to treat the sick." But it is imperialist exploitation which causes famine in Africa and elsewhere. The solution is revolutionary struggle against capitalism-imperialism.

Rather than pathetic and impotent appeals to the imperialists, we are inspired by the revolutionary spirit expressed by the American Communist John Reed (see page 2 of this issue), speaking at the Congress of the Peoples of the East in Baku in 1920, at a time when U.S. imperialism was pushing its counterrevolutionary aims under the guise of famine relief. Reed noted:

> "The American capitalists promise bread to Armenia. This is an old trick. They promise bread but they never give it. Did Hungary get bread after the fall of the Soviet Government? No. . .
>
> "We appreciate the need for solidarity between all the oppressed and toiling peoples, for unity of the revolutionary workers of all the countries of Europe and America under the leadership of the Russian Bolsheviks, in the Communist International. And we say to you, peoples of the East: Do not believe the promises of the American capitalists!"

Despite the truly hellish situation in Somalia, illusions in the U.S.' "humanitarian" relief effort are notably thin, particularly among U.S. blacks. Our last issue, headlined "U.S. Global Cops Out of Somalia!", sold well and was greeted with comments like, "The U.S. doesn't give a damn about starving black Africans." Class struggle, not philanthropy, is the solution to the starvation generated by imperialist exploitation. The real enemy is not clan chieftains in Somalia, but the capitalist system which drives its colonial slaves into unbearable poverty. The International Communist League fights to mobilize the working class for international socialist revolution that will bring down the imperialist system and institute economic planning on a world scale. ■

Israel...

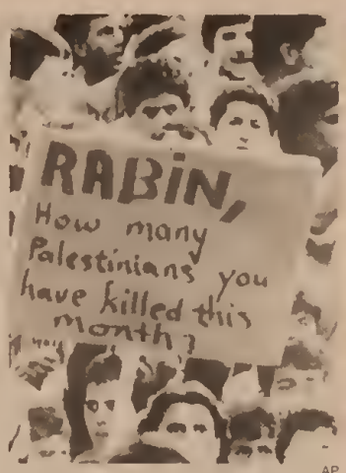
(continued from page 1)

they were told his body had been discovered. In Toledano's hometown of Lod, pogromist mobs rampaged through the streets screaming "Death to the Arabs!" As Rabin vowed to "strike unmercifully" against opponents of the Zionist occupation, his "leftist" Meretz coalition partners echoed this with demands for an "iron-fisted war" on Hamas. Meretz parliamentary spokesman Yossi Sarid, idol of the liberal "Peace Now" movement, ranted that the Palestinian group "should be crushed with an open fist." So much for Peace Now's nominal opposition to the Israeli occupation!

Whatever their differences in nuance and rhetoric, the bourgeois Labor Party (with its leftist satellites tagging behind) and the rightist Likud Party of former prime minister (and erstwhile fascist terrorist) Yitzhak Shamir are united in their determination to create a "Greater Israel" through the bloody repression of the Palestinian people. In the five years since the *Intifada* began, the Zionist butchers have murdered some 1,200 Palestinians, while tens of thousands more have been arrested and/or tortured. Pursuing the Nazi policy of "collective guilt," the Israeli army has razed entire villages to avenge stone throwing by handfuls of youth. Army death squads dressed in Arab garb maraud the Occupied Territories, wantonly killing some 100 "terrorist suspects" in cold blood. One of the more recent victims of this Israeli state terror was 12-year-old Anjad Jabal, gunned down by an undercover team as he was walking to school one morning.

Meanwhile rabidly nationalist and fundamentalist Jewish "settlers," whose ranks include significant numbers of "born-again" American yuppie racists, carry out their own terrorist atrocities in the Occupied Territories. Two months ago, followers of the late Brooklyn-born Zionist fascist Meir Kahane threw a grenade into a crowded Arab marketplace in East Jerusalem, killing one and wounding a dozen others.

The petty-bourgeois nationalist Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) of Yasir Arafat seized on the heroic actions of tens of thousands of unarmed Palestinian youth in the *Intifada* to pressure Washington into pressuring its Israeli clients to the conference table. The beginning of the "peace" talks in Madrid last year was hailed as a victory by the PLO, which offers the Palestinian people nothing more than appeals to innumerable pious-sounding United Nations resolutions and endless hot-air "negotiations" with the Zionist killers. When the PLO threatened to suspend the talks in protest against the deportations, an Israeli official arrogantly taunted "They will surely come back to the table because they know that this is their last chance."



AP

Media Image/ LPI

Israeli Arabs protesting in January 1988 (left) against then war minister Yitzhak Rabin's "iron fist" repression against Palestinian *Intifada*.

But the Palestinian masses know that their lives have grown only more desperate while the phony negotiations go nowhere. One young West Bank militant complained bitterly: "We are angry with our leadership...they decided to stop our military activities, but have allowed the Israelis to continue with theirs. Why should we give up our arms so we just become victims?" Fundamentalists like Hamas, which were initially nurtured by the Zionist state as a counterweight to the secularist PLO, moved in to capitalize on the frustration of Palestinian youth by posing as more militant opponents of the Zionist occupation forces. Today Hamas has become the predominant organization in the Gaza Strip and is increasingly influential in the West Bank.

Meanwhile, left nationalists such as Nayef Hawatmeh's Democratic Front and George Habash's Popular Front ally with the fundamentalists in a new "rejection front" opposed to the negotiations, while retaining their places inside the PLO. Now the PLO's "Unified Leadership" of the uprising has itself issued a joint statement with Hamas for the first time, denouncing the deportations and calling "to escalate the jihad (holy war)" against the Zionist occupation.

The frustration of militant Palestinian youth with the PLO's dead-end strategy has been reflected in a sharp rise in guerrillaist activity. In the past year, a dozen Israeli soldiers have been blown away by Palestinian fighters, more than in the previous four years combined. But however courageous such actions may be, they are no match for the deadly firepower of the Zionist garrison-state. And the growth of groups like Hamas, whose thugs regularly assault Palestinian women who go out in public unveiled, threatens to submerge the cosmopolitan and educated Palestinian people in a swamp of religious obscurantism.

The Zionist state must be exploded from within. The answer lies not in "holy war" but in class war, seeking to unite the Palestinian workers with their class brothers and sisters throughout the region—including the Hebrew-speaking proletariat—in revolutionary struggle for a socialist federation of the Near East which guarantees the national rights of all the myriad peoples of the area. *Defend the Palestinians—Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!* ■

Free Mordechai Vanunu!

The Zionist terror machine targets not only Palestinians but all who stand in its way. For the past six years, Mordechai Vanunu, a nuclear technician of Sephardic Jewish origin who demonstrated for Palestinian rights, has been held in solitary confinement in an Israeli dungeon. His Zionist jailers torment this courageous man for exposing the extent of Israel's nuclear arsenal—more than 200 atomic warheads. Vanunu was sentenced to 18 years and is imprisoned in a six-by-ten-foot cell.

An article by Yael Gvirtz in the Israeli daily *Yediot Aharonot* (27 September 1992), translated by Israel Shahak, reports: "Vanunu's isolation is total. Three permanent guards are in charge of bringing food to his cell.... For two hours a day he is taken out, alone, for what is called a 'walk' in an enclosed yard on the roof. Before he is taken there all the passages are cleared. None of the prisoners ever see him going there. He sees no one except the guards who accompany him there.... Sometimes months pass without his having spoken to a living soul."

We honor Mordechai Vanunu and demand his immediate freedom. The crimes of the crazed Zionist theocracy will be avenged by workers revolution.

Judge Orders Release of Mexican Doctor

U.S. GloboCop Kidnap Flop

It was supposed to be a bravura show trial for the "New World Order," the latest application of Washington's doctrine of "supersovereignty." A Supreme Court ruling last June in the trial of Mexican gynecologist Humberto Alvarez Machain declared the U.S.' "right" to kidnap any foreign citizen "suspected" of violating American laws. In April, the government scored a victory in the test case of General Manuel Noriega, when a Miami court convicted the Panamanian strongman seized in the December 1989 U.S. invasion of Panama. But after almost a year of legal machinations, Judge Edward Rafeedie in Los Angeles acquitted Dr. Alvarez and rebuked the feds for presenting a case with no evidence. "This is whole cloth, the wildest speculation," said Rafeedie, who earlier ruled that the defendant's kidnapping was illegal.

This was the latest chapter in the feds' vendetta to nail someone for the 1985 torture/murder of Enrique Camarena, an agent of the sinister U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency. Dr. Alvarez was seized at gunpoint in his Guadalajara office in 1990 by out-of-uniform Mexican cops in the pay of the DEA, flown to El Paso and handed over in return for $20,000 and refuge in the U.S. for the bounty hunters and their families. The government has paid at least $2.7 million to various shady characters to testify in this case, including $3,000 a month to René López Romero, who they admit was involved in the killing of four Jehovah's Witnesses and a number of Mexicans near Guadalajara in 1984. The last straw was when the prosecution told the judge that last September a Mexican policeman informed them that they had seized the wrong doctor.

Even after Alvarez Machain was found innocent, the INS vindictively announced that they would hold him for "questioning," arguing that he was an "illegal immigrant"! Finally, on December 16, Alvarez was allowed to fly home. As the case continues against codefendant Ruhén Zuño Arce (brother-in-law of former Mexican president Luis Echeverría), U.S. attorney John Carlton is now alleging a vast conspiracy with high-level Mexican government officials involved in planning the murder. "Witness" López Romero placed two members of the Mexican federal cabinet, then interior minister Manuel Bartlett Díaz (recently elected governor of the state of Puebla) and the ex-secretary of defense General Juan Arévalo Gardoquí, at the site where DEA narc Camarena was tortured and killed.

The Mexican government of Carlos Salinas de Gortari indignantly rejected these allegations. But despite impotent talk of extraditing the DEA agents who organized the kidnapping of Dr. Alvarez, the submissive Salinas regime isn't about to jeopardize its cozy relationship with its godfathers in Washington. Three days after Alvarez was acquitted, Salinas and Bush signed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), paving the way for wholesale U.S. takeover of the Mexican economy. Another by-product of the Camarena case was a 1990 Supreme Court ruling that the Fourth Amendment ban on unreasonable search and seizure doesn't apply to U.S. agents searching homes on foreign territory. It's all under the pretext of the "war on drugs"—in reality a war on the masses of Latin America and black and Hispanic minorities in the U.S.

But the U.S.' brazen trampling on Mexico's threadbare sovereignty—bribing Mexican police to kidnap a Mexican national for a crime supposedly committed in Mexico!—touched off protest even from normally docile Latin American bourgeois leaders and U.S. liberals. The *Washington Post* noted that "the Court of Appeals of the Republic of South Africa ruled that the prosecution of a defendant kidnapped by agents of that government in another country must be dismissed," and the *Los Angeles Times* worried, "What will the United States do if a government like Iran's or Libya's decides to 'snatch' a U.S. citizen wanted for some crime against those radical regimes?"

Of course, you know exactly what Washington would do in retaliation: bomb Tripoli again or shoot down another Iranian airliner. Now that the Soviet Union isn't there to check their ambitions, the hubris of the American imperialists, who consider themselves masters of the universe, is boundless. Just three days before Alvarez' acquittal, Manuel Noriega was officially declared a "prisoner of war"—not that this will make any difference in his situation. Such may be the fate of small-time dictators who don't jump high enough to please their U.S. paymasters. But the working class and peasantry of Latin America and the world have fared far worse at the hands of Yankee imperialism. Only world socialist revolution can bring these mass murderers to justice for their crimes against the people of Grenada, Panama and Iraq (to name just a few of their most recent victims).

In more than 140 incursions and invasions over the last 180 years, the U.S. has stolen huge chunks of land from Mexico. While no territorial injustice can be equitably undone the more time passes, a victorious socialist revolution in the U.S. would return the fertile lower Rio Grande (Río Bravo) valley with its heavily Mexican population as a token of good faith, and we'll offer San Antonio and the Alamo as well. ■

LAPD Siege...

(continued from page 12)

explosions, the bourgeoisie financed some cosmetic "anti-poverty" projects and cultivated a thin layer of black middle class to act as a buffer for their racist rule. But with Bush-Clinton's New World Order based on a capitalist system in deep decay, U.S. rulers see a whole generation of black youth as "surplus population" to be warehoused in prison or eliminated by racist killer cops.

U.S. imperialism sees itself ever more literally as cops of the world, and now it has taken its LAPD-style racist terror to the Horn of Africa. Camp Pendleton Marines, who were used to terrorize L.A. blacks and Latinos during the April upheaval, led the invasion force in Somalia. Marine colonel Fred Peck, spokesman for the Joint Military Task Force, said: "In South-Central, we didn't know the players. But here we know all the players, all the warring parties" (*Los Angeles Times*, 7 December 1992). The've even got an LAPD-style alibi ready for any atrocities they commit: the Somali gunmen are supposedly hopped up on khat, so "you never know what they might do."

After the April explosion, the only debate among L.A.'s mayoral hopefuls, from billionaire power broker Richard Riordan to "liberal" councilman Mike Woo, has been over who will hire more cops and crack down harder "next time." Former police chief and racist sociopath Daryl Gates was finally removed because he *didn't do enough* to crack down after the King verdict. His successor, black police chief Willie Williams, was brought in because he could enforce racist law and order and smash the city's poor and minorities more effectively.

Under Williams the LAPD has specifically targeted activists like Greg Hightower, a black former gang member who was instrumental in organizing the gang truce that began during the L.A. upheaval. Hightower was brutally beaten by the cops and charged with assault on a police officer on October 19. The cops attacked him on the street shortly after he testified at a public hearing against city plans to implement the "weed and seed" program, a federal cop-terror initiative for the ghetto that blackmails social agencies into finking to the cops and mandates a special "fast-track" prosecution for minority youth.

Williams' LAPD has also waged war on the Latino drywall construction strikers, who faced beatings, mass arrests and INS deportations. During the recent invasion of South-Central the cops specifically targeted organizers and others who were attempting to maintain calm, as "talkers" and "rabble-rousers."

Defenders of the four black youth who beat Reginald Denny range from black nationalists to fake-socialists like the RCP. They hail the near-fatal beating of the white trucker as a heroic "act of rebellion," or at best apologize for it, claiming it's "understandable." In tailing this vicious lumpen violence they serve the bourgeoisie's racist order by pushing the lie that white people are the enemy. These demagogues can't tell the difference between a Simi Valley cop and a white unionist. And they don't want to, because the real intent of those who hail the thugs who beat Denny is to obscure the fact that to smash black oppression it's going to take integrated *class struggle* against the real enemy, the capitalist class.

Iversen/SF Chronicle

During L.A. revolt last spring, U.S. troops took up position in South-Central. Now they're dispatched to occupy Somalia in the name of "humanitarianism."

With the ongoing trial of Denny's alleged assailants and the upcoming federal trial of the cops who beat Rodney King, L.A.'s ruling class fears another social explosion. One LAPD official said of this most recent provocation, "I think last night was a good test of what we're doing and what we're preparing for early next year" (*Los Angeles Times*, 16 December 1992). The cops are further emboldened by the city's recent victory in a court case brought against it by the ACLU. The use of "emergency power" to round up thousands in mass arrests last spring, many of whom were then handed over to the INS for deportation, was ruled legal.

In the wake of the December 14 siege, Chief Williams has ominously suggested that the LAPD's special force of strikebreakers and labor spies, the Labor Relations Section, be given a broader role in suppressing future demonstrations. The combative L.A. teachers union is poised to strike in February, and the city has already issued not-so-veiled threats, suggesting that a strike could lead to "civil disorder." They fear that militant strikes like the recent drywallers' and janitors' struggles, or a teachers strike, could link the organized social power of L.A.'s integrated labor movement to the minorities and poor of this city, who are looking for a way to fight. And they're right!

When the cops and troops invaded L.A.'s ghettos and barrios in April, the Spartacist League called on the powerful Los Angeles-area unions such as longshore, aerospace and city workers to organize work stoppages and mass mobilizations in defense of the black and Latino communities under siege. As we wrote in our statement, distributed to tens of thousands in L.A. and across the country: "The situation cries out for revolutionary leadership, to organize the social power of labor and unite behind it all the oppressed in a struggle for state power that gets rid of the whole rotten racist capitalist system and opens the road for genuine emancipation for all." ■

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Purple Ribbons and Purple Prose
Canadian Protectionism at Auto Jobs Protest

We print below a report from an auto worker and supporter of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste of Canada about a protest called by the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) at the General Motors plant in St Catharines, Ontario.

ST. CATHARINES, December 12—About 1,500 workers demonstrated at GM Plant No. 4 on Ontario Street. Most, but not all, were from the CAW. Others came from nearby Ironworkers and Steelworkers locals hard hit by layoffs. A small army of Auto Workers bureaucrats was also in attendance because the CAW national conference was held in Toronto that week. The turnout probably would have been higher if a big winter storm hadn't effectively paralyzed southern Ontario two days before. As it was, the day was gray, cold and slushy.

The rally was supposed to kick off a "purple ribbon campaign" to keep open the two threatened GM plants—Rear Axle and Foundry. (All other shades of ribbon are already spoken for this season.) The slogan of the campaign is "Fighting for a Working Future." The demo was a sea of purple—purple ribbons on every breast, purple balloons on every signpost, purple placards in every hand, purple rhetoric on every bureaucrat's lips.

The speeches. Well, the mayor and the chairman of the Niagara Regional Council pledged their deathless solidarity. Peter Kormos, the "bad boy" of the provincial New Democratic Party caucus, was cheered—largely, I suspect, because it is well known that Bob Rae [NDP Ontario premier who has gone after the public employee unions with a vengeance] hates his guts. Not surprisingly, Kormos was the only provincial NDPer who showed his face, although the plant local chairman reported that the premier had personally assured him that GM workers had the premier's "full support." Scattered applause.

Another local union official gave the poisonous trade-war speech calling for strict quotas on Japanese imports. He concluded with the fighting slogan: "Let's violate the Free Trade Agreement! Let's violate GATT!"

The chauvinist cant went down rather too well. Federal NDP member of parliament Dan Heap, the whilom darling of the Central America solidarity milieu, got applause every time he uttered the phrase "Canadian jobs," which he did more times than one would have thought grammatically possible. This Canadian nationalist crap may or may not run deep in the workforce, but its breadth underscores the place of the CAW bureaucracy as the heart and soul of Canadian social democracy's trade-union "base."

The "class struggle" speech of the afternoon was given by none other than Victor Reuther (!), who hearkened back to the sitdown strikes of 1936-37. "I thought we'd taught GM a lesson then," Reuther said, to wild applause. "It looks like your generation will have to teach them again." Of course the New Directions outfit he braintrusts on the other side of the border wouldn't be caught within a hundred miles of a sitdown. All of this was by way of introducing "one of the greatest labor leaders that this hemisphere has produced...your very good friend and my very good friend, fighting Bob White!" Stormy applause.

Canadian Labor Congress chief White gave the liberal social-democratic trade-war speech: Why should we let Mexican workers work for $5.00 an hour? (Read: Why should we let Mexican workers work?) And vote out the Tories next chance you get. White knew when to jump ship, all right. His successor, the terminally vulgar Buzz Hargrove, is already inking the giveback contracts that White swore the CAW would never sign.

As a final note, comrades will be interested to learn that the afternoon's entertainment was provided by a hand called the "CAW Rank and File," which has a saxophone, a trombone, a trumpet, and a lead singer named George Hewison, head of the Communist Party before it split. George has written a soulful ballad that he modestly presented as a new national anthem, and which he got everyone to help him sing ("Oh Canada, oh promised land/That's the dream of the common man...").

This was one of the biggest trade-union demos in a while (leaving aside the last PSAC government employees strike). There are bound to be more as the bosses continue to savage the Ontario industrial working class.

Peter Stevens

GM...

(continued from page 12)

old, with more than 20 years in the plants! They're called "GM gypsies," bouncing from one closed plant to the next. Now Sacrifice House has come up with an "early retirement" program for perhaps 7,000 workers—by stealing $450 million from the retraining program. Meanwhile, over 20,000 laid-off GM workers are losing income payments and being dumped into the bankrupt SUB fund. GM has already gutted medical benefits of white-collar workers, and is sure to follow with an assault on health care for retirees and union workers.

The company cops at the top of the UAW enforced the givebacks for the auto bosses, starting with Chrysler in 1979. Their jingoism against Japanese and Mexican workers is designed to steer U.S. workers into the arms of the class enemy. The bureaucrats deserve the title the Wobblies gave to the old AFL—the American Separation of Labor. At Lordstown this fall, the UAW demanded and got agreement from GM that layoffs would be first carried out against auto workers at a sister assembly plant in Ramos Arizpe, Mexico. Popular filmmaker Michael Moore (whose film *Roger and Me* satirized former GM chief Roger Smith) echoed this reactionary protectionism, demanding that GM "build no more factories in Mexico" (*Newsweek*, 9 November 1992).

In Mexico, the class brothers and sisters of Detroit auto workers have waged sharp battles against the Ford and Volkswagen bosses. As the Mexican capitalist class grinds down the workers in order to pull in foreign capital under the North American Free Trade Agreement, what's urgently needed is class solidarity in action between Canadian, Mexican and U.S. auto workers. But that requires a fight to oust the present pro-capitalist labor traitors, who have ripped the UAW to shreds and pitted the workers against each other.

Debacle at Caterpillar—Made in Solidarity House

Meanwhile, at Caterpillar, workers who saw their bitter 163-day strike sold out from under them by the UAW misleaders last April now face a threat to their union's very existence. Returning to work under terms unilaterally imposed by the company, strikers have been forced to work alongside scabs who slithered across their picket lines.

After the UAW tops folded, CAT cut off the union's dues checkoff, hoping that misguided workers angered by the strike's miserable outcome would help the company undermine the UAW. Work was sent to non-union plants or to the Joliet factory, where the Machinists union has agreed to cut new-hires' pay *in half!* Now Caterpillar has imposed the rest of their "contract," including a ruinous slash in medical benefits for retirees and a "flex-time" work scheme that will tear up many workers' lives.

Moreover, as part of its union-busting offensive, CAT cut off pay for union committeemen, sending full-time stewards back to the workbench. Company-paid committeemen are hostage to the bosses, just as the dues checkoff gives management a stranglehold over union finances. Class-struggle unionism is counterposed to such institutionalized class collaboration. We fight for elected stewards paid by the union, and dues collection by the union to make officers financially and politically accountable to the ranks, and to prepare the union for combat.

GM Pleads Poverty

After the boardroom coup that installed John Smith, one Wall Street consultant said of GM, "I think we're staring at another Chrysler bailout." But the largest industrial corporation in the world isn't going to be allowed to go belly up. The bourgeoisie, and their loyal labor lieutenants, will undoubtedly plead for yet more givebacks and government tax breaks...for the so-called Big Three, who raked in a cool *$61 billion* in profits from 1983-1989 alone.

Sutton/Picture Group

Caterpillar strikers last April were knifed in the back by UAW tops.

It took hard class struggle to build the UAW and the Farm Equipment Workers, the UAW's predecessor at CAT, in the 1930s and '40s. The Spartacist League has uniquely fought for class-struggle mobilizations of the proletariat, including nationwide strike action against mass layoffs, combined with sitdowns to challenge the bosses' property rights (and, like in Flint in '37, keep hold of the machinery before they move it out).

What's needed is to galvanize a political fight to forge a revolutionary workers party that can lead the battle for a workers government to rebuild the industry of this country as part of a socialist planned economy. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

UAW Tops Beg Clinton

GM Declares War on the Workers

"Will work for food," read the sign of a worker outside the Fisher Guide plant in Ewing, New Jersey on December 3. One of 2,050 workers being thrown out of work at the GM parts plant, he is joining 85,000 workers at 23 parts and assembly plants across North America that are scheduled to close in the next two years. Fully *one-quarter* of the GM workforce is being thrown on the scrap heap, as the auto giant declares war on its workers. This wave of layoffs goes far beyond General Motors. Ford Motor Company had announced huge cuts at its plants in Britain. The auto companies were followed by IBM, which announced the slashing of 25,000 jobs, on top of the 100,000 already cut since 1986. The job massacre is capitalism's Christmas gift to tens of thousands of workers and their families around the world.

Workers at plants from Sioux City, Iowa to St. Catharines, Ontario have been waiting, as the bosses on the 14th floor of the General Motors building in Detroit have been sharpening their knives. Pressured by Wall Street to "get tough with the union," the GM board fired chairman Robert Stempel in late October, replacing him with former GM/Europe head John Smith. Smith's mandate: slash 25 percent of GM's capacity. Wall Street, looking with alarm at GM's *$86.2 billion* debt, reportedly threatened to downgrade their paper to junk bond levels. (When he was approached about a possible takeover of GM, Chrysler boss Lee Iacocca quipped, "it might be easier to buy Greece.") *Newsweek* (2 November 1992) reported that "in recent weeks a few analysts have even breathed the dreaded words 'Chapter 11'" (bankruptcy) as they complain that GM is "on the cusp of undoing this country's industrial base."

GM workers in Flint, Michigan. Company has announced closure of 23 plants, eliminating jobs of 85,000 auto workers.

It is the workers who are being "undone," and UAW president Owen Bieber and the rest of the Solidarity House gang are right in there with the auto bosses doing it to them. After the GM announcement, Bieber begged the bosses to wait for a Democrat to move into the White House: "We look forward to a better economic and political climate when President-elect Clinton takes office." But "Right to Work" Willie is going to stick it to labor, and the labor bureaucrats got a whiff of what Clinton's yuppie technocrats have in store for the working class at last week's "summit" in Little Rock. The AFL-CIO piecards who flocked to Arkansas to get some crumbs from *their* "friend of labor" were stunned to hear the Clinton gang's hit list of "productivity" and "efficiency" demands.

Clinton never promised anything to workers and minorities. He ostentatiously flew back to Arkansas to execute a severely brain-damaged black man during the campaign, and told California auto workers last June, "You're stuck with me. There's nothing you can do about it."

Clinton is parroted by UAW vice president Steven Yokich, who lectures auto workers on the "shrinkage" of GM jobs: "You've got to be a realist about it." The Auto Workers tops have repeatedly sold their deadly mix of Democrats, givebacks and racist protectionism, with the result that in just a dozen years *40 percent* of the union has been wiped out: over half a million jobs gone, 218,000 at GM alone. Ford brags it is producing the same number of cars as ten years ago—with *half* the workforce.

The black working class of Detroit has been decimated. Not a single auto plant is left in Southern California. The average GM worker today is 46 years

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LAPD Siege in South-Central

Seib/L.A. Times

December 14—LAPD brutalizing demonstrators at Florence and Normandie, flashpoint of upheaval last spring.

LOS ANGELES—On the afternoon of December 14, the L.A. police carried out a massive invasion of the black neighborhood around the intersection of Florence and Normandie, the flashpoint of last April's upheaval. "It was like Beirut over here," said area resident Annette Brooks of the siege by over 350 cops, who terrorized the neighborhood for some 18 hours. A citywide tactical alert, which kept all police agencies in readiness, was in effect for two days.

The pretext for this LAPD nightriding was a rally in defense of four black youth, on trial for the beating of white trucker Reginald Denny as L.A. burst into flames last April 30, following the racist acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King. The assault on Denny was a vicious crime, and his attackers are criminals who should be behind bars. But the cops' message last week was that any protest by L.A. minorities would be smashed with an iron fist. This was a trial run for their newest weapons and latest techniques.

The cops began their attack on the demonstration by seizing an activist for distributing literature in defense of the "L.A. Four." When protesters objected, the cops went on a rampage, firing their recently acquired (and potentially lethal) plastic bullets into the crowd. SWAT teams armed with assault rifles sealed off the neighborhood, while riot cops swept up and down the side streets screaming abuse as they beat residents, throwing some into their homes and randomly arresting others. The owner of a chili-dog stand was dragged away along with customers, thrown to the ground and then into a waiting squad car.

At least 55 people were arrested, many while standing on their porches or in their front yards. The police siege continued throughout the night, as helicopters lit the way for unmarked Chevy Suburbans that cruised the streets with cops aiming automatic weapons through their sunroofs. The local capitalist media fell into lockstep, all but blacking out reports of the cop riot, ostensibly so as not to "spark further unrest." Meanwhile, city politicians including black Democrats and liberals hailed the LAPD for "getting it right this time."

In the wake of the 1960s ghetto

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 567

15 January 1993

UN Cover for Imperialist Intervention in Somalia

U.S. Out of Africa!

AP

Guardian (London)

The Ugly Americans: Marine kicks Somali youth, allegedly for throwing rock at U.S. invaders. Imperialist commander in chief Bush glories in colonialist takeover of starving African country.

Washington Revives Racist "White Man's Burden"

It was the ultimate photo-op: Commander in Chief Bush, posing for cameras with smiling children on New Year's Day, at an orphanage in Baidoa, the epicenter of the Somali famine. He told American troops (and the TV cameras), "we are very, very proud of this humanitarian effort." It's packaged as a Christmastime gesture of altruism and philanthropy. But U.S. rulers, Republican and Democrat alike, are using starving black babies in Somalia as a backdrop to assert American hegemony in a "New World Order." As George Herbert Walker Bush and William Jefferson Clinton promote a "civilizing mission" for Yankee imperialism under the flag of the United Nations, they want to show imperialist rivals that the U.S. can "project power" globally and sling lead—so long as they're not going up against someone who might give them a serious fight.

American troops are not going into Somalia to put up telephone wires or dig wells. Even the excuse of "famine relief" is a fraud. For the past three weeks, food convoys under U.S. military guard have been arriving in Baidoa. But, tragically, the main reason the death rate has fallen off there (nationally an estimated 200 people per day continue to die of starvation) is that so many of the weaker victims, especially the young and the aged, have already perished. The *New York Times* (10 January) noted: "The deployment was already too late. The haunting, skeletal children whose televised pictures had shocked the world during the summer had already died by the tens of thousands."

Who could expect "humanitarianism" from the bloodyminded would-be masters of the world who reveled in the wanton slaughter of more than 100,000 Iraqi soldiers and civilians in the one-sided Persian Gulf "war"? When, at the UN-brokered talks between Somali clan chiefs being held in Ethiopia, strongman Mohamed Farah Aidid stalled on accepting a truce, U.S. Marines simply blew away his Mogadishu compound in a "firestorm" launched from helicopters, tanks, mortars and hundreds of Marines on the ground. "It's a whole new ballgame now," chortled the U.S. military spokesman. But opposition is growing among Somalis who see the occupying forces as a new colonial power. Relief workers and journalists have been pelted with rocks and met with cries of "Go home! Go home!"

Somalia is now occupied by an imperialist legion of more than 21,000 U.S. troops, plus 10,000 troops from 17 other countries, and detachments continue to pour in. U.S. officials are now saying that they may be "forced" to stay "for the long haul" in order to get the country back in order (*New York Times*, 10 January). In an article titled "U.S. Intervention Also Serves Geopolitical Interests," the *Navy Times* (14 December 1992) reports the opinion of Defense Department officials that "although the Bush administration describes it as purely humanitarian, intervention in Somalia serves U.S. strategic and political interests in Africa and the Middle East. . . Whoever controls Somalia could control the southern entrance to the Red Sea and thus the Suez Canal—a prime location from which to influence the political stability of the Middle East."

But beyond the Pentagon planners' calculations, Bush's utterances reek of racist imperialist arrogance. It recalls Rudyard Kipling's poem, "The White Man's Burden," written in 1899 after the U.S. victory in the Spanish-American War. Bewailing the plight of the colonialists having to make reluctant sacrifices for the benefit of their subjects, the poem counsels the U.S. to take up the "burdens" which the British had supposedly borne in India to bring civilization to the "sullen peoples, half devil and half child." "Fill full the mouth of Famine, and bid the sickness cease," wrote this poet laureate of the British Empire, and wage "the savage wars of peace." Today, imperialist thinktanker Angelo Codevilla of the Hoover Institution writes

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India: Hindu Fascists Whip Up Religious Slaughter

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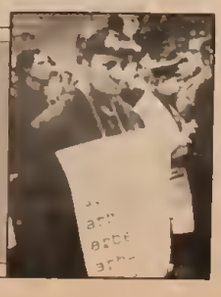
Capitalist Reunification Leads to Economic Crisis

Germany Disorganizes Europe

SEE PAGE SIX



Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Hundreds Turn Out for Class-War Prisoners

The Partisan Defense Committee's seventh annual holiday appeal for class-war prisoners was a tremendous success. Hundreds turned out for our benefit fund-raisers in San Francisco, New York, Atlanta, Chicago, Los Angeles and Toronto and about $10,000 has been raised for our program of monthly stipends and holiday gifts for the prisoners and their families. As Spartacist League spokesman Ed Clarkson announced to those who turned out to demonstrate their solidarity, despite a Chicago snowstorm: "It is no small work that brings us together in this room. The defense of our heroes—of Mumia Abu-Jamal, of Geronimo Pratt, of Robert Buck, irrespective of their particular beliefs—is a defense of what is decent and truly heroic in this decaying society."

Ashaki Pratt, wife of former L.A. Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), America's foremost class-war prisoner, greeted the more than 100 people who turned out in the Bay Area. For 22 years Geronimo has been locked behind bars for a crime the government knows he did not commit. Despite overwhelming evidence of his innocence, including proof that Geronimo was in Oakland, 400 miles away from the Santa Monica killing for which he was framed, the courts have repeatedly denied his appeals.

On January 29 Geronimo comes before the Parole Board once again. Ten times before they have denied him parole solely because of Geronimo's refusal to renounce his struggle for black liberation. In a September 15 letter to the Parole Board the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union reaffirmed its support for Geronimo, "the most visible remaining victim of the Justice Department's infamous COINTELPRO operation of the 1960s and 1970s." Readers are urged to send letters demanding parole for Elmer Geronimo Pratt to the PDC, P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107, to be forwarded to the Parole Board.

At the Wetlands club in New York, Leonard Weinglass, lead attorney for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, provided the crowd with a vivid portrayal of the frame-up of the radical journalist known as "the voice of the voiceless." In late November, officials at Pennsylvania's Huntingdon prison finally removed Jamal from the disciplinary confinement to which they had condemned him for the past five years on the pretext that Jamal refused to cut his dreadlock hair. But on December 4, his jailers threatened Jamal with further discipline. Together with over 20 other death row inmates, Jamal faces the outrageous charge of possessing a petition protesting conditions on Huntingdon's death row.

In a December 7 news release, Jamal described conditions at "the most repressive Death Row in America [which] is denying its captives anything designed to enhance one's inner and familial life. They live under 22-hour lock down, little, if any, educational opportunities, the most restrictive phone access policy (one per month!) in the state, no opportunities for work, no typewriters, and non-contact visits designed to discourage families from visiting. Men and women facing death in Pennsylvania are existing under conditions which shrivel the soul. By this non-violent act of petition, they demonstrate they are still human."

The power of Jamal's voice, which the state is intent on silencing forever, was demonstrated in his taped greetings from death row. We print below a transcription of Mumia Abu-Jamal's message to the PDC benefits.

WV Photo

PDC fund-raising benefit in San Francisco on December 13 hears taped message from Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Mumia Abu-Jamal: "Holidays in Hell"

For millions of Christians, Afro-Americans and Jews, 'tis the season to be jolly with traditional and ritual observances, celebrating Christmas, Kwanza and Chanukah respectively.

But for political prisoners encaged in U.S. dungeons 'tis not a season for joy but for vigilance against growing repression from the state. It is a time of aching loneliness, observances of loss, a time hanging heavier than others due to the state's cruel policies which further distance family from family and loved ones from loved ones.

It's a time made darker and more grim by the weight of memory, when one compares what once was to what is, with the present found woefully lacking.

While such feelings are undoubtedly common among all prisoners, they are acute among political prisoners, who often do harder time under harsher regimes.

Consider MOVE political prisoner Consuewella Africa, who could be free among her family today but for one thing—her family is MOVE. And MOVE people, based solely on the fact that they are MOVE members, have consistently been denied parole. Consuewella has been encaged since August 8, 1978, when Carter was president and the late Frank Rizzo was Philadelphia's mayor. For 14 years she's been denied her freedom, and Christmas 1992 finds her still encaged only because she refuses to denounce John Africa and MOVE.

Fourteen years ago she, like two other women arrested in the August 8 MOVE

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India and Permanent Revolution

TROTSKY

LENIN

Recurrent communalist slaughters on the Indian subcontinent since independence in 1947 point to the impossibility of achieving national and social equality in the semi-colonial countries under capitalism. Writing in 1930 when India was still a colony of British imperialism, Leon Trotsky counterposed to the Stalinist/Menshevist dogma of "two-stage revolution" the perspective of permanent revolution. Today as then it will require the proletarian seizure of power, led by a revolutionary vanguard party and drawing behind it the broad masses of peasants, women and national minorities, to put an end to the horrors of capitalist India.

India is the classic colonial country as Britain is the classic metropolis. All the viciousness of the ruling classes and every form of oppression that capitalism has used against the backward people of the East is most completely and frightfully summed up in the history of the gigantic colony on which the British imperialists have settled themselves like leeches for the past century and a half. The British bourgeoisie has diligently cultivated every remnant of barbarism and every institution of the Middle Ages that could be of service in the oppression of man by man. It forced its feudal agents to adapt themselves to colonial capitalist exploitation and made them its link, its organ, its convoy to the masses....

Allowing India carefully measured doses of technology and culture, exactly enough to facilitate the exploitation of the country's wealth, the Shylock of the Thames could not, however, prevent the ideas of economic and national independence and freedom from spreading more and more widely among the masses.

As in the older bourgeois countries, the numerous nationalities that exist in India can only be fused into a single *nation* by a revolution that will more and more bind them together as a unit. But in contradistinction to the older countries, this revolution in India is a colonial revolution directed against foreign oppressors. Moreover, it is the revolution of a historically backward nation where feudal serfdom, caste divisions, and even slavery exist alongside the class antagonisms of the bourgeoisie and proletariat, which have become greatly exacerbated in the recent period....

But if the Indian revolution will develop on a basis of a bloc of the workers, peasants, and petty bourgeoisie, if this bloc will be directed not only against imperialism and feudalism but also against the national bourgeoisie which is bound up with them in all basic questions; if at the head of this bloc will stand the proletariat; if this bloc comes to victory only by sweeping away its enemies through an armed uprising and in this way raises the proletariat to the role of the real leader of the whole nation—then the question arises: in whose hands will the power be after the victory if not in the hands of the proletariat?

—Leon Trotsky, "The Revolution in India, Its Tasks and Dangers" (May 1930)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 567 **15 January 1993**

Spartacist Forum

Stalinism–Gravedigger of the Revolution

How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled

For Socialist Revolution to Sweep Away Yeltsin Counterrevolution!

Speakers:

Rachel Wolkenstein, SL Central Committee, recently returned from Moscow

Len Meyers, *WV* Editorial Board

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Somalia...

(continued from page 1)

unabashedly in the *Wall Street Journal* (7 January):

> "Our only realistic choice in Somalia and in all too many similar places is either to leave them to their misery or to re-establish something very much like colonialism . . . Bearing what used to be called the White Man's Burden entailed a net expenditure of resources. Colonialism is an act of generosity and idealism."

Fidel Castro rightly pointed to the cynicism of the imperialists who pretend to be combating famine in Africa while they try to strangle Cuba by tightening their vicious blockade. A recent article in the *New York Times* (11 January) marveled that "even as it was running out of everything from antibiotics to soap and shoes," the Cuban government "had managed to maintain a substantial...core of support." The blockade of Vietnam, imposed after the heroic victory of the Vietnamese people over imperialism, meanwhile, has had devastating consequences. Another article in the *Times* (26 December 1992) reported severe malnutrition in parts of northern and central Vietnam, and entire families begging in the streets of Ho Chi Minh City. For the vengeful imperialists, the "white man's burden" is the white man's pleasure!

UN Cover for Imperialist Intervention

The massive military intervention in Somalia is not exactly the product of measured calculation by the imperialists of their strategic interests (its importance as a "hot spot" has, after all, diminished with the end of the Cold War). In his last six weeks in office, Bush is wildly throwing U.S. military weight around as if he was sorry he wouldn't get another "opportunity" like his "Desert Slaughter." In the last six weeks, he has threatened to shoot down Serbian planes over Bosnia, to "employ military force" if Serbia caused "conflict" in the southern province of Kosovo, and to renew air strikes against Iraq if Saddam Hussein did not withdraw anti-aircraft missiles from the "no-fly" zone decreed by Washington in southern Iraq. Like a cowboy riding off into the sunset, Bush intends to go out with his guns blazing.

Meanwhile, Clinton has supported all these bellicose moves. The "policy wonks" of the incoming Democratic administration want to use Somalia as a launching pad for a "multilateral force" to play world cop under the aegis of a pliant UN. With the breakup of the Soviet Union, the erstwhile Cold Warriors have been rethinking U.S. foreign policy in the pages of authoritative journals like *Foreign Affairs*. A major theme has been an emphasis on the need for the U.S. to rely on "collective military action," under the cover of international agencies like the UN. Clinton's choice for CIA director, James Woolsey, a Vietnam "dove" turned anti-Soviet warmonger, has presented a plan for a permanent UN "standing ready force" along with a rapid deployment force of up to 30,000 troops from among Security Council members, including the U.S.

For "mainstream" Democrats, the code words for the new colonialism are "Saving Failed States," the title of a recent article in *Foreign Policy* (Winter 1992-93), which asserts that the colonial independence movements following World War II resulted in a series of "failed states" citing Somalia, Sudan, Liberia and Cambodia—that should be simply taken over as UN trusteeships. Taking its cue, the *New York Times* (28 December 1992) pontificated that "a glance around the world reveals a dozen or more 'failed states,' countries verging on collapse and ethnic strife, each a possible candidate for U.N. intervention." For these haughty haute bourgeois, a UN "standby force" would be "like the cop on the beat," whose very presence could "deter genocide"!

Somalia is being recolonized in what amounts to a resurrection of the UN trusteeship system. (Southern Somalia was a UN trusteeship from World War II until independence and unification with the British-colonized north in 1960.) However, as *Time* (14 December 1992) delicately points out, the word "trusteeship" has a history which "smacks of the white man's burden." Members of Bush's circle are rather calling for turning Somalia into a "protectorate." And UN officials are talking about putting the country in "receivership." Whatever you call the resulting form of direct imperialist rule, UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali declared last June that "the time of absolute and exclusive sovereignty...has passed."

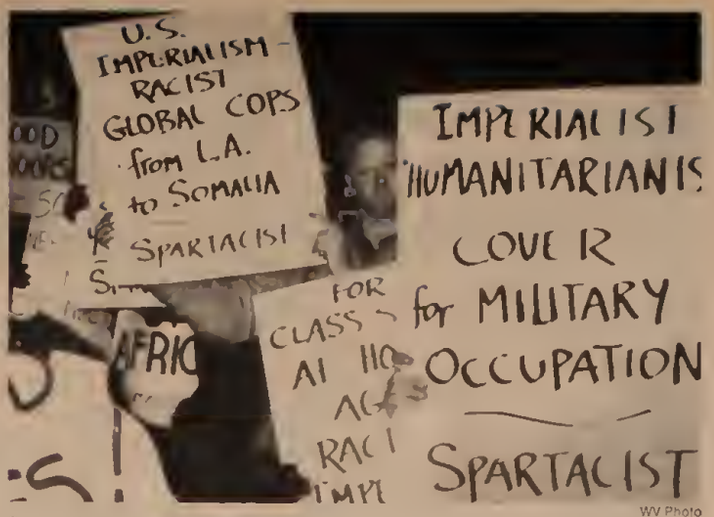
UPI

Victim of U.S. imperialism acting under UN cover: radical African nationalist leader Patrice Lumumba was executed in 1961 by Washington's puppets in the former Belgian Congo.

Following the 1991 Gulf War, in 1992 the imperialists engaged in four major interventions (including Somalia) under cover of the UN. Some 20,000 UN troops were sent to the former Yugoslavia. Another 20,000 were sent to Cambodia, supposedly awaiting an eventual coalition government (to include Pol Pot's forces!). Last month, the UN began sending about 7,500 troops to Mozambique to monitor a cease-fire agreement by disarming *both* the government and the South Africa-supported Renamo terrorists. In Angola, the UN supervised elections which the MPLA won and South Africa's puppet Savimbi then ignored.

The imperialist intervention in the Congo (today Zaire) in the early 1960s, in the guise of a UN "peacekeeping" force, underlines the bloody consequences of illusions in the "democratic" nature of the UN. When the Congo gained independence from Belgium in 1960 and nationalist Patrice Lumumba became prime minister, Belgium sponsored a secessionist rebellion under Moise Tshombe in the mineral-rich Katanga province. The papers were full of atrocity stories about raped nuns in Stanleyville. United Nations troops, intervening in response to an appeal by Lumumba, sided with Tshombe and his Belgian supporters and disarmed Lumumba's forces. Lumumba was ousted in a U.S.-sponsored coup and turned over to Tshombe, who had him assassinated.

UN troops only withdrew after installing the butcher Mobutu in power in 1964. Mobutu recruited an army of mercenaries, armed and supported by the U.S., to put down the nationalist uprising which had been sparked by Lumumba's fall. Backed up by U.S. air support and Belgian troops, the mercenaries then marched on Stanleyville (today Kisangani), indiscriminately massacring the population by the *tens of thousands*. They crushed the Congolese nationalists in an orgy of bloodletting and confirmed in power Mobutu, who has since then carried out an uninterrupted campaign of reactionary terror against his people while stealing the country blind.



WV Photo

Spartacists at NYC protest against invasion of Somalia last December.

Fake-Lefts Join UN Fig Leaf Brigade

The U.S. left, after years of calling for the U.S. or the UN to intervene in South Africa to impose "democracy," is not surprisingly hard-put to oppose the imperialists' "humanitarian" occupation of Somalia. The Communist Party *hails* the UN-sponsored invasion as "long overdue" and admits that "to get the aid through, military force may be necessary" (*People's Weekly World*, 5 December 1992). Progressive Labor and the International Socialist Organization criticize the intervention, but refrain from calling for the imperialist troops to get out. Workers World and the Socialist Workers Party call for "food, not troops in Somalia"—i.e., for *truly* "humanitarian" action by the imperialists. *Workers World* (31 December 1992) spells it out most clearly: "The U.S. Air Force is by far the largest in the world. It could have easily and inexpensively provided famine relief."

Meanwhile, the *Bulletin* (18 December 1992) of the dubious Workers League testifies to the difficulties provoked among its members:

> "In the past week the Bulletin has been asked by sympathetic readers and even Workers League supporters whether its opposition to the US intervention in Somalia is justified in the face of the starvation prevailing in that country.
> "Given the situation which exists there right now, they ask, is it not permissible to be somewhat less intransigent in opposing US troops?"

Since the WL campaigned to give the Persian Gulf War a "democratic" façade through a "referendum" on the war, it's no wonder some Workers Leaguers aren't inclined to oppose U.S. intervention when it gives itself a "humanitarian" cover. In contrast, as liberals and radicals lined up in what we termed "The UN Fig Leaf Brigade" behind George Bush over Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, we noted that "it was under the UN flag that Washington carried out its brutal war against the Korean people 40 years ago. In the Persian Gulf today, the UN olive branch is even less of a fig leaf" ("Desperately Seeking Imperialist Doves," WV No. 510, 21 September 1990).

A host of erstwhile Vietnam "doves" are coming on board for the Bush/Clinton recolonization of Somalia, including Rev. William Sloane Coffin, the War Resisters League and of course Jesse Jackson. Just as Jimmy Carter "morally rearmed" U.S. imperialism with his anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign, now "humanitarian" concerns are trumpeted to build support for the imperialist army that slaughtered *millions* of Vietnamese. As Woodrow Wilson managed to enlist liberals and reformist socialists in support of the carnage of World War I in the name of "making the world safe for democracy," and Franklin Roosevelt did in World War II under the flag of the "four freedoms," today we have a new levy of recruits to imperialism's "savage wars of peace." *U.S./UN imperialists out of Somalia!* ■

Black History Month
Spartacist Forum

UN Cover for Imperialist Intervention in Somalia

U.S. Out of Africa!

Washington Revives Racist "White Man's Burden"

Chair: Brian Manning, Spartacist League
Guest Speaker: Bernard Branche, member A.T.U. Local 308, Chicago

Saturday, January 30, 2 p.m.
Undergraduate Library Lecture Room, Howard University

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INDIA

Baldev/Sygma

Hindu Fascists Whip Up Religious Slaughter

The following article is adapted from Workers Hammer *No. 133 (January-February 1993), published by the Spartacist League/Britain.*

On Sunday, 6 December, 200,000 Hindu fanatics had gathered in Ayodhya, the temple town in the state of Uttar Pradesh, at a disputed site where a disused Muslim mosque (the Babri Masjid) stood upon the alleged birthplace of the Hindu god Lord Ram. Organised by the *Hindutva* (Hinduness) fundamentalist combine led by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), the fascist Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and their communal and clerical fascistic allies, they were there to celebrate *kar seva*, the ceremonial beginning of temple construction.

Skinheads, some of them with "Lord Ram" etched out in the stubble of their shaven heads, began throwing stones at the police guarding the mosque. Then a well-organised and prepared grouping brushed past the token police lines and stormed the mosque. The police and paramilitaries, who had already been instructed by the BJP state government not to use force against the *kar sevaks*, melted away, many of them openly and enthusiastically displaying their sympathy with the communalist mob. Thousands of other frenzied devotees soon joined the first group and proceeded to demolish the mosque with picks, tridents (the three-pronged weapons brandished by Hindu fascists) and their bare hands, egged on by the marshals beating their drums and the speeches from the platform. Later the mob attacked Muslims and their properties in the area.

When the *kar sevaks* assembled to storm the site, 13,000 paramilitaries controlled by the central government sat by in nearby camps. Prime Minister Narasimha Rao wasn't going to take the rap for stopping the Hindu extremists, because he wants to harness the same social base and Hindu chauvinism as the BJP. The *kar sevaks*' actions, clearly taken with the complicity not only of the local government but the central government itself, signalled successful defiance of India's nominally secular constitution and sent a frightening signal of communalist terror to India's 110-million-strong Muslim minority.

Over the next ten days, the official death toll in communalist violence climbed to over 1,200, spreading beyond the northern Hindi-speaking belt to many parts of India, including areas that had seen no significant communal violence since the India-Pakistan Partition in 1947. The actual death total is undoubtedly two or three times the official figure. In scenes reminiscent of the Partition, mobs pulled people off trains, beating them to death. Indeed, the growth of anti-Muslim communalism, organised and led by the BJP/RSS, raises the spectre of the destruction of India and a slaughter to equal and even surpass the horrors of Partition, when more than 600,000 died.

Indian prime minister Narasimha Rao, throughout his negotiations over Ayodhya in the last year, sought to conciliate the fanatics. His strategy was to wrest the mantle of being pro-temple and pro-Hindu from the BJP. "I can fight the BJP, but I cannot, and no one else for that matter, can fight Lord Ram" (*India Today*, 15 December 1992). Assailed with charges of ineptness and weakness by domestic critics, including within his own Congress (I) party, and imperialist concern about stability, Rao announced a series of measures to uphold "law and order," including curfews in major cities like Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta. The BJP government in Uttar Pradesh was dismissed and central rule imposed, and later the central Congress (I) government dismissed the three other BJP state governments in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh.

Rao promised to rebuild the mosque (along with a temple), but when central paramilitary troops took over the site a few days later, they were very careful not to interfere with the new temporary Hindu temple. Hindus have been allowed to worship at the site, while Muslims have been prevented. Moreover, though leaders and thousands of activists of the BJP and associated organisations have been arrested, the measures taken reveal the government's own deep Hindu-chauvinist, anti-Muslim prejudice. The demonstrative parades of troops were mostly in Muslim neighbourhoods. And the overwhelming majority of the dead are Muslims killed in indiscriminate police shootings against Muslim protests.

Indian "secular democrats" and the imperialist bourgeois press have noted the deadly threat posed to India's "secular" character. An editorial in *India Today* (31 December 1992) noted "India has almost every ill in the world—hunger, poverty, disease, casteism, communalism. But it has always prided itself, quite justifiably, as the world's largest democracy and a secular one at that. Today that has been put in doubt

Top: Hindu fanatics storm Muslim mosque in Ayodhya in December. Below: Cops in Bombay fire tear gas as communalist mobs rampage through India's largest city.

AP

And that is the real shame." But India is a capitalist prison house for its myriad oppressed, from the horribly exploited workers of its great industrial cities to all the victims of the caste system, to the oppressed nations and minorities, to those slaves of slaves, the women of India.

There is no possibility of secular democracy under this capitalist regime which necessarily preserves the most horrific backwardness. For to get rid of the caste system, to get rid of the fundamentalist strongmen and communally organised religious fanaticism, will require a social revolution that brings the whole edifice of Indian capitalism tumbling down, even if it starts out as a purely democratic struggle. "Progressive" nationalists like Turkey's Kemal Ataturk outlawed the veil, for example, but this only suppressed symbols of backwardness without eradicating the underlying conditions, so in time these practices have come back.

What is required is the Trotskyist programme of permanent revolution, the seizure of power by the working class rallying behind it the peasant masses, the oppressed castes and national minorities, the subjugated and enslaved women. Only the working class leading the agrarian masses and all the downtrodden in workers revolution can save India from further communalist bloodbaths.

Ayodhya: Flash Point for Communal/Fascist Bloodbaths

The reverberations of the destruction of the Babri Masjid are not confined to India itself. India has the second-largest Muslim population in the world (after Indonesia), and more than the entire Arab world put together. Its neighbours Bangladesh, Afghanistan and Pakistan are Muslim, and India has already fought two wars with the latter since independence. Like the struggle for national self-determination of Muslim Kashmir, a communal bloodbath in India could be the trigger for renewed war between India and Pakistan, both of which already have nuclear capacity.

In Pakistan (where there are still one and a half million Hindus), mobs chanting "Crush India!" and "Death to Hinduism!" attacked Hindu temples, Air India offices and the Indian embassy. Twelve Hindus, including six children, were burnt to death in a village near Quetta, and in Baluchistan six Hindu women were burnt alive. In Bangladesh and Afghanistan there were similar mob attacks on Hindu temples and properties. And in the Eastern Province of Sri Lanka, where Muslims have become an increasingly distinct community, presently allied with the chauvinist Sinhala Buddhist government against the national struggle of the predominantly Hindu Tamil minority, Muslim communal organisations called demonstrations.

Benoit Lange

India's reformist Communist parties have betrayed impoverished masses in the service of bourgeois nationalism.

Der Spiegel

Victims of Hindu/Muslim violence in Calcutta in 1946. British imperialism's partition scheme fueled massive communalist bloodletting.

Further afield, there was a wave of arson attacks on Hindu temples, cultural centres and businesses across England in major cities like Bradford, Coventry and London where there are significant South Asian communities. In some cases, the attacks may have been the work of white racists and fascists seeking to find a cover for their own genocidal programme and to sow division among the communities from the subcontinent, who have in the past tried to prevent the intercommunal violence from spreading to Britain.

The Ayodhya dispute has long been a communal flash point. The Hindu chauvinists allege that the mosque, built in 1528 by a lieutenant of the Moghul emperor Babur, was erected after a temple was destroyed at this exact place (among other places with identical claims) where Lord Ram is supposed to have been born 5,000 years ago. Since the mid-'80s the demand that a temple replace the mosque has been the cutting edge of the BJP's mobilisations, which have seen it grow from two seats in the Delhi (national) parliament in 1984 to 119 in 1991, becoming the largest single opposition party. Born out of the paramilitary fascist RSS, an organisation which goes back to the days of independence and one of whose cadre assassinated Mahatma Gandhi, the BJP is riddled with RSS members and supporters from other fascistic organisations like the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP—World Council of Hindus) and the youth-based Bajrang Dal.

The BJP wants a Hindu state, the "Ram Rajya" (Kingdom of Ram), and alleges that Indian governments have betrayed Hindus by favouring the Muslims (referred to as "ungrateful guests") and other minorities. One journalist noted that "A freeze-frame of India today would show a nation wracked by the same changes that gave birth to fascism in the Europe of the 1930s" (*Independent*, 9 December 1992). The government's economic "liberalisation" policies in the '80s, and the more recent IMF/World Bank-dictated "reforms," have created a large urban capitalistic-minded middle class, grasping to make ends meet, resentful of the entrenched and filthy-rich Congress tops and their big business cronies, and fearful of the impoverished toiling masses below them.

The BJP is an upper-caste Hindu-led party, oriented to maintaining the traditional caste hierarchy in the context of capitalist urbanisation which undermines the old rural-centred system. It appeals to a layer of urban educated petty bourgeois who can find no jobs, and traders and petty entrepreneurs who often see the Muslims in the same way as the European fascists viewed the Jews before World War II. In India anti-Muslim communalism is the reactionary rallying cry for the fascist mobilisation of the new middle classes in the context of general urban plebeian rage and economic desperation—a feature of modern capitalist India, not some feudal leftover. At the end of 1990 the BJP's attempted *kar seva* at Ayodhya resulted in more than 2,000 communal killings and led to the fall of V.P. Singh's National Front government.

"Secular Democratic" India: A Lie

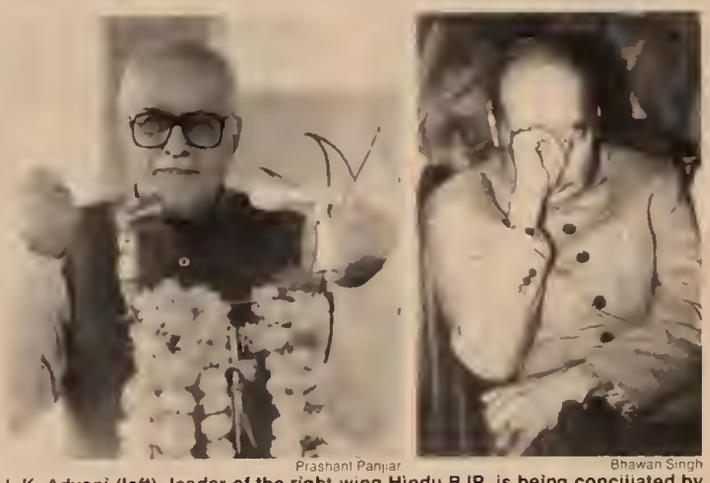
The mouthpieces for the imperialist bourgeoisies have been talking a lot about the fate of "secularism" in India. An editorial in the *New York Times* (8 December 1992) says the task is to maintain a secular state. The *Economist* (12 December 1992) asks, "Can India survive as a secular democracy or will it degenerate into a theocratic Hindu state?" In Sri Lanka, the popular-frontist editor of the *Lanka Guardian*, Mervyn De Silva, advises: "Mr. Rao has to assert himself, restore law and order, but without compromising an inch on the Nehruvian ideal of a modern, secular, democratic India. And that, there's little doubt, is what is now at stake" (*Sunday Times* [Colombo], 13 December 1992).

In the struggle against colonial rule, the idea of a united Indian people struggling for freedom mobilised millions, in particular against British attempts at "divide and rule" along religious, national and caste lines. From Nehru on, bourgeois nationalists have touted secularism, but Indian nationalism always contained a strong element of Hindu and Hindi-language chauvinism. This reflected the late, uneven and arrested development of the Indian bourgeoisie in the context of multiple national, language and religious divisions. It is a lie that India was ever a secular democratic state. India and Pakistan were born out of the *defeat* of secular-democratic aspirations in the anti-colonial struggle which were consumed in the flames of sectarian strife fuelled by the British colonialists.

The Congress (I) is still the only genuinely all-India party and still the main party of the fragmented bourgeoisie, maintaining a posture of representing all India's peoples. But despite its "secular," "democratic" and even formerly "socialist" pretensions, it has always been chauvinist. Mahatma Gandhi was the first advocate of the "Ram Rajya," and couched his appeals in reactionary, mythical Hindu terms. The Congress party presided over the bloody Partition in 1947 and two wars with Pakistan. It has mercilessly sought to crush national struggles like those of the Sikhs in Punjab and the Kashmiris.

Sikh militants avenged themselves for the Indian government's slaughter at the Golden Temple in Amritsar by assassinating its architect, Mrs. Gandhi, in 1984. In response, Rajiv Gandhi condoned the butchering of thousands of Sikhs in Delhi and elsewhere by Hindu communalist mobs, mobs often led by Congress politicians. Two years later that playboy of the Western world got his from the Lankan Tamil Tigers, who had faced the murderous brutality of the expeditionary force he sent to Sri Lanka. Like the other "secular" parties, Congress seeks to play to communal and caste blocs for electoral advantage. During the last elections Congress (I) thugs opened fire on "Untouchables" in Bihar trying to vote for a Communist Party candidate.

The imperialists' concern about "secularism" is just a mask for their real concern. With the collapse of the Soviet Union and consequently of India's "non-aligned" stance (underpinned by Soviet aid), the IMF and World Bank have a clear field. They demand economic "liberalisation"—that is, removing the obstacles to unfettered imperialist and capitalist exploitation—which is heaping new burdens on the Indian masses, whose condition already in many places begs description. The head of one of India's foremost companies, the Tata conglomerate, laments: "The world is going to look at India as an unstable country. Political stability is one of the main considerations governing foreign investment." And the *Economist* (12 December 1992) worries that Rao "will find it more difficult to push ahead with his economic reforms."



Prashant Panjiar / Bhawan Singh

L.K. Advani (left), leader of the right-wing Hindu BJP, is being conciliated by "secular" Congress party prime minister Narasimha Rao.

Nor do the reformist Communist parties present any fundamental challenge to the plans of the bloodsucking IMF imperialists. Along with the BJP, the CPs backed V.P. Singh's National Front government. Now, instead of mobilising the working class and the oppressed in independent action, the Communist parties are playing around with a new popular-front alliance with Congress (I). And the inability of these reformists to solve the burning needs of the toiling masses breeds disillusionment

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Germany Disorganizes Europe

Strumpf/AP

La Repubblica

Italian workers (right) rose up against government austerity program ordered by Frankfurt bankers.

Part One of this article, published in WV *No. 566 (1 January), dealt with the unraveling of the "German model" of institutionalized class collaboration under the impact of capitalist reunification, and the massive economic devastation in eastern Germany following* Anschluss *(annexation) of the DDR (German Democratic Republic).*

There is a parallel between economic developments in Germany since reunification and those in the U.S. in the early-to-mid 1980s. In both cases there was a massive increase in government expenditure for *non-productive* purposes in America for military hardware exemplified by the Star Wars boondoggle, in Germany to support the millions thrown

PART TWO OF TWO

out of work as the industrial economy of the former DDR was dismantled. In both cases tax revenues were not raised (Reagan actually cut taxes for the rich), resulting in a quantum leap in the government deficit. German public-sector debt is projected to go from 45 percent of gross national product in 1990 to almost 70 percent by 1996.

In both cases the inflationary effect of runaway deficit spending, which would have devalued the financial assets of the wealthy, was dampened by raising interest rates to historic highs. In the early 1980s, West German Social Democratic chancellor Helmut Schmidt complained that U.S. policies had produced the highest real interest rates "since the birth of Christ." And Wall Street economist Sam Nakagama quipped that countering inflation solely by super-tight money was like strategic bombing: it worked by leveling the country's industrial plant. The deficit was financed almost entirely at the expense of productive investment.

Just as Reagan's America went from being a creditor to a debtor nation, so post-*Anschluss* Germany has become a net borrower in world money markets. And just as Reaganomics helped precipitate the world depression of 1982-83, so the Fourth Reich deficit/Bundesbank extortionate interest rates have pulled down the entire West European economy.

Whereas Reaganomics was a more or less deliberate—if disastrous—policy, economic developments in Germany since reunification are the outcome of a continuing factional struggle within the ruling class. Influential sectors of finance capital believed that Kohl was offering too much for the leveraged buy-out of the DDR. Bundesbank president Karl-Otto Pöhl openly opposed exchanging D-marks for DDR marks on a 1:1 (one-to-one) basis. And when Kohl refused to raise taxes in western Germany, the Bundesbank chief resigned in late 1990 to protest what he later called the "impossibly costly promises" made to the citizens of the DDR to sell *Anschluss*.

Bolesch/Black Star

Capitalist reunification has fueled growing fascist terror in Germany. For worker/immigrant mobilizations to crush the Nazi skinheads!

However, Pöhl's colleagues would soon exact vengeance against "the chancellor of the German people," and the rest of Europe's heads of state as well. The German central bank flaunted its famous "independence" by raising interest rates to the highest level in the post-war era. The discount rate charged to member banks was increased from 3.5 percent in 1989 to 8 percent by the beginning of last year.

The Bundesbank's "defense" of the sacred D-mark further weakened the German economy and bled the rest of capitalist Europe. The high cost of borrowed funds was an additional barrier to productive investment in eastern Germany, thereby increasing the reunification deficit. The Bundesbank's proposed solution is to cut the rations of unemployed East Germans. But this would be throwing matches into a cauldron of inflammable, indeed explosive, material.

At the same time, interest payments to Frankfurt and foreign bankers are now growing faster than transfer payments to impoverished East Germans. Last year the federal, *Länder* (state) and local governments and public agencies like the Treuhand shelled out *$65 billion* in interest, an amount equal to 3.5 percent of Germany's gross national product. At the present rate, interest payments will absorb 18 percent of all government expenditure by 1995, compared to 8 percent in 1989.

The annexation of the DDR has radically altered Germany's international financial situation as well. In 1989, West Germany ran an $80 billion balance-of-trade surplus, of which more than $60 billion was recycled back into world financial markets in the form of bank loans and purchases of foreign securities. With reunification, West German manufacturers diverted exports from foreign markets to their own newly captured market east of the Elbe, while excess consumer demand spilled over into increased imports.

By 1991 Germany's trade surplus had been reduced to $25 billion. But this was more than offset by the spending of German tourists abroad, remittances of immigrant workers to their families in Turkey, Yugoslavia, etc., and Bonn's contribution to the European Community and aid to the new counterrevolutionary regimes in East Europe. Thus Germany ran a balance-of-payments deficit of $20 billion, which was financed by liquidating financial assets abroad and borrowing in world money markets. The wealthiest country in Europe was drawing in money from Britain, Italy, Spain, etc. In order to prevent the massive outflow of capital to Frankfurt, these countries had to raise their own interest rates, further depressing their already depressed economies.

Class Struggle in the Fourth Reich

Last spring the world bankers' cartel, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), told the Kohl regime to clean up its act. The Fund's *World Economic Outlook* (April 1992) stated:

> "The large deficit which has emerged in connection with the reunification process initially provided considerable stimulus

Spartakist

Union banner calls for unity of German and immigrant workers as Bosch-Siemens metal workers demonstrate in Berlin last May.

to activity in Germany and its partner countries, but growth in Europe is now being constrained by the high level of interest rates required to deal with the resulting inflationary pressures in Germany."

The IMF prescribed for Germany the same bitter medicine it usually prescribes for Third World debtor countries: raise taxes on consumption, cut social programs and government subsidies to industry, curb wages. This kind of IMF-dictated "austerity" program is usually carried out by military juntas which jail and torture union leaders and shoot down hungry people protesting cuts in food subsidies. Germany's rulers cannot now do this without risking a social revolution.

When Kohl tried to get tough on the labor front, the workers movement showed it was tougher. Last April, the official government arbitrator proposed a 5.4 percent annual wage increase (about 1 percent above the inflation rate) for the nearly three million public workers in western Germany. Given increased productivity, this would have held relative labor costs roughly constant. But German capital was determined to *increase the rate of exploitation of its proletariat*. So Kohl rejected the offer and deliberately provoked a strike. The German ruling class then got a small taste of what real class struggle could bring. The right-wing *Die Welt* (5 May 1992) wrote:

> "Stinking piles of garbage on the sidewalks of the inner cities, despairing vacationers in stifling waiting rooms, and hopeless traffic jams on the way to work: Germany in the blissful month of May. Everywhere the insignia of the strength of the public service sector unions are apparent. The strike stinks to high heaven...."

Of course, the Social Democratic bureaucrats had no intention of using the

Der Spiegel

East German metal workers protest in Leipzig in December against the Treuhand's dismantling of the industrial economy of the former DDR.

tion, pessimism is spreading in both halves of the country" (*Financial Times*, 17 November 1992).

In their own way, these bourgeois ideologues understand the potential for mass, centrally working-class opposition to the new order of the Fourth Reich. The long-complacent social-democratic workers in the west are facing a capitalist drive to reduce the consumption levels and social benefits which the workers have come to regard as their right. The working people of eastern Germany, who retain strong egalitarian values, are deeply antagonistic to the present political leadership of the Fourth Reich.

And a large fraction of the two million Turkish, South Slavic and other immigrant workers in Germany are integrated at the bottom into the strategic unionized proletariat. These foreign workers are

Der Spiegel

Free Democrat Kinkel (left), Christian Democrat Kohl and Social Democrat Engholm (at podium) seek "solidarity pact" to impose social order and class peace.

demonstrated strength of the unions to harm the interests of German capital. When Kohl backed off, the strike was settled for the original offer of 5.4 percent. A few weeks later IG Metall—the key union in Germany—negotiated a contract with the industrial bosses on similar terms. Thus the last round between labor and capital in Germany ended in a draw, maintaining the economic status quo.

But that status quo is now intolerable for German capitalism. "What we need is a couple of years with no wage increases," exclaimed the director of an auto parts company. The rate of exploitation is not only totally inadequate for the Frankfurt bankers and Ruhr industrialists to establish a neocolonial empire in East Europe, it is not even satisfactory enough to maintain the existing level of production in Germany itself, especially amid a world recession.

For the past year, the German economy has been on a downward course. The big industrial guns—Volkswagen, Daimler-Benz, Opel, Siemens, MAN, Brown Boveri and others—have announced tens of thousands of layoffs and even plant closures. The official council of economic advisers—the so-called "five wise men"—are predicting zero growth in 1993. And even they are wise enough to admit: "The danger is looming that the economy will fall into a recession. Two years after German unification, pessimism is spreading in both halves of the country" (*Financial Times*, 17 November 1992).

In their own way, these bourgeois ideologues understand the potential for mass, centrally working-class opposition to the new order of the Fourth Reich. The long-complacent social-democratic workers in the west are facing a capitalist drive to reduce the consumption levels and social benefits which the workers have come to regard as their right. The working people of eastern Germany, who retain strong egalitarian values, are deeply antagonistic to the present political leadership of the Fourth Reich.

And a large fraction of the two million Turkish, South Slavic and other immigrant workers in Germany are integrated at the bottom into the strategic unionized proletariat. These foreign workers are alienated from the German bourgeois order and can act as a militant counterweight to the conservative, nationalistic Social Democratic bureaucracy. It is necessary to build a revolutionary vanguard party which can truly unify all sections of the working class and its social allies in Germany against the successors to Hitler's Third Reich.

Social Democrats Push "Solidarity Pact" with Deutsche Bank

As the downhill slide of the German economy accelerated in the fall, calls escalated for a "solidarity pact" bringing together employers and unions on a common line. Christian Democrats, Free Democrats and Social Democrats are united in wanting no repeat of the powerful ÖTV public workers strike. While SPD leader Bjorn Engholm turns down calls for a "grand coalition"—for now—there already exists a "point-by-point coalition" on key issues. At a special SPD conference in October, Engholm appealed for changes in policy to make the party "capable of governing"...by adopting Christian Democratic positions. And in a year-end message, the top Social Democrat wrote in the financial paper *Handelsblatt* (31 December 1992), "We need a genuine solidarity pact, a grand common effort embracing all economic policy actors."

In early January, German economics minister Jürgen Möllemann resigned under fire, the fifth federal minister to bow out in the last nine months. With the conservative government fraying after a decade in office, pressure is building for a "popular front." Such a class-collaborationist coalition would be directed against labor and immigrants, and would serve the interests of German imperialism. The SPD special convention agreed to a "modification" of the constitutional right to asylum, gutting it of any content. The party fathers are also pushing for a constitutional amendment to allow the Bundeswehr (army) to intervene militarily outside of NATO. And the purpose of a union-employer-parties "pact" would be to slash social programs and push pay settlements down to the rate of inflation, and below—i.e., wage *cuts*.

Kohl wants to cobble together this "solidarity" deal by the end of January. So the Treuhand is modifying its policy of wholesale shutdowns of former DDR state-owned companies, agreeing to maintain certain key industries if no buyer can be found. Now the screws are being turned on the union tops. The ÖTV is only asking for a 5 percent hike this year, less than half its demands for 1992. And even the leader of the traditionally more militant IG Metall, which bills itself as the most powerful union in the world, Franz Steinkühler, declared at the union's conference last fall that "Who needs the solidarity pact is us" (*Metall*, 23 October 1992). That the Social Democratic union tops are ready to sell out is clear; Steinkühler and other DGB federation leaders were already engaged in secret negotiations with the government in November. But trying to ram it down the workers' throats is another matter.

The European Community Unraveling

The European Community (EC, formerly known as the Common Market) was set up in the mid-1950s as part of the American-directed reorganization of West Europe for Cold War against the Soviet Union. Washington was concerned that a resurgence of the traditional enmity between France and Germany could wreck NATO. Thus West Germany's inherent economic dominance was tempered by built-in concessions to France, especially a high level of agricultural protectionism. The Common Agricultural Policy—which absorbs 60 percent of the entire EC budget—enabled France to become Europe's largest producer and exporter of food.

However, with German imperialism's annexation of the DDR, followed by the collapse of the Soviet Union, neither Bonn nor Washington have any reason to placate the French bourgeoisie, which has little standing or leverage in the "New World Order." Thus, when the lame-duck Bush administration threatened punitive tariffs against certain European imports unless EC agricultural subsidies were cut, Germany stabbed its French "partner" in the back.

Why then did Kohl and French president François Mitterrand trumpet a new era of "European unity"—expressed by a single European monetary system—at the December 1991 Maastricht EC summit? The bourgeois leaders said they wanted to tie the expanded post-*Anschluss* Germany into a European framework. But the Maastricht treaty was from the outset a *diplomatic fraud*, designed to disguise growing conflicts between the Fourth Reich and its Gallic EC partner.

The French social democrats have long fantasized about "sharing" control over Germany's financial wealth through a West European monetary system run by Brussels Eurocrats. This project was originally called "the Delors plan," after the French social democrat who runs the

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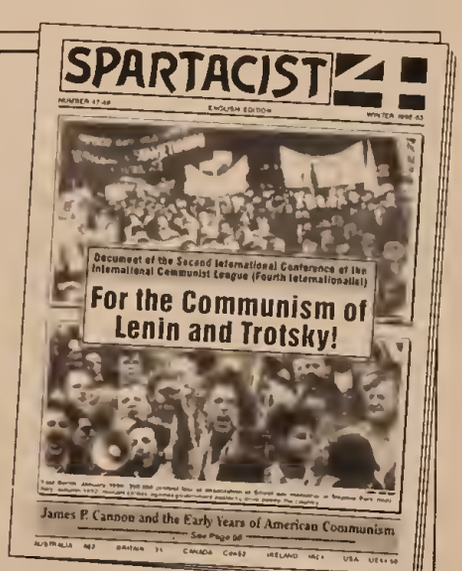

Berkeley: Leaky Picket Lines Cripple TA Strike

Young Spartacus

BERKELEY—The strike by teaching assistants at the University of California at Berkeley and Santa Cruz, which began with a lot of enthusiasm and student support, has been run into the ground by misleadership. The graduate students at Berkeley, organized in the Association of Graduate Student Employees (AGSE), affiliated with United Auto Workers District 65, launched their strike for union recognition on November 19. Four days later, the Graduate Student Employee Association (GSEA) at UC Santa Cruz also struck. In the face of the arrogant union-busting UC administration's insistence that the teaching assistants are students, not employees with collective bargaining rights, the only way to win is by shutting down the university with picket lines that mean *don't cross!* This is the message that Spartacus Youth Club members and supporters have brought to the campus as they have walked the picket lines, and boycotted their classes and final exams.

Striking TAs outside Sather Gate. To win you need picket lines that mean *don't cross!*

But the AGSE leadership views picket lines as a pressure tactic to embarrass the administration, not as battle lines in the class struggle. AGSE has not called on AFSCME, which organizes both the maintenance and clerical workers at Cal, or University Council-American Federation of Teachers (UC-AFT), or University Professional and Technical Employees (UPTE) to stay off the job, and the leaders of these unions bow to the no-strike clauses in their contracts. Against such backstabbing company "unionism," we fight for one campuswide union—from dishwashers to professors. Basic industrial unionism—especially an alliance with manual labor—is anathema to the aspiring academics in AGSE's leadership.

Students initially responded enthusiastically to AGSE's call for a class boycott—up to 70 percent of classes were shut down in the first days of the strike—but AGSE never attempted to marshal this support to *build mass pickets*. AGSE and GSEA even sanctioned the holding of some strike "support" meetings *behind picket lines* on the struck campuses. Support crumbled as final exams approached, and even many TAs crossed the porous picket lines to administer exams. With a new term beginning on January 20, AGSE must get a new strike authorization vote, but they couldn't even get a quorum at their last two membership meetings and only skeletal picket lines remain up. The danger of reprisals against strike militants is real. The administration has cut off all negotiations, and individual TAs were sent letters demanding to know what work they accomplished last semester.

This strike could have been won, rallying the support of millions of people throughout California who are worried and angry that they can no longer afford a decent education for their children. This year's $605 fee hike is the fourth hike in four years and will make fees *double* what they were at UC in 1989. Fee hikes coupled with cuts in financial aid deprive most working-class youth of their right to an education. Last year, *76 percent* of all eligible applicants for state financial aid were rejected (*San Francisco Examiner*, 13 December 1992). Facing a huge budget shortfall from the state, UC plans to cut enrollment by thousands, lay off workers, eliminate classes and expand class size over the next few years.

While the venal bureaucrats on the Alameda Central Labor Council have refused to sanction the AGSE strike, the AFL-CIO in Santa Cruz is supporting the GSEA and many workers are honoring the lines there. And Teamster truck drivers in the Bay Area are honoring AGSE lines. Chuck Mack, president of Teamster Joint Council No. 7, explained that there would be no truck deliveries to the UC Berkeley campus because "To the Teamsters, a picket line is a picket line" (*Daily Californian*, 8 December 1992). AGSE should demand open admissions and free tuition—so the sons and daughters of these Teamsters could go to the elite Berkeley campus!

Meanwhile, self-avowed socialists—including the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and Labor Militant, an American offshoot of the British Militant group—are *scabbing* on the strike, and *calling to take down the picket lines!* A Labor Militant supporter has crossed the picket lines every day to work in the campus bookstore ("What do you expect me to do, lose my job?" he whimpered when Spartacists confronted him.) The RWL, a veritable cult for scabbing, created yet another front group called the "Ad Hoc Committee for a Campus-Wide Strike." A lofty name for a committee whose intervention into the strike was to urge TAs to *leave the picket lines*...to organize scabs on campus. The Ad Hoc Committee's "strike support" rally—*held on the struck campus*—drew nothing but the handful of RWLers.

It is urgently necessary that the arrogant millionaires who run the University of California be stopped, but it's going to take social power to do it. The hundreds who poured out of Berkeley last spring in response to the Rodney King outrage, partially shutting down the Bay Bridge, are an indication of the combative potential which exists on UC campuses. These students should have been mobilized on the picket line with thousands of organized campus workers to defend the right to an education. Ultimately, in order to provide free, quality education for all, it's necessary to fight against the fetters of irrational capitalism and fight for a socialist society. ■

Germany...

(continued from page 7)

EC Commission. Of course, Frankfurt bankers had no intention of allowing Delors and his friends to share their financial assets. Instead of openly opposing the proposed EC monetary union, which would have provoked a diplomatic row, Frankfurt laid down *impossible conditions* for such a system.

In late 1990, the Bundesbank issued a statement of "unconditional, not negotiable, requirements" for a European monetary system. These included not only a central bank with "durably guaranteed independence" but that inflation throughout Europe had to be "very largely stamped out" (quoted in W.R. Smyser, *The Economy of United Germany*, St. Martin's Press, 1992). Yet at that time the inflation rate in Germany itself was fast rising to a ten-year high.

At Maastricht Kohl and Mitterrand agreed to impossible conditions for a monetary union that would never be formed. Only three of the 12 EC countries met the treaty's requirements—Denmark (which soon rejected it), tiny Luxembourg and France. Germany itself did not qualify for the European monetary union, because its budget deficit exceeded the limit of 3.5 percent of its gross national product specified in the treaty. And if anything is certain in this uncertain world, it is that Germany's budget deficit is going to increase for the next several years. In any case, the fraudulent nature of Maastricht was exposed last September, when the Bundesbank torpedoed the European Monetary System on the eve of the French referendum on the treaty (see "Fourth Reich Bankers Detonate... Euro-Chaos," *WV* No. 560, 2 October 1992).

While at Maastricht the growing tensions between Germany and France were covered over by diplomatic sleight of hand, they were revealed for all to see in the latest round of the trade war between the United States and the EC. Here we can clearly see the intensification of *inter*-imperialist conflict with the disappearance of the Cold War alliance against the Soviet Union.

When the Common Market was originally formed, agricultural protectionism was not one-sidedly in French interests. West Germany had its own politically influential rural smallholders, many of them in Bavaria, home base of right-wing Christian Democratic strongman Franz Josef Strauss. However, with the passage of time Strauss died and West Germany's farm lobby lost much of its political clout. It is in the interests of German capitalism to reduce the costs of its huge food imports in order to keep wages down. The Common Agricultural Policy was tolerated only to keep France in the Atlantic alliance.

Likewise, for the U.S. agriculture is one of the few sectors in which American capitalism has a strong competitive advantage internationally. U.S. ruling circles have been especially nettled that West Europe is a protected market for French farmers. However, Washington refrained from all-out trade war against France to avoid disrupting NATO.

But no longer. At an academic conference in late 1990 on the effects of German reunification, Michael Aho of the prestigious Washington-based Council on Foreign Relations observed:

> "In the past, U.S. foreign economic objectives were often subordinated to security concerns in a desire not to alienate allies. But without the constraint of the Cold War, America will not be as reluctant to aggressively pursue its economic goals on trade and macroeconomic issues. At the same time, it will have less leverage because Europe and Japan are less reliant on U.S. military protection. As a result, a more assertive America will confront a more assertive world, a prescription for confrontation."
>
> in Paul J.J. Welfens, ed., *Economic Aspects of German Unification*

A few months later, such a confrontation broke up and broke off the so-called "Uruguay round" of negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Japan was adamant in protecting its rice farmers, and Germany reluctantly supported France's diehard defense of the Common Agricultural Policy. So the American delegates staged an angry walkout.

To "reopen" negotiations, this November Washington announced it would impose 200 percent tariffs on $300 million in European imports, mainly French wines, unless the EC capitulated on agricultural subsidies. While farmers in France stormed city halls, burned American flags and blockaded McDonald's, German foreign minister Klaus Kinkel laid down the law for Europe: "compromises will be needed and France will, in the end, have to join in" (*New York Times*, 11 November 1992).

A few weeks later, Germany forced through such a "compromise" between the European Community and the United States. French Socialist prime minister Pierre Bérégovoy declared this trade agreement "unacceptable," but nonetheless accepted it while making noises that Paris might exercise a veto at some future date. The ruling French socialist democrats are almost certain to lose the upcoming parliamentary elections in March, and are evidently stalling so that the right-wing bourgeois parties will have to take the heat from angry farmers on one side and France's big-power trade "partners" on the other. Whatever the outcome of the latest U.S.-EC trade clash, tensions between Paris and Bonn/Berlin are bound to increase in the future.

The West European political and economic order—long defined by NATO and the Common Market—is coming unstuck amid increasing social turmoil and struggle. The prospects for a Social Democratic-led popular front putting the clamp on class struggle in Germany are far from certain. The powerful public workers strike in Germany, the spontaneous workers revolt in Italy and massive strike wave in Greece point to the perspective of proletarian revolution leading to a Socialist United States of Europe. As the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany wrote in "Strikes Rock Kohl's Germany" (*WV* No. 552, 29 May 1992):

> "Germany remains the key to Europe, for barbarism or socialism. To rebuild this country in the interest of all the working people and plan the economy sensibly on an international scale, it is necessary to fight for a workers government that *expropriates* capital, putting the means of production into the hands of those who produce the wealth. To organize that struggle and lead it to victory, the workers need a revolutionary workers party. Such a party, in the internationalist tradition of Lenin and Trotsky, is what the Spartakists are fighting to build. ■

PDC Notes...

(continued from page 2)

confrontation, could have avoided prison entirely if she'd but denounced John Africa and MOVE—not one day. She refused, and it is now 14 years in hell for being a MOVE member.

The same could be said for MOVE's Carlos Africa, in prison now since 1981. Freedom could be his today if he uttered one sentence—I renounce John Africa and MOVE—six words, words he will not say. Other MOVE veterans, facing 100 years for a crime their trial judge admitted he hadn't the faintest idea who committed it, are Chuck Africa, Debbie Africa, Delbert Africa, Eddie Africa, Janet Africa, Merle Africa, Mike Africa, Janine Africa and Phil Africa, political prisoners caged for their opposition to the system.

There are others who will spend their holidays in hell for their opposition to the powers that be:

• Geronimo ji Jaga, former Deputy Minister of Defense for the L.A. Black Panther Party, highly decorated Vietnam vet, set up, framed and caged by the same system he went to Vietnam to defend, now held in California hellholes for over 22 years, a prisoner of the system which cites his revolutionary consciousness, his politics, as the deciding factor as to why he can't be freed.

• Hugo Dasbarkis Pinell, over 27 years in hell, a comrade of Soledad Brother George Jackson, buried in California's high tech torture chambers for his radical history and revolutionary politics—an Afro-Nicaraguan political prisoner who still sends his spirit beyond the walls of Pelican Bay, California.

• Ravenswood, West Virginia steel worker Robert Buck, now jailed for refusing to wear an undercover wire for the FBI to union meetings to set up his fellows. A worker who learned the hard way that the state defends the interests of the bosses not the workers, and that those who strike against big business get struck back by the government.

These and more are provided stipends by the PDC, which although modest amounts are symbols of solidarity. More importantly of course are the PDC's propaganda efforts, which expose the direct government injustices which led these revolutionaries to the prison gates.

On behalf of them all, our thanks for your continued generous support and the valuable work you do towards our eventual freedom.

Ona MOVE. Long live John Africa! Free MOVE! Free all political prisoners!

From death row, this is Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Send your protests demanding all charges be dropped against Mumia Abu-Jamal and all the death row protesters to: Superintendent, SCI, Drawer R, Huntingdon, PA 16652

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India...

(continued from page 5)

Some land reform in West Bengal has helped to build support for the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in that state, but without a thoroughgoing agrarian revolution which expropriates the feudalist landlords *and* the big capitalist farmers, the poor peasants still have no land and can be sucked in by the communalists. While corruption increases and his son gets rich, West Bengal CPI(M) premier Jyoti Basu tries to attract imperialist investors to the state, on the promise that the working masses can be held in check.

Today, the CPs administer capitalist governments and defend the bourgeois order. There were also communal outbursts in Calcutta, capital of West Bengal, where the CPI(M) has ruled for 15 years. While both the CPI(M) and the CPI derive their mass support at least in part from an anti-communalist reputation, they undercut any decent impulses of their own militants by making alliances with communal and casteist organisations, as well as by denouncing the independence struggles of the Sikhs in Punjab and Muslim Kashmiris as "terrorism," backing the central government's ruthless repression of these legitimate struggles.

In the absence of working-class-centred struggle, one tragedy is that the oppressed may turn to the most obscurantist, reactionary extremists in their own communities. In the Punjab, the Sikh struggle is dominated by Khalistani religious fundamentalists. In Kashmir, the sway of Islamic fanatics who identify with Afghan CIA-aided cutthroat zealots like Hekmatyar has increased at the expense of more secular-minded Kashmiri liberation groups. Nationalists and communalists take their cue from the "Death of Communism" reaction spawned by the counterrevolutionary victories in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. In Shillong, capital of Meghalaya in the northeast, graffiti directed against Bengali and other migrants proclaims: "When the Germans & English are anti-alien, why not we?" (*Frontline*, 20 November 1992).

Workers Revolution Must Crush Communalist Vermin

Muslims are the first targets of the BJP/VHP/RSS communal thugs, but not their only victims. Muslims are generally poorer, reflecting the fact that many are descended from converts among Harijans ("Untouchables") and low-caste people seeking to escape caste oppression. Though they constitute about 14 per cent of the population, they make up only 2 per cent of those who pass senior civil servants' exams, for example. After the Muslims, the Hindu fanatics will go after other religious minorities—Sikhs, Christians, Buddhists and Jains. The 1990 mobilisation at Ayodhya was an obvious reaction to the National Front government's Mandal Commission proposals to reserve jobs for certain lower castes, which elicited violent protests from mainly upper-caste students.

While Hindu fundamentalists protested about alleged favoritism to the Muslims over the notorious Shah Bano case, where a divorced Muslim woman was denied alimony in the name of upholding Muslim personal law, there are plenty of atrocities on the other side of the communal divide. A recent horrendous example of what the BJP/RSS stand for was when two young lovers and their friend were murdered in a village in Rajasthan, because they dared to defy the taboo on relationships between upper-caste people and "Untouchables." And it is exactly among the urban social layers most attracted to the BJP that the barbarous murders of women for their dowries have increased most. Similarly, it is these layers who avail themselves of modern medical science to selectively abort female foetuses.

Explosions of religious fanaticism and pogroms have to be ruthlessly suppressed. But the capitalist rulers will institute only a white (counterrevolutionary) terror, one that will inevitably set one community against another. The strengthening of the central state power will in no way prevent communalist slaughter, but on the contrary will serve to bolster the Hindu chauvinists, suppress working-class struggle and fan the flames of future massacres.

The relatively small but strategically placed and combative Indian proletariat can crush the marauding communalists *by carrying out a workers revolution*. They have a special and immediate interest in crushing these vermin, since the workers are frequently drawn from local and migrant minorities. In the great industrial cities like Kanpur, Bangalore, Bhopal and Lucknow, the proletariat should defend the Muslim quarters from the communalists and the chauvinist police rampage, just as the Bolshevik-led workers defended the Jews in tsarist Russia from the Black Hundreds. They should also deal with any Islamic fundamentalists who simply want to reciprocate the crimes of the Hindu extremists.

But to extirpate the pathological killers who have whipped up communalist passions to a fever pitch will require strong measures that can only be successful by uniting the oppressed and exploited of all the myriad communities in the Indian state in defense of socialist revolution, offering the fundamental prospect of a better life through common effort rather than the desperate competition for the crumbs of capitalism.

An article in the *New York Times* (6 December 1992), only a day before the Ayodhya mosque was destroyed, waxed eloquent about Bombay as a capitalist mecca, a "cosmopolitan" "city of opportunity": "It is where India is being reshaped and, if India is to claw its way from poverty and socialism, where it will happen first." But in December some of the worst communal killing was in Bombay, the metropolis at the heart of the Maharashtra industrial belt. More than half of Bombay's 12-million-plus population are slum dwellers, many of them migrants from other areas of the country. Most of the deaths in Bombay came when the local police fired indiscriminately on Muslim protesters. Muslims then attacked Hindus and vice versa.

Dieter Ludwig

Hindu fascists of the paramilitary Shiv Sena, brandishing tridents, target Muslim minority in terror attacks.

The Bombay police are heavily infiltrated by Shiv Sena, a local fascist group, named after a 17th century Hindu ruler, Shivaji, who fought the Muslim Moghul king Aurangzeb. Shiv Sena denounces "outsiders" and was formed in the '60s to combat the influence of the Communists and trade unionists in the burgeoning working class of the state. With the indifference or active connivance of the police, Shiv Sena targeted Muslims. Muslims were forced to flee in some areas, but in other parts of the slums Muslims and Hindus joined together to fight off the attackers, barricading the alleys to keep out Shiv Sena and the police. One fisherman from a mixed Hindu/Muslim shanty community said:

> "'They had come before—outsiders Hindus and Muslims both,' he explained. 'We were able to persuade them to leave us in peace. But this time, I don't know what happened. I don't think they like seeing Muslims and Hindus living together peacefully'."
>
> *Independent* [London], 11 December 1992

Today in India the bourgeois politicians scarcely bother to mask their corruption, nepotism, venality and outright criminality. Every election is accompanied by hundreds of deaths, and hundreds of thousands among the lower castes and "Untouchables" are denied a vote. Under capitalism, scientific and technological progress doesn't supplant, but rather reinforces social backwardness. The "Green Revolution" in agriculture utilised new grain varieties to largely eliminate grain imports, yet tens of millions still go hungry. A large industrial capacity and output has not transformed the lives of the great bulk of the Indian people; indeed they are ground down even further, with child labour endemic from textile shops to the great coal fields of Dhanbad. There are millions of VCRs, but far from purveying enlightenment, they are used to propagate religious fanaticism.

Writing in 1942 on the revolutionary tasks of the proletariat in India, the Trotskyists of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party (BLPI) stated:

> "The realisation of the combined character of the Indian revolution is essential for the planning of the revolutionary strategy of the working class. Should the working class fail in its historic task of seizing the power and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, the revolution will inevitably recede, the bourgeois tasks themselves remain unperformed, and the power swing back in the end to the imperialists without whom the Indian bourgeoisie cannot maintain itself against the hostile masses. A backward country like India can accomplish its bourgeois-democratic revolution only through the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Such is the perspective we in the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) fight for today. Forward to the construction of Bolshevik parties in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. Forward to the soviet socialist federation of South Asia! ■

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Hoffa...

(continued from page 12)

A longtime Republican and supporter of capitalism, Hoffa rejected the Marxist program that stood behind Dobbs' successful class-struggle methods. But he was no prisoner to the abject legalism that cripples labor struggles from the get-go. Arrested numerous times for his organizing activities (18 times in one particular day!), Hoffa later commented that anyone "who didn't get in trouble with the police was either buying them off or he wasn't doing his job." So he was receptive to the militant tactics—mass picketing, secondary strikes, refusing to handle struck cargo ("hot-cargoing")—employed by the Trotskyists in the over-the-road campaign; legal or not, they worked. In 1938-39 he saw firsthand how Dobbs and his organizers won union recognition in anti-labor Nebraska by calling secondary boycotts in the surrounding states: "You push a button in Kansas City and Omaha jumps."

As pro-war fever swept the country in 1940-41, the Trotskyists found themselves increasingly isolated from many former allies in the labor movement. Opponents of imperialist war and defenders of the Soviet Union, the first workers state in history, despite Stalinist degeneration, the Minneapolis Teamster leaders in the Socialist Workers Party (SWP, founded by the Trotskyists in 1938) were a sharp thorn in the side of Tobin, who was one of President Roosevelt's foremost supporters in the AFL. In 1941, as the federal government was gearing up to prosecute and jail them for treason, Tobin moved to purge the Trotskyists from the Teamsters. To head up the dozens of goons Tobin dispatched to Minneapolis to carry out this dirty work, he called on Jimmy Hoffa.

Years later, Hoffa bragged "I went... into Minneapolis, .took over the office, brought in a hundred crack guys, had the war. We won every battle." But Dobbs responded that Hoffa was backed up by the cops, courts, mayor and governor, "and by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the United States Department of Justice and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who then happened to be President of the United States. . . Under those circumstances you got to admit Hoffa had just a little help, didn't he?" After the Trotskyists were jailed, Hoffa was rewarded with Dobbs' former position as vice president of the Central States Drivers Council.

Minnesota Historical Society

The "Battle of Deputies Run," May 1934. Trotskyists led the victorious Minneapolis strikes, which laid the basis for explosive growth of the Teamsters and inspired the militant struggles which formed the industrial unions of the CIO.

Enter the Mob

This is the period when the real Hoffa turned to the underworld, not for help in organizing truck drivers and winning contracts with the bosses, but for muscle in the Teamsters' squalid jurisdictional war with the CIO. From then on, the Mob took a hand in the collection and distribution of Teamster wealth—dues money, bribes, real estate and, later, pensions. Hoffa was as much a business unionist as West Coast Teamster head Dave Beck, who was to precede Hoffa as IBT president in the mid-'50s. Hoffa proclaimed, "We're not labor statesmen." we're here "to sell your labor at top dollar" (*Washington Post*, 24 December 1992).

Teamster power continued to expand *despite* and not, as the movie suggests, because of this corruption. Hoffa still employed some of the tactics he had learned at the knees of Dobbs and Dunne, such as the use of secondary boycotts to bring recalcitrant employers around to the bargaining table. His power to "deliver" came from his power base in the organized drivers' network built under the leadership of the revolutionary Trotskyists and then wrenched from their hands. From this base Hoffa was able, by the end of the 1940s, to organize over-the-road drivers in the racist, open shop South, and wages for workers under his jurisdiction tripled. After another decade, the union had one and a half million members and was close to achieving a master contract covering all long-haul drivers in the country.

"If you got it, a truck brought it," went the Teamster slogan. That is indeed what scared America's rulers as IBT locals popped up across the country in the 1950s. Trucking had grown explosively as the bourgeoisie began construction of the interstate highway system (authorized in 1944 for explicitly military reasons). During the 1950s, the share of intercity freight carried by trucks more than doubled, while that carried by rail fell by a third. By 1961 trucking revenues almost equaled those of the railroads. Hollywood even produced a movie, *World Without Truckers*, in which the all-powerful Teamsters are shown threatening to stop milk for hungry babies.

Congressional witchhunters increasingly turned their attention from Communism to organized labor, especially the Teamsters, after the Democrats seized control of the Senate Permanent Committee on Investigations from Joseph McCarthy in 1955. Its offshoot, the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field, was created in 1957 to go after the unions, particularly the IBT. Both its chairman, John L. McClellan, and staff counsel Robert Kennedy had served with relish on the earlier McCarthy witchhunting committee. Senator John F. Kennedy also sat on the new McClellan Committee. "All of our lives are too intricately interwoven with this union," said McClellan in 1958, "to sit passively by and allow the Teamsters under Mr. Hoffa's leadership to create such a superpower in this country—a power greater than the people and greater than the government."

The bosses' government has always sought to eliminate militant labor activity in transport. The 1894 Pullman strike was ruthlessly crushed by an army of federal marshals, and its leader, socialist Eugene Debs, jailed. This was followed by government takeover of the railroads in World War I, the draconian postwar Railway Labor Board and the brutal suppression of the 1922 railway shopmen's strike. And just as the Railway Labor Act of 1926 was written to virtually outlaw rail strikes and guarantee the capitalists uninterrupted freight transportation, the war against Hoffa was intended to crush the increasing power of the Teamsters in the post-World War II era, particularly Hoffa's campaign to forge the Master Freight Agreement, a single national trucking contract. The hearings marked a shift in the liberal wing of the Democratic Party from the older New Deal "friend of labor" posture to advocating increased state control of the unions.

Capitalist Vendetta Against Teamsters

Some of *Hoffa*'s best scenes deal with the massive, decade-long effort by the government to cripple the IBT and jail its leader. With dialogue lifted straight from the transcripts, the film shows McClellan Committee counsel Robert Kennedy, ruling-class twit that he was, grilling Hoffa on his links to organized crime figures. (What about that rum-running, Mob-connected anti-Semite and admirer of Hitler, Robert's father Joe Kennedy?) Robert Kennedy especially goes after the Teamster pension fund as "an unholy war chest." The pension fund did make loans to "legitimate" Mob enterprises, but unlike many of today's S&Ls, it actually collected on those loans. More to the point, its establishment in 1955 was an important *gain* for IBT members, who up until then never had *any* pension coverage. When the government finally gained control of the Teamster pension fund in 1977, it was a defeat for union members that prefigured the government's takeover of the entire union 12 years later.

The movie also shows Hoffa defending himself against Kennedy's redbaiting attack on his links to West Coast longshore union leaders Harry Bridges and Lou Goldblatt. The government fought for years to deport Bridges, a prominent supporter of the CP. Hoffa was of course a staunch anti-communist. But Kennedy's motivation for this attack was Hoffa's 1958 attempt to form a powerful bargaining alliance of all transport unions—in trucking, rail, airlines and maritime, including Bridges' International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU).

Hoffa was dragged four separate times before the McClellan Committee. In just 30 months, there were 270 days of hearings, with 1,525 witnesses and 46,150 pages of testimony, the work of a squad of 45 accountants and 35 investigators, who issued 8,000 subpoenas. Hoffa was also tried and acquitted for bribery and tried twice and acquitted for wire-

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tapping *his own office* in a defensive move against government links.

In 1959, Congress used the propaganda generated by this anti-union witchhunt to pass the Landrum-Griffin Act, which gave the feds vastly enhanced power over internal union affairs and strengthened Taft-Hartley provisions against secondary strikes and "hot-cargoing." After John F. Kennedy took office in 1961, his brother, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, set up a special "Get Hoffa Squad" in the Justice Department, staffed by 20 full-time lawyers. In a series of trials over the next three years—for fraud, receiving bribes, assault and jury tampering—RFK did finally "get" Hoffa. It was the biggest government operation against a U.S. citizen in the history of this country. No wonder that when told JFK had been assassinated, Hoffa snarled, "I hope the worms eat his eyes out."

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Union daily during 1934 Minneapolis strike. Trotskyist leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, including those who led the 1934 Minneapolis strike, were sent to prison in 1943 for opposing imperialist world war.

Hoffa's End

Two scenes toward the end of the movie, taken together, express the contradictions of the Teamsters under Hoffa. In the later scene from 1967, Hoffa is shackled and driven to prison along with his union buddy, Bobby Ciaro (a composite character played by Danny DeVito). As the van approaches Lewisburg Federal Prison, Hoffa is greeted by a demonstration of potential union power: as far as the eye can see, 18-wheelers line both sides of the road. It looks like a fantasy from the truckers' song "Convoy" or a scene from the 1970 Ohio Teamster wildcat strike. It's the kind of power that no IBT official since the Minneapolis Trotskyists—Hoffa included—has ever summoned into action.

The earlier setting is a fancy dinner for Teamster big wheels decked out in tuxes with their glittering dates, enjoying a banal Las Vegas-type show. Their self-satisfaction is evident as Hoffa tells them, "The Teamsters have led the American working man into the middle class, and we intend to stay there!" The scene reeks of the conservatism of a hardened leadership crust, intent on enjoying the perquisites of power. But it pales next to the gluttony of Hoffa's successors, like the FBI fink Jackie Presser, who was borne into a $675,000 party at the 1986 Teamster Convention in Vegas on a palanquin carried by mock Roman centurions. This was a labor "leader" the feds could, and did, do business with.

Before leaving for prison, Hoffa appointed as his temporary replacement Frank Fitzsimmons, accurately portrayed in the film by J.T. Walsh as an ineffective numbskull who served as the IBT leader's goter. Instead of taking orders from his jailed mentor, Fitzsimmons eventually decided to stay in office by handing power back to local Teamster fiefdoms and accommodating the gangsters that gathered at the IBT trough. In effect the government, by removing Hoffa from power for his links to the Mafia, actually handed the union over to a true godchild of the Mob. Hoffa's threat to disrupt this relationship is what got him killed.

Labor Will Clean Its Own House

Fitzsimmons and his successors have presided over a catastrophic decline in Teamster fortunes. Its name once the very symbol of union power to millions of American working people, the IBT has seen its membership decline by *800,000*, decimated by givebacks and "double-breasting" (where trucking companies shift their work to non-union subsidiaries). In December 1991, New York UPS Teamster chief Ron Carey won the IBT presidency in a government-controlled election. He was supported by Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), a social-democratic outfit (supported by almost the entire fake-left) that had been railing against "corruption" for years.

The TDU actually *invited* the bosses' state to take over the union and even sent a blueprint for government control to the Justice Department! Before the feds filed suit, TDU National Organizer Ken Paff wrote the Justice Department that "We strongly urge the government to seek reorganization of the IBT under Section 1964(a) of the RICO Act" (Dan La Botz, *Rank and File Rebellion*, Verso, 1990). The capitalists generally prefer the predictable betrayals of social-democratic unionists like the TDU, who function as lapdogs of the courts and Labor Department.

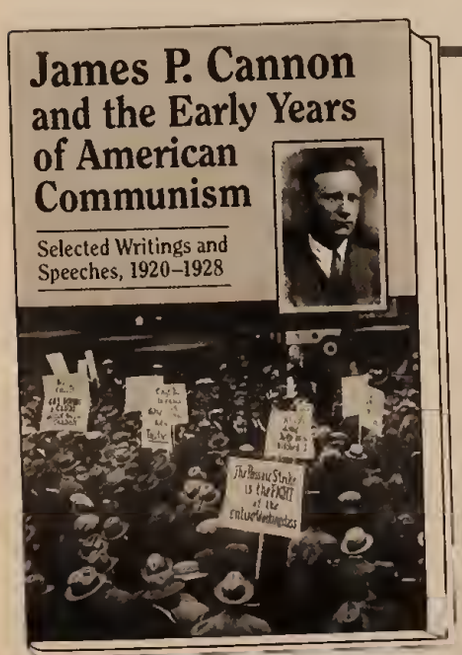
And just who's calling who "corrupt"? Is it somehow less corrupt to sell out to "legitimate" bosses like the Rockefellers, the grandsons of the original robber barons? Is handing a workers organization over to the government—the executive committee of the entire capitalist class—less corrupt than letting some underworld thieves loot its treasury? *Those who would sell their union to the bosses' state are as low as dirty scabs!* Jack Nicholson—who believes that "in terms of what he did for labor, Hoffa is a hero"—said of the "progressive" labor statesmen who expelled the Teamsters from the CIO, that Hoffa "had no respect for those guys who he thought were selling the unions out to Congress" (*New York Newsday*, 20 December 1992).

Almost half a century of government intervention into the Teamsters has repeatedly shown that, no matter how venal or corrupt the labor bureaucracy, the bourgeoisie's attacks have nothing to do with "corruption" or "union democracy" and everything to do with gutting the unions. The Spartacist League has uniquely stood for the defense of the Teamsters and all labor against the intervention of the capitalist state into the workers movement. To sweep the pro-capitalist misleaders out will take a revolutionary leadership that mobilizes the working class in a class-struggle program to smash the profit system.

Jimmy Hoffa remains an immensely popular figure among truck drivers. But it will take a lot more than another Hoffa to get the Teamsters union on its feet again. In the '50s and '60s, Hoffa delivered because he *could* deliver, without even calling the nationwide trucking strike the bosses feared so much. A business unionist concerned for the bosses' bottom line—and himself a con man and small businessman on the side—Hoffa had no answer for workers confronted with falling profits, urban decay and rust bowl industries. As we wrote at the time of Hoffa's disappearance in 1975:

> "'Jimmy the con man' and 'Jimmy the tough trade unionist' are the same Hoffa, and his Janus-faced image is only an expression of the contradictions inherent in 'pure-and-simple trade unionism.'
>
> "Of all the major union leaders in the post-World War II period, Jimmy Hoffa had the most militant reputation. This is a sad commentary on the state of the U.S. labor movement."
>
> —"The Hoffa Myth," WV No. 76, 12 September 1975

The struggle to defend working-class living standards can't be tailored to the "possibilities" of the profit system. What's required is a revolutionary program for workers power—a workers government—embodied in the leadership of a mass workers party such as the Spartacist League is striving to build. ■



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WORKERS VANGUARD

WHY THE LIBERALS HATE HOFFA

UPI

Liberal Democrat Robert F. Kennedy (left), former counsel for Joe McCarthy, spearheaded anti-labor witchhunt against Teamster leader Jimmy Hoffa.

Liberal tongues are clucking in response to *Hoffa*, Danny DeVito's biographical film starring Jack Nicholson in the title role. Based on a David Mamet screenplay, the movie sketches a sympathetic portrait of James R. Hoffa, the rough-hewn Teamster bureaucrat who was hounded to prison by Robert Kennedy in 1967 and assassinated eight years later when he tried to reclaim the union presidency. While erroneously justifying Hoffa's well-known links to organized crime as a necessary by-product of effective unionism, the DeVito/Mamet treatment of Hoffa's life correctly portrays the capitalist government's relentless vendetta against the union leader as an attack on the *Teamster union*.

In 1960, Robert F. Kennedy wrote in *The Enemy Within*: "Quite literally your life—the life of every person in the United States—is in the hands of Hoffa and his Teamsters.... As Mr. Hoffa operates it, this is a conspiracy of evil." The capitalist demonization of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) and its foremost leader fueled the 1989 government RICO takeover of the union and is echoed today by media opinion makers and culture vultures. A "conniving, deceitful scoundrel," sermonizes veteran labor reporter A.H. Raskin. "Hoffa was the engineer of his destruction, brought down by the intemperance of his disdain for conventional morality" (*New York Times*, 20 December 1992). The often (but not this time) insightful Murray Kempton adds that Jimmy Hoffa was an "anti-social rebel" with "lawless contempt for society's speed limits. He was out to own the road and so is the interstate truck driver" (*New York Newsday*, 20 December 1992).

Dan Moldea, author of the anti-union book *The Hoffa Wars*, is incensed that "the film depicts Robert Kennedy as obsessed, egomaniacal and power-hungry.... The Kennedy brothers waged a legitimate and effective war against Hoffa, the underworld, and their associates" (*Washington Post*, 27 December 1992). Another reviewer complains that "The movie is so enamored of its subject it's as if Hoffa were a paid consultant."

The liberals accuse Jimmy Hoffa of everything from driving Marilyn Monroe to suicide by taping her sexual liaisons with Bobby and Jack to taking out a contract on JFK himself, according to New York columnist Jack Newfield. It's not enough that Hoffa's dead—they just keep right on killing him. The liberal critics launched their barrage because *Hoffa* lifts a corner of the sheet of lies covering their Kennedy icons. In contrast, *Village Voice* critic J. Hoberman captures how in *Hoffa*, like *Malcolm X*, "another American martyr has been identified, another historical mission labeled, and another chunk of popular memory defined.... The embodiment of trade unionism in the colorful persona of *Hoffa* only goes to show that the movie fills the void of the movement it represents." Malcolm X and Hoffa are popular figures today precisely because they defied and were hated by the rulers of this country.

Hoffa demolishes the myth of Kennedy white knights vanquishing the corrupt labor racketeer. But the movie also divorces Jimmy Hoffa from the historical events that built the IBT and shaped its leadership. Fire bombings, strikes and deals with the Mob are jumbled together as equally necessary steps to forge the union. Thus *Hoffa* obscures the real source of Teamster power—the organizing of hundreds of thousands of over-the-road drivers—and blots out the people who made it happen, a hard nucleus of striking workers in pitched combat against scabs and cops. In Sylvester Stallone's anti-union *F.I.S.T.* (1978), such militancy is the result of Mafia influence. *Hoffa* also plays fast and loose with the truth, as the Teamster organizer's first strike victory is portrayed as the product of a deal with the Detroit Mob, and his links to the Mafia are sealed on the heels of defeat in a bloody battle with scabs.

But *Hoffa* is frankly pro-union—one strike scene reasserts that people who cross picket lines are lowlife scabs. As Jack Nicholson's Hoffa leads his ranks into battle, he tells a fretful reporter, "Every struggle has its casualties. The point is what has been lost and what has been gained." Such basic points are lost on most union officials today. But the confused and bloody fight ends in tragedy, inducing Hoffa to turn for support to Carol D'Allessandro, a composite of various gangsters who surrounded the real Hoffa. "Never happened," says Kempton: "Such epical pitches of the class war were not for Hoffa and an AFL Teamsters union that was too strategically well-placed to need them."

In fact, the industrial organization which gave strategic power to the over-the-road Teamsters came out of one such battle, but it was neither Mob-inspired nor tragically defeated. The real-life event that inspires such Hollywood portrayals was the "Battle of Deputies Run," a key episode in the 1934 Minneapolis Teamster strikes that smashed the open shop and set the stage for the explosive growth of the IBT.

This militant organizing drive was led by the CLA Trotskyists—Vincent R. Dunne, Carl Skoglund, Farrell Dobbs—who understood that the government with its police and courts is an agency of capitalist rule. The Trotskyists rejected arbitration and relied instead on the collective strength and consciousness of the working class. They issued the first daily strike newspaper in American labor history, and organized mass pickets and roving squads to shut down virtually the entire city.

And they didn't cave in when the police recruited hundreds of deputies to move scab cargo in the city's wholesale market district. When a scab truck began to move out under police protection in the early morning of 21 May 1934, hundreds of strikers armed with clubs poured out of a nearby AFL building to stop it. In pitched battles over two days, dozens of cops were sent to the hospital and two strikebreaking deputies were killed. The trucks stayed put. The Minneapolis Teamsters hung tough, and were victorious later that summer in their drive to unionize Minneapolis truck drivers and related warehousemen because they had a battle-tested leadership with a class-struggle program.

Dunne and Dobbs then turned their attention to organizing the intercity drivers that the Teamsters union had until then ignored. IBT chief Dan Tobin, who had tried to break the Minneapolis strikes, initially opposed this campaign to sign up the over-the-road drivers as an infringement of the union's exclusive craft character. But he changed his tune when new members—and dues money—began to pour in. The author of a well-written recent Hoffa biography gives credit where it belongs: "the Trotskyites were generally, if quite begrudgingly, being recognized by other Teamsters as having been the greatest single cause of the appreciable IBT growth in this period—from 75,000 in 1933 to 277,000 in 1937" (Arthur A. Sloane, *Hoffa*, MIT Press, 1991).

In Detroit, Jimmy Hoffa was assigned to aid this spreading campaign, and in 1937, as Dobbs was founding the Central States Drivers Council to represent over-the-road drivers in 12 states, Hoffa went to Minneapolis to work directly under him. "I was studying at the knees of a master," Hoffa later said.

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CLASS STRUGGLE AND THE REAL HISTORY OF THE TEAMSTERS

of Minneapolis Trotskyist communists (members of the Communist League of America, later to become the Socialist Workers Party), political forerunners of the Spartacist League.

Class War, Teamster Style

No Teamster epic is complete without a scene of mass struggle, with hundreds

UPI

Teamster convoy blocks downtown Philadelphia bus terminal during 1983 Greyhound strike. Teamsters don't like scabs, finks and feds!

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 568

29 January 1993

Keating/Newsday

Lhauvel/Sygma

New imperialist chief Clinton celebrates at inaugural ball. Desperate Haitian refugees risk their lives in small boats seeking to escape terror and starvation.

Clinton Dances As Haitians Drown, Iraqis Die

Mad Bomber Bush's Parting Shot

Reuters

Khalber/Reuters

Sore loser Bush bombs Iraq. Grieving woman holds photo of her sister, killed in Al Rashid Hotel by U.S. missile.

While president-elect Bill Clinton and his yuppie claque were carousing under pre-inaugural fireworks displays in Washington, George Bush lit up the skies over Baghdad with his own counter-inaugural, raining death down on the Iraqi people. It was "the mother of all unfinished business," quipped one newspaper cartoon, as the Republican sore loser with state power ordered three bombing raids against Iraq in his last week in office. A bogus Iraq "crisis" was manufactured to lend plausible implausibility for what everybody knew was Bush lashing out at the Iraqi strongman for outlasting him. In the streets of Baghdad, demonstrating schoolgirls taunted, "Bush is gone but Saddam remains."

But Clinton had no qualms about picking up where Bush left off, as American fighter planes blasted Iraqi facilities three times in as many days after he took office. Speaking amid the grotesque splendor of a $30 million inauguration rite, Clinton's thankfully brief incoming address was an uninterrupted exhortation for "sacrifice"—to working people and minorities already reeling from two decades of plummeting living standards. Desperate Haitians had their illusions of imminent salvation crushed even before the new president was sworn in—Clinton not only continued Bush's racist exclusion of Haitian refugees, but ordered a naval blockade of the island country to keep them imprisoned in their police-state hellhole.

Bush: The Mother of All Sore Losers

If Nixon used the IRS and *gusano* Watergate "plumbers" to go after his "enemies list," one-time CIA chief Bush relied on more formidable means, seizing his last chance to "bloody the nose" of Saddam Hussein—and anybody else who'd crossed him. But despite Pentagon claims of a "pinpoint strike" in the first attack on January 13, over a hundred jets armed with high-tech "smart bombs" hit only one of four missile batteries targeted. They did succeed in killing 19 people and bombing a residential area in the southern province of Basra.

A second attack four days later did achieve a "pinpoint strike," as a Tomahawk cruise missile exploded right at the entrance of Baghdad's Al Rashid Hotel (which happened to be hosting an Islamic conference at the time), killing two women, and bloodying a German journalist. The nominal target—*eight miles* away—was also destroyed, another of those supposedly ubiquitous Iraqi nuclear facilities (this one turned out to be a tool and die factory, which, like all the others, had been visited umpteen times by United Nations "inspectors"). Pentagon flacks first claimed the hotel had been hit by Iraqi anti-aircraft fire, then allowed that some of the missiles might have passed near the hotel, and finally admitted that *all* 45 of the low-flying cruise missiles had been programmed to fly over the city.

So now the bombing of the hotel is deemed an "accident." We remember a similar "accident" two years ago, when laser-guided "smart bombs" pierced the roof of Baghdad's Amiriya air raid shelter with surgical precision, incinerating hundreds of sleeping women and children. We also recall how the Pentagon threatened to target the Al Rashid at the time, labeling it a secret military communications center. The hotel has been on Bush's hit list ever since it served as the base for journalists like CNN's Peter Arnett, whose factual reports about American atrocities like Amiriya or the bombing of a baby formula factory during the Gulf slaughter exposed Pentagon lies, and earned him wrathful denunciations as a "dupe of Saddam Hussein."

White House spokesmen conceded that it was "unique" for a lame duck president to be bombing other countries days before leaving the Oval Office. Then again, Bush never did seem too reconciled to last November's "popular mandate." All Republican appointees were ordered to quit before Clinton was sworn in—leaving key government positions vacant—and those who hesitated were denounced by Bush aide Kevin Moley as "disloyal" and "traitorous." Explaining the White House action, Moley railed, "That's what the American people voted for Nov. 3. Now the consequences will come home to roost" (*New York Times*, 16 January). Indeed, when former secretary of state James Baker gloated in self-congratulation about a "peaceful" transition of power after Clinton's inauguration, it made you wonder just what else the Bush/Quayle team might have been thinking about.

The outgoing administration openly defied two court orders against erasing White House computer files. They finally promised to hand over copies of everything they erased, but who would notice if, in the end, they copied only 98.2 percent of the files—or perhaps 92.8 percent? Bush also handed over a personal diary of the Iran/contra scandal kept hidden from investigators for five years. Predictably, the diary as released, was hardly competition for *True Confessions*. But where the *Washington Post* (16 January) reported, "Diary Says Bush Had 'Details' of Iran Arms Deal," the ever "responsible" *New York Times* ran a cover-up of the cover-up, headlining, "Entries Suggest He Did Not Know Details of Scandal." Before exiting, Bush freely dispensed presidential pardons to

continued on page 2

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Clinton...

(continued from page 1)

Caspar Weinberger and five others who faced Contragate criminal charges. The question, asked Daniel Schorr in the *New York Times* (29 December 1992), was "Will Bush Pardon Himself?"

If Bush didn't, it was only because he could be damn sure the Democrats had no intention of going after him. Leading Congressional Democrats endorsed the Weinberger pardon, and a House panel investigating the "October Surprise" issued a whitewash report exonerating Reagan/Bush of charges that they stole the 1980 elections by cutting a deal with Khomeini to delay the release of American hostages-until after Reagan came to power. The hostages were released as Reagan took the oath of office, and arms shipments started flowing to Iran via Israel. But Democrat Lee Hamilton intoned there was "no credible evidence."

Election Promises Are Made to Be Broken

The Democrats never went after Reagan/Bush, because they fully share the ambition of imposing a "New World Order" of U.S. imperialist hegemony around the world. Clinton's new war secretary Les Aspin is a diehard Democratic hawk who counsels *more* military adventures as a way to ward off pressure to cut the defense budget: "It may be that to maintain a military for the extreme contingencies, it will be necessary to show that it is useful in lesser contingencies" (*Financial Times* [London], 7 January). Secretary of State Warren Christopher presided over army spying on left and antiwar groups when he served under Lyndon Johnson during the Vietnam War. New CIA chief Jim Woolsey is "the Republicans' favorite Democrat" (*New York Times*, 11 January), while Zoë Baird, Clinton's nominee for top cop who was shot down for hiring undocumented workers, was hailed by the *Wall Street Journal* (13 January) as "An Attorney General Quayle Could Love."

The Clinton team came in vowing to keep the death row assembly line running at full speed and to slash "entitlement" programs like Medicaid and Medicare. And aside from his lukewarm support to liberalizing Bush's draconian anti-abortion policies, Clinton pulled back on most of his other campaign promises even before taking office. The middle-class tax cut and promised investment in public works and infrastructure were zapped. The "commitment" to issue an immediate executive order banning discrimination against homosexuals in the armed forces has turned into an evanescent rumor of undefined action at an indefinite time. Meanwhile, the scale of officially sanctioned bigotry in the military was indicated by the killing of gay sailor Allen Schindler, who was found bludgeoned to death after reportedly being subjected to continual harassment aboard his ship based in Japan.

Desperate Haitians Face Racist Blockade

But what has met with the greatest outrage is Clinton's 180-degree turnaround on admitting Haitian refugees. Denouncing Bush's policy as "inhumane" and "appalling" during the campaign, Clinton promised that even those Haitians who were not deemed "political refugees" would be given "temporary asylum" until deposed president Jean-Bertrand Aristide was restored to power. When it became clear that upwards of 150,000 Haitians were preparing a desperate exodus in time for the inauguration, Clinton began furiously backpedaling, asserting that Bush's racist interdiction policy had to be maintained "for the time being" to assure a "smooth transition." Then he went Bush one further, mounting a full-scale Coast Guard blockade, "Operation Able Manner," of Haiti's northern coast and the Windward Passage.

For all of Clinton's "humanitarian" rhetoric, this brazenly racist act has nothing to do with saving Haitian lives. Over 40,000 Haitians have fled since Aristide's overthrow in 1991, and they will continue to seek refuge from abject poverty and the terror of the military regime. Last December 21, 392 people drowned when the 70-foot *Vierge Miracle* sank off the Bahamas (a Cuban ship rescued the handful of survivors). Hundreds of HIV-positive Haitians—who have qualified as political refugees—remain imprisoned in dangerously unsanitary conditions on the U.S. Guantánamo base in Cuba. Those who do make it to the U.S. are thrown into dungeons like Miami's notorious Krome Avenue Detention Center, where Haitians are imprisoned, many for more than a year. Yet when a Cuban pilot hijacked a plane loaded with 47 (white) passengers on December 29 and landed in Miami, they spent all of one night at Krome and were released without charges. Infuriated, the Haitian prisoners started a hunger strike demanding asylum, which was suppressed by prison guards.

Haitian-born basketball star Olden Polynice pointedly asked: "A Cuban guy hijacked a plane, and he's a hero.... How about the people who risk their lives on 50-foot boats?" The U.S. ruling class couldn't care less about black people ground down by a brutal military dictatorship, despite Aristide's fulsome support for Clinton. And no less than the Republicans, the Democrats are dead set on strangling the Cuban deformed workers state. Clinton strongly backed last October's Democrat-sponsored "Cuban Democracy Act," aimed at tightening the economic embargo around Castro's Cuba. But the Cuban people are prepared to fight to the death to resist U.S.-inspired counterrevolution. Defend Cuba! Down with the racist blockade of Haiti!

Fight for a Workers Party!

While Clinton has gone out of his way to snub labor and minorities, the fake-left is gaga over the Democrats, seeking to be the new administration's "socialist" conscience. A pacifist rally in Washington against the bombing of Iraq on January 13 pleaded outside Democratic Party headquarters: "Bill, Gore—Stop the War!" The rad-lib *Nation* (1 February) carried a front-page "Memos to Bill," which begged him to listen to "some different voices" than "hordes of policy wonks, bureaucrats, office seekers, pundits, economists, corporate lobbyists," etc.—as though Clinton were a well-meaning innocent being misled by his advisers! The social-democratic *In These Times* enthused in a January 11 article, "It's been a long time since anyone in power spoke our language."

Gus Hall's Communist Party longingly harked back to the heady popular-front days of Roosevelt's "New Deal," advising that "With enough 'street heat' Clinton can be forced down the path taken by FDR" (*People's Weekly World*, 9 January)—does Gus want to declare World War II again? Meanwhile the CP's more overtly social-democratic splitoff, the Committees of Correspondence, hailed "a milestone defeat for the right wing" (*Corresponder*, January 1993). Right in there with the pack was veteran Stalinoid Sam Marcy, whose Movement for a Peoples Assembly solemnly advised Clinton that he "has the power" to issue an executive order "that this country's corporations stop laying off and start rehiring." Sure, and while he's at it, he might as well raise the red flag over the White House!

Twelve years of Reaganism and bourgeois hoopla over the "death of Communism" have driven the fake-left to such desperation and disorientation that even an outspoken advocate of the racist death penalty and untrammeled imperialist aggrandizement like Clinton looks good to them as a "lesser evil." Bush may have tried to rain on Clinton's parade, but politically this really is a "smooth transition." *Capitalist politics is a shell game*, and never more so than today when, as Gore Vidal put it, there's one "property party" with *two* right wings. Only when a fighting workers movement, leading the class-conscious proletariat along with the black and Hispanic poor, seizes power from the capitalist rulers will there be a prospect of salvation from oppression and poverty. Break with the Democrats—Fight for a workers party! ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Haitian Revolution and the Struggle for Black Freedom

The Haitian people today live under a neocolonial regime of dire poverty and terror. But at one time Haiti was a beacon of liberation to black slaves in the U.S. The Haitian Revolution of 1791-1804 led by Toussaint L'Ouverture created the first black republic and had a profound impact on the struggle for emancipation. On the occasion of Black History Month, we present these remarks by the great American abolitionist Frederick Douglass from a January 1893 speech. Appointed U.S. emissary to Santo Domingo in 1889, Douglass resigned in protest after two years, exposing and denouncing America's colonialist actions.

From the beginning of our century until now, Haiti and its inhabitants, under one aspect or another, have, for various reasons, been very much in the thoughts of the American people. While slavery existed amongst us, her example was a sharp thorn in our side and a source of alarm and terror. She came into the sisterhood of nations through blood....

We should not forget that the freedom you and I enjoy to-day; that the freedom that eight hundred thousand colored people enjoy in the British West Indies; the freedom that has come to the colored race the world over, is largely due to the brave stand taken by the black sons of Haiti ninety years ago. When they struck for freedom, they builded better than they knew. Their swords were not drawn and could not be drawn simply for themselves alone. They were linked and interlinked with their race, and striking for their freedom, they struck for the freedom of every black man in the world....

Until Haiti struck for freedom, the conscience of the Christian world slept profoundly over slavery. It was scarcely troubled even by a dream of this crime against justice and liberty. The Negro was in its estimation a sheep-like creature, having no rights which white men were bound to respect, a docile animal, a kind of ass, capable of bearing burdens, and receiving stripes from a white master without resentment, and without resistance. The mission of Haiti was to dispel this degradation and dangerous delusion, and to give to the world a new and true revelation of the black man's character. This mission she has performed and performed it well.

—Frederick Douglass, "Lecture on Haiti" (January 1893)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Yuppie Baird Sets Up Former Servants for Deportation

Perhaps best personifying the yuppie arrogance of the New Age Clinton gang was his failed nominee for attorney general, Zoë Baird, a high-flying insurance executive whose posh New Haven neighborhood recently excluded a foster home for black and Hispanic disabled children. Baird withdrew her nomination when revelations that she had hired two foreign-born undocumented workers as chauffeur and babysitter provoked a scandal. The bourgeois media anxiously fretted over whether the incident would affect her $507,000-a-year job at Aetna Life and Casualty (it won't), and she had to shell out a trifling (for her) $14,900 in fines and back taxes. But the real victims of this Clinton "transition" fiasco are Victor and Lillian Cordero, the Peruvian couple who worked for her for wages of $1,000 a month. Now the INS says the Corderos face possible deportation proceedings—when all they've done is usefully work for various families—unless they "voluntarily" leave the country.

Fostering racist protectionism, the bourgeois media calls undocumented workers like the Corderos "illegal aliens," as if they were some kind of criminals. Caught in the spotlight by Baird's ambition to be top cop, the Corderos have already had their lives grievously disrupted. Just before the nomination, Baird fired Lillian Cordero after more than two years on the job, hoping (vainly) to head off embarrassing questions. And Cordero's estranged husband Victor was forced to leave his present employer last week after journalists tracked him down; he left a note saying that he was returning to Peru.

Whatever the idiosyncrasies of the bourgeoisie's inherently racist immigration laws, the Corderos made it to the U.S. and they should be allowed to stay! Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers!

Big Al and the Feds

Brooklyn, NY
10 December 1992

Dear Comrades,

Your review of *Malcolm X* echoed my own thoughts as I left the theatre.

However, I object [to] your characterization of Al Sharpton as a "fat fink." Sharpton's bulk is not the issue. At best, this epithet insults all people of obesity.

You have alluded a number of times to Sharpton's role as a stooge for the FBI, assuming that it is common knowledge. It isn't. You might reach more of Sharpton's growing following—he finished third in the Democratic senatorial primary—by reiterating the details.

Might I also suggest that you address Sharpton's relationship to the New Alliance Party, as well as do an analysis of the latter, whose social-dem politics have had appeal for many would-be Marxists. A debate between the Spartacists and Lenora Fulani/Fred Newman would be enlightening. Branding Sharpton a fink and NAP a cult—as you have done in the past—with no explanation, simply echoes the rad-lib press.

Comradely greetings,
Jerry E.

WV replies: True enough, finks come in all shapes and sizes...and Al Sharpton is one of the biggest. Sharpton finked for the feds when the NYPD red squad was reborn under the racist Koch administration as Police Commissioner Ward's "black desk" for the systematic surveillance and harassment of black activists in New York City.

As a service for the FBI, Sharpton carried a concealed microphone, escorted "wired" agents to meetings, and had an FBI tap installed on his phone to record conversations with other prominent blacks. Sharpton has never denied his service to the FBI, the government agency responsible for the COINTELPRO frame-ups and murders of leftists, especially the Black Panther Party. These outrageous *and undisputed* facts were exposed in a January 1988 bombshell in *Newsday*.

Sharpton has also been named as a contract agent for the CIA, involved in destabilizing the Manley regime in Jamaica. Sharpton also gave his services to the dubious Roy Innis, a recruiter for the racist South African army's UNITA forces in Angola. In 1986, while stumping for Senator Alfonse D'Amato, a man who called black people "animals," Sharpton launched a campaign against Arab shopkeepers as part of the racist "war on drugs."

As to the New Alliance Party, we see no purpose that would be served by a debate with this political aberration. Despite occasional left-liberal posturing, the NAP has no political principles. Founder/leader/shrink Fred Newman runs the NAP as a front for his psycho-babble "therapy" cult. What the New Alliance Party and Al Sharpton have in common is that they are both *always* on the prowl for a hustle—any anti-working-class scam that gains them cold cash or hot limelight will do.

AP

Finks come in all shapes and sizes.

Drawn together over the dubious Tawana Brawley case, they used and promoted each other. While fawning over "Hitler was a great man" Farrakhan, the NAP "recruited" Sharpton and gave him a column in their paper. Now that Sharpton has gone "respectable" and his appetites have grown bigger than the Newman/Fulani cult, relations seem to have cooled. Today the NAP and Sharpton are rivals in the filthy back alleys of Democratic Party politics.

Describing themselves as the "spare tire" to Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition, Lenora Fulani's supporters rallied outside the Democratic National Convention in Atlanta in 1984 and gave their platform over to stooges for Frank Lorenzo's union-busting campaign at Continental airlines. In 1990, while also running in Democratic Party primaries, Fulani and the NAP sued the Socialist Workers Party over their ballot placement (the NAP lost) and used the capitalist state to knock independent black candidates off the ballot.

Fighting dirty against other leftists is nothing new for the NAP. They fused with the mad Lyndon LaRouchites *before* LaRouche's "Operation Mop Up"—a campaign of physical violence against members of the Communist Party—and never disavowed that gangsterism. As we've said before, "with the New Alliance Party, hold on to your wallet, and watch your back."

A Dual Union for Drywaleros?

Nashville, Tennessee
12/12/92

To the Editor:

Your recent article [*WV* No. 565, 11 December 1992] on the settlement of the drywallers' strike in Southern California examines the role of the AFL-CIO craft union misleaders in the strike. In partially subverting the strike, these labor bureaucrats acted pretty much true to form.

You also point out that this area, as well as the construction industry in this area, is one in which the union movement is weak. Correspondingly, it is an area and an industry where the Latino proletariat is at once concentrated and militant.

In an abstract sense, the presence (or absence) of all the foregoing elements raises the question of a call for a "dual union" in this industry and area.

I would greatly appreciate any effort by you to address and to clarify this question.

Comradely greetings,
Bill Francis

WV replies: The six-month-long strike by Southern California drywall workers was noteworthy for the militancy of the Latino strikers, whose roving pickets and courage in the face of Orange County sheriffs, *la migra* immigration cops and the LAPD was an example for all labor. They refused to play by the bosses' rules.

WV Photo

Striking San Diego drywallers protest police repression at rally on January 23.

But the cynical AFL-CIO bureaucrats made a virtue out of their own sabotage of solidarity *action* in defense of the drywallers, cynically claiming the strikers were better off "organizing alone."

To call for a "dual union" here would play into the hands of the craft union tops. It would make it easier for the picketing drywallers to isolate the combative drywallers, not only from the rest of the Carpenters and building trades unionists, but from the combative sections of the heavily minority proletariat of Los Angeles as well. And the rest of L.A. labor could learn from some of the *drywaleros'* hardball tactics.

In the early years of this century, the revolutionaries of the Industrial Workers of the World—the Wobblies—were able, with small numbers, to lead some key battles which taught a generation of labor militants some of the lessons which paved the way for the mass struggles that forged the industrial unions of the CIO. But the Wobblies' refusal on principle to work within the larger AFL unions because they were dominated by a pro-capitalist bureaucracy, and the IWW's rejection of the necessary political struggle to construct a revolutionary workers party, made them, in James Cannon's words, "neither a union nor a party...but something of both, with some parts missing. It was an uncompleted anticipation of a Bolshevik party, lacking its rounded-out theory, and a projection of the revolutionary industrial unions of the future, minus the necessary mass membership" ("The I.W.W.—The Great Anticipation").

More on Gould's Mismeasure of Marx

11 December 1992

Dear comrades:

I really liked the article in answer to Stephen J. Gould ("Punctured Equilibrium: Stephen Jay Gould and the Mismeasure of Marx," *WV* No. 563, 13 November 1992). I have always been struck by the extent to which scientists of rather good calibre seem to be quite capable at one and the same time of determinedly refusing any *deus ex machina* in their own understanding of particular physical or biological questions, while at the same time being active religious men of whatever particular faith. In contrast, Gould always seemed particularly aware of his surroundings and quite conscious of applying strict scientific standards and scholarship, not just to the snails of his immediate professional interest but to matters of everyday life, witness his wonderful contributions on the flight dynamics of baseballs and on the sociology of the game.

It was therefore particularly disappointing to see his essay in *Natural History* (October 1992). Gould now seems bent to apply "modern views of punctuational change"—whose lineage is directly traceable to the study of natural selection and speciation—to "the vagaries of human history." Gould should know better, in fact *Gould used to know better* than this. In the essay "Shades of Lamarck" (reprinted in *The Panda's Thumb* [1982]), Gould makes a very powerful argument for the role of directedness as opposed to randomness in human cultural evolution.

As Gould explains it the difference between human cultural evolution and natural evolution is also the crucial difference between Darwinism and Lamarckism, two alternative mechanisms for the appearance of adaptations within a homogeneous population.

Darwin's contribution, and his great insight, was a mechanism based on two steps: first, the appearance within a homogeneous population of "random" variation—"random" in the sense of undirected or unbiased towards adaptive solutions to a changing environment; second, natural selection of those with greater reproductive success for a given environment from this substratum of pre-existing variants.

J.B. Lamarck, French biologist and early evolutionist, believed that in evolution nature climbs a ladder of complexity motivated by a "force" which operates through the creative response of organisms to their "felt needs." Lamarck's mechanism, later bastardized by reduction to the passive "inheritance of acquired characteristics," proposed a direct adaptation to the changing environment: an organism perceives changes, responds in the "right" way and passes the information directly to its offspring. As Gould notes: "this is the essential difference

continued on page 11

Young Spartacus

NYC Curriculum Battle Flashpoint for Anti-Gay Bigotry

"Children of the Rainbow," a multicultural public school curriculum, is the focus of a white-hot anti-gay backlash in New York City. The curriculum, championed by NYC schools chancellor Joseph Fernandez, aims to instill respect for different races, nationalities and ethnic groups. It also aims to promote awareness and sensitivity about families headed by adults of the same sex—suggested readings for kids include *Heather Has Two Mommies* and *Daddy's Roommate*—and tolerance of gays and lesbians generally. School district meetings in Queens have combusted in shrieks of "faggot" and "lezzie." In Brooklyn's Sunset Park neighborhood, posters appeared stating, "If you want to wipe out AIDS, wipe out the gays," and parents marched on their school board to force the removal of references to homosexuality from the curriculum.

October rally (left) in support of multicultural curriculum. Anti-gay bigots in Brooklyn District 15 (right).

The opening shots of this anti-gay witchhunt were fired in November by District 24 school board member Ninfa Segarra and school board president Mary Cummins, who formed the "Family Defense Council" to mobilize parents against gays. Big guns and big money back these big-mouthed bigots. Organizing from the pulpit of St. Patrick's Cathedral, the reactionary Cardinal John O'Connor praised Segarra's "courage." The Family Defense Council receives "materials and logistical support" from ultraright televangelist Pat Robertson's "Christian Coalition." Pat Robertson's unholy bigots plan to help finance and organize elections for anti-gay candidates in all 32 city public school districts this May.

This battle also intersects city politics, in that key opponents of the Rainbow Curriculum are supporters of Rudolph Giuliani, the mayoral candidate for the racist "law and order" backlash. Meanwhile, Mayor Dinkins' close ally Carl McCall, president of the NYC Board of Education, attacked Fernandez for introducing the curriculum in grade schools. Dinkins is backing way off out of fear of losing black and Hispanic votes in the '93 elections.

Though the drive against the curriculum has been spearheaded by an all-white Queens school board (many of whom send their children to parochial schools!), many black and Hispanic parents have been suckered by the bigots' campaign. Cummins rails: "I will not demean our legitimate minorities, such as blacks, Hispanics, and Asians, by lumping them together with homosexuals in that curriculum" (*Village Voice*, 22 December 1992). Using the Big Lie tactic that met with success in Colorado, where an anti-gay rights amendment to that state's constitution passed last November, New York's anti-gay bigots appeal to the economic resentments of struggling working-class and minority families by portraying gays as a privileged elite who already wield too much power. Akin to the anti-Semitic portrayal of Jews as "privileged" moneylenders, this poison leads to *pogroms*—and violent gay-bashing has dramatically increased in New York.

Schools chancellor Fernandez has refused to back down in the face of the bible thumpers. He suspended the anti-gay Queens District 24 school board, but was overruled by the citywide Board of Education, which is seeking to compromise. Meanwhile, only eight of the city's school districts have approved the Rainbow Curriculum as proposed; many have postponed references to gays until the fifth or sixth grade. And surveys show that very few teachers are using this optional curriculum. Yet, according to a just-released poll, *94 percent* of New Yorkers polled favor AIDS education in public schools, 65 percent support the distribution of condoms in schools (another focus of right-wing opposition to Fernandez), and 72 percent favor teaching about gay and lesbian families.

One needn't agree with the liberal premises of the curriculum's proponents to understand the need to defend it against the bigots' assault. In this society the supposedly "natural" gender roles are drilled into children relentlessly. Those who don't conform are made to feel like outcasts, fearing rejection and violence. Gays and lesbians who grow up in working-class, black and Hispanic communities often have the hardest time of all. A 1989 federal study found that *30 percent* of teenage suicides are lesbian or gay youth. And outrageously, the Department of Human Services refused to officially release this report because it was deemed an affront to "family values." Certainly this curriculum is an attempt to address a real need.

But liberal attempts to use public education to eliminate bigotry against homosexuals, or racism, or sexism, are based on the fallacy that these evils are caused by mere ignorance. In fact, it is not ignorance that causes gay-bashing, but hatreds fueled by economic insecurity and manipulated by reactionaries in targeting scapegoats. Liberal politicians who preach "tolerance" while imposing budget cuts and austerity in the interests of the capitalist class (like Dinkins and Fernandez) are part of the problem, *not* the solution, no matter how personally sincere their "pro-gay" views.

Socialists see the fight for gay rights as part of the class struggle. We not only demand full democratic rights for homosexuals, we put forward a broad social program that addresses the needs of *all* the oppressed: for jobs, education and housing; *for an end to material want* through a planned economy. A revolutionary perspective for a socialist future of equality and abundance is key to defeating the anti-gay witchhunters who prey on insecurity. ■

Berkeley, Columbia Protests Against Imperialist Attack on Iraq

"U.S. Hands Off the World!"

Spartacus Youth Club (SYC) members opened the new semester at UC Berkeley and Columbia University with protests against the terror bombing of Iraq and racist neocolonial intervention in Somalia. At Columbia on January 21 student protesters chanted, "U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf! U.S. Out of Africa!"...while a few "Democratic Socialists" who stumped for new imperialist commander in chief Clinton sheepishly cowered at a lit table. An SYC spokesman nailed the Democrats as a "party of war, from the atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, to the colonial war which slaughtered two million Vietnamese, to the Bay of Pigs!"

The next day, the Berkeley SYC held a lively rally on Sproul Plaza. Recalling that the beating of Rodney King occurred just days after the Gulf slaughter over two years ago, SYC member Karen Lawrence said, "This is the domestic side of Bush and Clinton's New World Order...gunning down blacks in the streets all over the country, just as they rain bombs down in Iraq in order to establish themselves as cops of the world."

Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home! Join the Spartacus Youth Clubs! ■

Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth Club rally at Columbia University, January 21.

No Reprisals Against Audubon Ballroom Protesters

Columbia University: Hands Off Harlem!

Student protest erupted at Columbia University last month over the university's plan to build a biotechnology lab on the site of Harlem's Audubon Ballroom, where Malcolm X frequently spoke and where he was assassinated. On December 14, an integrated group of 150 students chanting "Malcolm X!" seized and occupied Hamilton Hall, which houses the office of the dean of students. Spartacus Youth Club supporters participated in this sit-in. Now, using police videotapes, the arrogant and vindictive university administration has fingered black and leftist protesters and threatens star chamber "hearings" that could result in suspensions and expulsions. We demand: *Drop the charges! No reprisals against the Audubon Ballroom protesters!*

Up on a hill, behind iron gates, Columbia University has always been a privileged bastion of racism and an arrogant bully of neighboring black Harlem. In 1968, the militant student revolt at Columbia was sparked by the university's refusal to allow the black community access to a gymnasium Columbia planned to build in Morningside Park. Columbia continues this tradition to this day as slumlord of Morningside Heights, routinely evicting black and Hispanic tenants. A black high school honors student, Edmund Perry, was gunned down outside Columbia's gates in 1985 by a New York City cop patrolling the "border"—effectively a color line—between Columbia University and Harlem.

The "Barnard/Columbia Save the Audubon Coalition" is dominated by leaders of the Black Student Organization, with the fake-socialist International Socialist Organization (ISO) playing the role of cringing water boys. When police surrounded the dean's office during the occupation of Hamilton Hall, the ISO hilariously waffled between spouting "anti-pig" rhetoric, and repeatedly calling for (and losing) votes to end the occupation so as not to "alienate" right-wing students who were trying to bust into the occupied building to get to classes! Meanwhile, Dean of Students Jack Greenberg, a liberal who litigated the landmark 1954 *Brown* desegregation case, today relishes his role as "Big Brother" at Columbia. Refusing the students' demand for amnesty, Greenberg pompously lectured that Martin Luther King taught him that "protesters should always accept their punishment." (Right, Jack, that's why *we honor Malcolm X* and reject all that "turn the other cheek" crap!)

Peter Essick

Demonstrators honor Malcolm X at February 1990 protest to save Audubon Ballroom (above). Protests against Columbia's plans to build a gym in Morningside Park (below) fueled 1968 student strike.

Liberation News Service

In a meeting the next day, Coalition leader Peter Wilson turned on the ISO with gross redbaiting and threats "to kick them out personally." The ISO, which has a history of submerging themselves in liberal feminist (e.g., WAC) and pacifist coalitions—only to end up the butt of anti-communist exclusions—predictably sat on their hands. In contrast, Spartacus Youth Club members denounced this junior McCarthyism, and openly fought to win students to a socialist perspective. We think a worthwhile monument to Malcolm X would be a fighting youth movement for black equality. Wilson threatened to throw us out too, but was forced to back down.

The Audubon has stood abandoned and decaying for 20 years, more a symbol of urban blight than the legacy of Malcolm X or the Puerto Rican *independentistas* who spoke there in its heyday. Still, the protests have forced the university to pledge that they will incorporate some memorial to Malcolm X and open a public health clinic on the site. The value of this promise remains to be seen, coming from the racist slumlord Columbia administration.

The racist hell Malcolm X so eloquently denounced will not be eliminated without uprooting the capitalist system. Today, blacks in Harlem and Dominicans in Washington Heights face rampant cop terror, like the police execution of José García last year, and prison-like educational facilities, while conditions of mass unemployment and nonexistent health care have caused diseases of poverty like tuberculosis to reach epidemic proportions. Anti-racist students need to link up with the power of the working class in a fight for socialist revolution. Capitalist Columbia should be nationalized and put under student/campus worker/faculty control, with open admissions and free tuition! *No reprisals against the Audubon Ballroom protesters!* ■

Black History Month Spartacist Events

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Black History and the Class Struggle

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Tuesdays, 4 p.m.
City College of New York
138th St. and Convent Ave., Manhattan
Room to be announced

February 2:
Slavery and the Civil War

February 9:
Black and Red: the Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom

NEW YORK CITY

For more information: (212) 267-1025

Fundamentals of Marxism

Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.
Douglas Fir Room,
MLK Student Union
UC Berkeley
For more information: (510) 839-0851

February 9:
Imperialism and the Struggle for International Socialist Revolution

February 23:
Race and Class in Capitalist America–Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution

BERKELEY

Spartacist Forums

U.S. Out of Somalia, Persian Gulf

Imperialist America's "New World Order" Starves Africa

Down with the Racist U.S. Blockade of Haiti!

Guest Speaker: Bernard Branche, Member of ATU Local 308
Chair: Mary Vaughn, Spartacist League
For more information: (312) 663-0715

Saturday, Feb. 6, 7:30 p.m.
Ramada Inn—Hyde Park
4900 S. Lakeshore Drive
Superior Room
(In the Guest Reservation Building)
Free parking available

CHICAGO

UN: Fig Leaf for U.S. Imperialism

U.S. Bloody Hands Off the World!

Defend Iraq! U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf! U.S. Out of Africa!

Speaker: Cindy Nicholas, Spartacus Youth Club, Spartacist League

Thursday, February 4, 12 Noon
Student Union, Room B112
San Francisco State University

For more information: (415) 777-9367

SAN FRANCISCO

THE SHOW TRIAL OF ERICH HONECKER

The following article is adapted from Spartakist *No. 100 (January 1993), published by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD), section of the International Communist League. On January 12, a constitutional court in Berlin ordered the charges dropped against the cancer-stricken 80-year-old Honecker, on the grounds that a continuation of the trial would constitute a violation of "human dignity." Honecker is now in Chile with his family. The show trial of Honecker's codefendants is continuing. We demand their immediate release!*

PART ONE OF TWO

Guardian [London]

Former East German leader Erich Honecker being arrested by vindictive West German bourgeoisie in 1991.

Defending the DDR Was No Crime, Selling It Out Was

It was billed as "the trial of the century," or at least the most spectacular one in Germany since the Nuremberg Trials of former Nazi leaders in the late 1940s. Only this time Communism would be put on trial and declared a criminal system. Instead, it has turned into a spectacle of victor's justice, meted out by the masters of reunited Germany; of capitalist class justice, against the leaders of the former East German deformed workers state; of revenge justice of the Fourth Reich of German imperialism, still smarting over the defeat of the Third at the hands of the Soviet Red Army in 1945. And, as predicted even by the accomplished witchhunters of *Der Spiegel*, it has turned into a "judicial farce."

The long-awaited trial was supposed to serve as a morality play, as a "reckoning" with the DDR and a "reappraisal" and "overcoming" of its history. In the dock, as the proceedings opened on November 12, were five leaders of the former German Democratic Republic (DDR), led off by Erich Honecker, former chairman of the DDR Council of State, the National Defense Council and the Socialist Unity Party (SED); Erich Mielke, former minister of state security; and Heinz Kessler, former minister of defense. The bigwigs were hauled into court in order to open the way for going after all "the little Erichs." Just to make sure, already half a dozen DDR border guards have been sentenced to lengthy prison terms for supposedly carrying out an "order to shoot" supposedly issued by the big Erichs.

But the "state of law" has been reduced to a laughingstock. As Honecker's lawyer Friedrich Wolff ironically remarked, "Agenda point 1: Carry in the Politburo. Agenda point 2: Turn on the pacemakers." Honecker, terminally ill with liver cancer, threw back at the court: "The sentence that you obviously intend for me will never touch me." In a race with death, the "trial" grows more macabre from day to day. Repeatedly, judge and prosecutor discuss the growing size of Honecker's tumor, only to repeatedly declare the 80-year-old man fit for trial. On the first day, former DDR chief of government Willi Stoph had to be dropped from the case because of a heart attack. As "Stasi" chief Mielke sat slumped in the courtroom, his case was separated so he could be tried on 60-year-old charges against him first raised in a Nazi court. In this political show trial, the courtroom has become a public torture chamber.

On the first day of the trial, the Spartakist Workers Party demonstrated outside the court, where we were eventually joined by supporters of the Erich Honecker Solidarity Committee. Our chants of "Down with the anti-Communist witchhunt! Nazis out! Freedom for Honecker and Mielke!" were widely reported by the media, and heard inside the courtroom. The SpAD carried signs declaring "The Red Army Smashed the Nazi Regime" and "Stalinism Is Dead, Communism Lives." Our press release linked this persecution-trial with the Nazi pogroms in Rostock and the scheduled mass deportation of Roma (Gypsies) as the hideous face of counterrevolution, the product of capitalist reunification led by Kohl together with the Social Democrats:

> "For the 'crime' of defending the DDR, SPD justice minister Jutta Limbach has thrown Honecker into Moabit prison, where he was previously jailed as a resistance fighter by the Gestapo....
>
> "The revolutionary working class in power will have its own score to settle with the Stalinists for their crimes against the working class, including selling out the DDR. But that isn't the concern of the bourgeoisie and their Social Democratic flunkeys."

Today, more level-headed elements of the bourgeoisie like *Der Spiegel*, and reformists like the PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism—successor to the SED, former ruling party of the DDR), want to call off the Honecker trial before the "state of law" is further discredited. The "alternative" redbaiters of *taz* suggested bringing in a parade of experts in order to "cultivate this still necessary trial." The defendants are accused of homicide in 13 cases of individuals killed while trying to cross the border to the West. They're supposed to be "desktop criminals," the masterminds who ordered the killings. But after two years of ransacking DDR archives, the prosecution has not come up with an order to shoot, much less a shoot-to-kill order.

Worried that they couldn't make this charge stick, on December 21 the prosecutors handed Honecker a new charge sheet accusing him of diverting $3.3 million for luxurious living quarters for the SED leadership. With true German thoroughness, the authorities evidently aim to keep the Honecker trial going even after he is dead! Yet despite all the media hoopla, a large part of the population is opposed to the trial. Today East Germans, as the London *Guardian* (11 November 1992) noted, "are more concerned about their lost jobs and rising rents, and many consider Chancellor Kohl and other western politicians to be the 'real criminals'."

Honecker Indicts His Persecutors

In the face of his persecutors, Honecker has shown dignity and defiance. On December 3, after giving a clenched-fist salute as he entered Room 700 of the Moabit Courthouse where this show is being played, he read out an hourlong statement before the court. Honecker noted that "I and my comrades...are led before the public just as the Roman Caesars once paraded their captured adversaries." John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon were not tried for sending U.S. troops to Vietnam, he pointed out, nor Ronald Reagan for seizing Grenada and bombing Libya, nor George Bush for invading Panama. "The persecution of tens of thousands and possibly hundreds of thousands of DDR citizens, of which the prosecution has already spoken, is the purpose of this trial," noted Prisoner 244/92.

This "court of the victors over the vanquished," said the former East German leader, hopes to "totally discredit the DDR" and criminalize Communists. "Socialism, already pronounced dead, is to be killed again." "The victory of the market economy (as capitalism is today euphemistically called) and the defeat of socialism are to be total. They want to say, as Hitler once did before Stalingrad, that 'this enemy will not arise again.' The German capitalists always had a tendency toward the total." "The trial is to lay the basis for branding the DDR as a 'state of injustice'," he went on. "A state that was ruled by such 'criminals' as ourselves, by 'killers,' can only be a 'state of injustice.' Whoever stood by it, whoever was a dutiful citizen of the DDR, is to be branded with this mark of Cain."

The capitalist rulers are not brought before courts for producing joblessness and homelessness, Honecker noted, citing the victorious bourgeoisie's attacks on day-care centers, working conditions, health care and equality for women. Today, while he and his comrades, long-time anti-fascists, are on trial, and Jews are arrested for protesting the pogrom in Rostock, Nazi mobs are running wild in the streets, attacking and killing immigrants, as in Mölln. "I lived for the DDR," Honecker summed up. "It signaled that socialism was possible and can be better than capitalism. It was an experiment that failed." After finishing his indictment of his persecutors, the prisoner said to those who sit in judgment over him: "Do what you feel you have to do."

Furious that the former DDR leader was allowed to attack their state, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (4 December 1992), mouthpiece for the Frankfurt bankers, complained that "the head of the court at least should have kept him to the straight and narrow."

Erich Honecker was not the only defendant to stand up to the black-robed capitalist inquisitors. Former defense minister Heinz Kessler declared, "I never ordered the shooting of defectors," and "I have not committed any of the crimes listed by the prosecution." While the charges speak of the Wall as an "inner-German barrier," Kessler noted that this was the front line of the Soviet bloc (Warsaw Pact) against NATO. "All measures were carried out according to our responsibilities to the alliance," he said, adding: "As long as my strength holds, I will defend the dignity and honor of being a citizen of the former DDR." The rulers of the Fourth Reich have a special hatred for Kessler, because he fought with the Red Army against Hitler's Wehrmacht. To us that is a mark of honor.

But while Honecker refused to bow to the judges, and told home truths about the capitalist system they represent, this unrepentant Stalinist showed that, like the Bourbons, he had "forgotten nothing

Pergamon Press

Gestapo mug shots of Erich Honecker in December 1935. Honecker was imprisoned for ten years by the Nazis.

and learned nothing" from the collapse of Stalinist rule. Socialism is not an "experiment," but the outcome of the class struggle. And the DDR was not socialism, but a workers state bureaucratically ruled by a privileged caste which sought, not to extend the revolution internationally, but to achieve "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. What failed was not the "socialist experiment"; the nationalist lie of building "socialism in one country," all the more so in a third of a country, was a perversion of internationalist Marxism and doomed to failure—or to a political revolutionary upheaval of the proletariat. For the capitalists, any kind of workers state is a mortal threat.

Honecker is so blinded by peaceful coexistence that the only time he referred to the class struggle in his defense speech for "the ideas of socialism" was to accuse the bourgeoisie of reverting to "the old class struggle strategy of the '30s"! This conception comes to a head over the question of the Berlin Wall. While Honecker devoted much of his courtroom statement to defending the Wall, his basic line was that it made détente possible, by preventing the Cold Warriors from touching off nuclear world war. For all his complaints about his Politburo colleagues who stabbed

Independent

Honecker clinks glasses with West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl in 1987, pursuing Stalinist pipe dream of "peaceful coexistence."

linism, as Trotsky said long ago, is the gravedigger of the revolution.

Tried by the Wrong Class for the Wrong Crimes

We have noted before that in the case of Honecker & Co., "The Stalinists are being tried by the wrong class for the wrong crimes" (*Spartakist* No. 94, March-April 1992). While the Springer

Spartakist

Spartakists at Tegel Airport, Berlin, July 1992, as Honecker is brought back for trial. Sign reads: "Fourth Reich: Hands Off Erich Honecker!"

him in the back, this ultimately leads Honecker to backhandedly *support capitalist reunification*, saying at the trial:

> "In my view, there would never have been either the Helsinki Treaty or German unity if the Wall wasn't built then, or if it had been torn down before the end of the Cold War."

Elsewhere, in his 1992 booklet *Zu dramatischen Ereignissen* (*On Dramatic Events*), Honecker writes: "The attempt to achieve the inner unity of Germany must not be burdened with the campaign of the 'victors' over the 'defeated'."

In contrast, we Trotskyists have noted that the Wall was a bureaucratic measure to defend the socialized gains of the deformed workers state. That's why the bourgeoisie hated it, and why the Spartakists defended it against imperialism, while supporting its opening as the product of a nascent political revolution in the DDR in 1989. And since we fought for a *revolutionary* reunification of Germany, for a "red Germany of workers councils" in the framework of a Socialist United States of Europe, we fought tooth and nail against *capitalist* reunification. Today we stand on the same communist principles, fighting to mobilize the working class and oppressed against the ravages of counterrevolution.

In bowing before the imperialist drive for *Anschluss*, Honecker's successors Krenz, Gysi and Modrow only took their predecessor's Stalinist program to its counterrevolutionary conclusions. Stapress prattles about "Wall murderers," what they are accused of is defending the borders of a workers state against economic sabotage by imperialism, which threatened to bleed dry the East German economy. This defense is no crime from the standpoint of the working class. And it is positively obscene for the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz, which is guilty of the murder of six million Jews, of millions of communists, Slavs, Roma and Sinti, and of more than 20 million Soviet citizens, to try to wipe off the bloodstains of its *genocide* by putting the leaders of the DDR on trial for allegedly issuing orders that led to the death of 187 people over 28 years!

That is an average of *seven people per year*. Meanwhile, in the United States, in 1990 alone, the racist Los Angeles police and sheriff's deputies routinely gunned down 120 people, according to a recent Amnesty International report. And the trigger-happy *Bundesgrenzschutz* (German federal border police) killed 59 people at the border in the period up to 1968.

And the "order to shoot"? The widely publicized 1991 book by Peter Przybylski, *Tatort Politbüro: Die Akte Honecker* (*The Politburo Case: The Honecker File*), claims: "The minutes of the 45th meeting of the National Defense Council of 3 May 1974 show that the chairman Honecker literally stated: 'As before, with attempts to break through the border, weapons must be ruthlessly used'." This is also the central "proof" in the trial charges. But in the minutes *there is no such statement*. What the prosecutors have is some private notes, which have no official standing, were not distributed and are denied by both Honecker and Kessler. Beyond that, what the investigators have "turned up" are nothing but the normal regulations for use of arms by border guards, which are hardly different than those of any country in the world, including West Germany.

Moreover, Przybylski himself notes that the border law in force from 1982 on required that when weapons were used, "the life of persons is to be spared as far as possible"!

The second set of charges, for "embezzlement" and enrichment from state property, are no less absurd. In the first place, as with the deaths on the border, Honecker et al. are being tried under the DDR law then in force. (This fundamental legal principle is respected in Germany, if only because otherwise, present federal laws could also be applied to the bloody Nazi judges who were taken over wholesale from the Third Reich to staff the courts of the federal republic.) But since Honecker didn't steal anything, all they could do was accuse him of breaking the law concerning "breach of trust" by officials who appropriate state property for their own use. However, in order to pave the way for privatization, that law was abrogated by the DDR the day before the currency union with West Germany came into force.

In order to get around this little problem, the Volkskammer (East German parliament) passed a special "Lex Honecker" declaring that the old law was still applicable for crimes committed before that date. This law, which was specially written into the unification treaty, contradicts both the DDR and federal German constitutions. But the "state of law" doesn't let such legal niceties stand in the way of a good witchhunt!

As for the amounts supposedly "embezzled," this is downright laughable. The big uproar during 1989-90 was over Wandlitz in the Brandenburg forest, where the SED tops lived. Przybylski reports that, according to investigations by the DDR state attorneys, approximately six to eight million hard-currency marks yearly were spent on Wandlitz. Yet this was to cover the needs of at least *280 people!* In contrast, in the United States last year, 278 heads of the top thousand companies "earned" more than $1 million *apiece* (*Business Week*, 12 October 1992). Turncoat Przybylski sneeringly refers to the "milk-and-honey estate," overflowing with Western stereos, TVs and VCRs, noting that the elite could buy them at the exchange rate of 1 DDR mark for 1 deutschmark. But they *paid* for these consumer goods. *And at the rate of one to one Helmut Kohl bought a whole country!*

Perhaps the lowest blow in this smear job is the attack on Honecker's reputation as an anti-fascist resistance fighter. For *Tatort Politbüro* is a vile character assassination in the style of *Bild-Zeitung*, using Gestapo reports to slander its victim. Basing himself on documents found in a "red suitcase" among Mielke's holdings in the cellar of the Stasi headquarters in Normannenstrasse, Przybylski accuses Honecker of "betrayal to the Gestapo." Similarly, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (16 November 1990) declared that the contents of the red suitcase "shatter the 'anti-fascist legitimization' of the former DDR," and show that Honecker, far from being an anti-fascist hero, "did everything to save his skin," including "incriminating fellow prisoners."

Przybylski alleges that during interrogation by the Gestapo after he was arrested in December 1935, "Honecker incriminated his chief," Bruno Baum, and also his Czech courier, Sarah Fodorovà, who had passed him a suitcase with clandestine materials. But Bruno Baum was held in the same Brandenburg prison as Honecker, where there was a Communist resistance in which they were both active. And after the war, Baum was a leading Berlin official of the SED. If there had been any indication that Honecker was a traitor, Baum was in a position to ensure that he would have been executed, before or after liberation.

As for Sarah Fodorovà, Przybylski says the "trail of the Czech woman was lost," suggesting she was executed. But in fact the Jewish courier was freed for lack of proof, and is living today in Israel. In an interview last fall she told the ADN news agency, "I thank Honecker for my life. He exonerated me before the People's Court." In fact, said Fodorovà, when she was freed, a

continued on page 8

Der Spiegel

Nazi skinheads in Halle, November 1991. For worker/immigrant defense against fascist terror!

Honecker...

(continued from page 7)

Gestapo man reviled her, "You can thank Honecker and his whole Communist mob that you came out of here alive" (*Neues Deutschland*, 20 October 1992).

Meanwhile, Erich Honecker's monthly pension as an anti-fascist resistance fighter has been canceled by the legal successor state to Hitler's Third Reich.

The Real Crimes of Stalinism

While Honecker was sitting in Hitler's jails in the late 1930s, Walter Ulbricht was living in the Hotel Lux in Moscow, handing over German Communists to Stalin's executioners, and even to the Gestapo. These are some of the real crimes of Stalinism *against the revolution*.

Hermann Weber, a leading historian of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD), brought together the available information on the KPD victims of Stalin's purges in his 1989 book "*Weisse Flecken*" *in der Geschichte* ("*Blank Spaces*" *in History*). Among those "liquidated" were seven Politburo members: Hugo Eberlein, Leo Flieg, Heinz Neumann, Hermann Remmele, Hermann Schubert, Fritz Schulte and Heinrich Süsskind. Also killed were the leader of the Rotfrontkämpferbund (Red Front Struggle League), Willi Leow; the leader of Rote Hilfe, Willi Koska; the editor of *Rote Fahne*, Werner Hirsch. Among the estimated 1,000 Germans turned over to Nazi Germany during the period of the Hitler-Stalin pact was Heinz Neumann's wife, Margarete Buber-Neumann. Of 68 leaders of the KPD living in the Soviet Union in the late 1930s, only 18 remained free, while 41 were killed. Altogether Weber lists some 350 KPDers victimized by Stalin's purge.

While they were accused of aiding the "Trotskyite-Zinovievite criminals," they were not just former "deviationists" (the actual Trotskyists were long gone). Rather, except for Ulbricht and Wilhelm Pieck, virtually the *entire* KPD leadership (two-thirds of the CC) was destroyed, just as Stalin murdered not only Lenin's comrade-in-arms Leon Trotsky but every remaining member of the Bolshevik Central Committee of 1917 (the general staff of the October Revolution) save one (Alexandra Kollontai), and decimated the general staff of the Red Army under Marshal Tukhachevsky. Stalin also executed almost all the leaders of the Polish CP and dissolved the party; over 800 Yugoslav Communists were "liquidated," and more than 100 Italian CP officials. It is important to understand why these Communists were purged.

AP

Racist cops of capitalism gunned down 120 people in Los Angeles in 1990 alone.

Stalin's bureaucratic rule was threatened by the living memory of the Bolshevik Revolution, and by the possibility of workers revolution elsewhere. Just as the GPU/NKVD beheaded the Spanish proletariat in order to head off revolution in the name of the Popular Front, the Moscow purges were a blood offering to the bourgeoisie, proof of Stalin's "sincerity" in denouncing the "export of revolution." That is why, far from denouncing Stalin's Russia as a "state of injustice," by and large the capitalists *supported* the purges. In 1943 Stalin finally liquidated the Comintern, founded on the program of world socialist revolution which was its reason for existence. And he desperately tried to keep the national-Stalinists Tito and Mao from overthrowing capitalism in Yugoslavia and China. The corollary of building "socialism in one country" at home was opposition to revolution abroad.

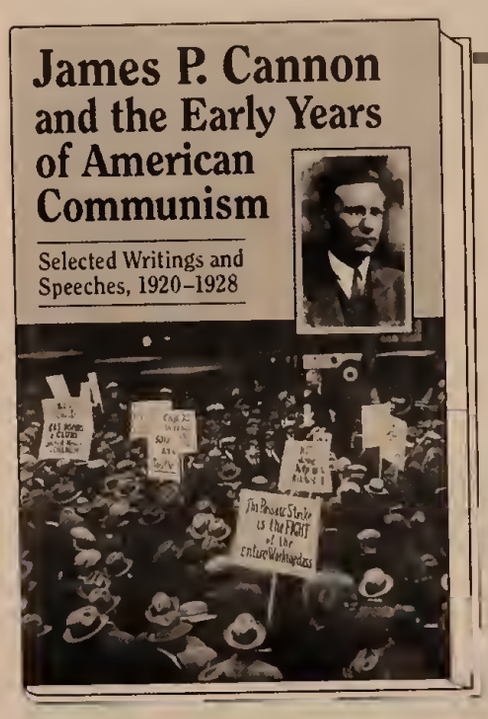
That was particularly true for Germany, the key to Europe. And while Erich Honecker was not personally responsible for the purges, he did help carry out Stalin's policy of preventing a socialist rising by the German proletariat upon the defeat of Hitler. In his official autobiography, *From My Life* (a title presumptuously copied from August Bebel), Honecker notes that after meeting Ulbricht in Berlin in May 1945, "I started building a united antifascist democratic youth movement," comprising young people "from all classes" and "all political and ideological persuasions." He also praised the KPD Central Committee manifesto of 11 June 1945, which "pointed the way for all antifascist democratic forces...to overcome the rule of monopoly capital."

Actually, the June 1945 manifesto called for a "parliamentary-democratic republic." And what Honecker doesn't say is that this had to be rammed through by the Moscow émigré leadership against resistance from the underground KPD cadres in Germany. In a 14 May 1945 letter to Pieck, Ulbricht reported that "the majority of the comrades have sectarian inclinations," and "clarifying disputes were necessary, because many still hung on to conceptions from the time before 1933. The red workers and peasants army stood in the country—didn't that mean that the establishment of soviet power and the construction of socialism was on the order of the day?"

Ulbricht put out the watchword. "We will do without a Communist youth group, because we want a unitary, free youth movement to arise." As Ulbricht's protégé, Honecker pushed for what became the FDJ (Free German Youth). He was initially opposed by the Saxon party youth secretary Robert Bialek, who argued for a proletarian youth organization of the KPD and SPD. "Naturally I would prefer a socialist youth organization, but that doesn't correspond to the present requirements," Honecker is quoted as saying. Those "traditionalists" who set up KJVD (Communist Youth League) groups were labeled left sectarians, ultralefts and Trotskyists. Thus the Free German Youth were founded, and later the German Democratic Republic.

Stalin and his satrap Ulbricht did not intend to build up the DDR as a workers state, but the imperialists' Cold War intransigence forced their hand, and capitalism was expropriated from above. As their pipe dreams of a "neutral, peace-loving Germany" dissipated, the Stalinist tops enforced their bureaucratic rule, against the working class and against opposition inside the SED. Honecker nearly went down with "the Goatee" Ulbricht in the wake of the 1953 workers revolt, and his road to the top was as hatchet man against pro-socialist oppositionists and dissidents.

[TO BE CONTINUED]



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Vancouver...

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minorities in Vancouver. The race-terrorists have firebombed the homes of East Indian and Chinese Canadian families and burned a cross outside the house of Iranian immigrants. A Jewish synagogue and a cemetery were defaced with Nazi slogans and swastikas, and a gay bookstore was bombed. Metzger's "White Aryan Resistance" skinheads brutally murdered an Ethiopian man in Oregon in 1988. Now the fascists announced a provocation at the Art Gallery, the traditional site for leftist and labor demonstrations in this city.

In response, the PDC, the legal and social defense organization associated with the Trotskyist League, issued an urgent appeal on January 11 to labor and minority organizations, calling for a "massive, disciplined display of labor power mobilizing minorities and all the fascists' intended victims—*when and where the fascists say they intend to be*.... Stopping this Nazi provocation is a matter of basic survival." This struck a real chord in Vancouver—a solid union town, with tens of thousands of East Indian and other Asian workers.

Two days later, the British Columbia Organization to Fight Racism (BCOFR) put out a press release calling for an "Anti-Racism Rally" at the Art Gallery to "Say no to W.A.R." The BCOFR rally, endorsed by the Vancouver and District Labour Council tops, was *not* called to *stop* the Nazi terrorists, but billed only as an "alternative to the advertised visit" by Metzger.

Intent on assuring that outrage against fascist terror was not diverted into an impotent talkfest, TL and PDC supporters distributed 30,000 copies of a mobilizing leaflet, addressing trade-union meetings and immigrant communities across the city. "All Out to *Stop* the Fascists!" said the TL leaflet, insisting:

> "Official union contingents, under their union banners, together with East Indians, Chinese, Japanese, blacks, Native Indians, Jews, gays and socialists, can see to it that this Nazi 'rally' never happens, and that these scum are swept off the streets."

East Indian shopkeepers postered the leaflet in their windows. Students at the University of British Columbia, Simon Fraser University and Langara Community College took stacks to distribute.

The Vancouver local of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers voted unanimously to endorse the TL/PDC call, issuing a leaflet calling for labor/minority mobilization, and sent a capable squad of union members to the demonstration. The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 500 put out their own leaflet as well, which was postered all over the waterfront, calling on longshoremen to go "All Out to *Stop* the Fascists" and "Join the Trotskyist League/Partisan Defense Committee Contingent!" (while repeating the Labour Council tops' plea that the government stop Metzger). A solid crew of longshoremen turned out, as did truckers and tugboat workers from two locals of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers Union. Saying they came "to make a point here," one union official expressed the widespread determination to make short shrift of the Nazis: "We'll stop them if they show."

Hodge/Vancouver Sun

Militant protesters routed Nazi thugs who tried to stage "secret meeting" at Century Plaza Hotel.

Other labor contingents came from International Woodworkers of America-Canada Local 1-357, Canadian Union of Public Employees Local 391, Telecommunications Workers Union Local 1 and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Some of these workers joined the TL/PDC contingent, supplying the main body of our marshals squad.

Official trade-union banners were everywhere to be seen outside the Art Gallery on Friday night. People from the city's Japanese, Chinese, black, Iranian and other communities were there, as well as women's groups and gays, and a Jewish peace group carried a sign in Hebrew, Arabic and English. The prospect of having to face a united front of organized labor, minorities and other anti-fascists sent the Nazis scurrying to find a new meeting site at a planetarium a couple of miles away. Tony McAleer, the would-be führer of Canadian Liberty Net, and a few skinheads strutted around for the bourgeois media and bragged about how they were going ahead with their "secret meeting."

At the Art Gallery, the BCOFR and others wanted to contain opposition to the fascists by trying to lull the crowd with music and insipid "love thy neighbor" speechifying—including in their roster a Tory MP who spoke as the representative of the racist, labor-hating federal Conservative government! The New Democratic Party loyalists of the BCOFR *never* intended to mobilize the battalions of labor to crush the fascists. They refused to call for union contingents, and at a January 19 Labour Council meeting BCOFR spokesman Paul Gill explicitly opposed going after the Nazis if they dared show their faces in the vicinity of the Art Gallery.

Although the BCOFR rally was designed to head off any genuine mobilization to stop the fascists, militant and serious unionists representative of the powerful B.C. labor movement meant business, and they kept the fascists out. Trotskyist League spokesman Oliver Stephens was widely applauded when he said from the rally podium:

> "The fascists want to destroy us and ours! They want to split us apart, to open us up for attack, to poison any kind of integrated struggle, like winning strikes. They are the shock troops of the racist ruling class. They can and must be stopped, and the organized working class has the power."

There were two *counterposed* political programs on how to respond to the fascist threat in Vancouver. The policy of the reformists and labor bureaucrats, which comes straight from the ministerial offices of the social-democratic NDP, was to preach reliance on the capitalist state and its police. In practice, this meant allowing the fascist provocation to go ahead. Against this the TL leaflet argued:

> "Reformists believe that the capitalist state is 'neutral' and can be pressured to 'ban' the fascists. As Marxists we understand that this state enforces the rule of capital and that the fight against fascism is the road of class struggle leading to the forging of a revolutionary workers party and socialist revolution."

At a BCOFR marshals meeting on January 20, spokesman Alan Dutton made perfectly clear their intention that any Nazis outside the perimeter of the rally would be left alone to spew their racist filth. A representative of the Coalition United to Fight Oppression (CUFO), a rad-lib sandbox which includes the Freedom Socialist Party and the International Socialists, argued that if the skinheads showed up and tried to march through the rally they should just be "ignored"! A speaker for the I.S. advised the marshals not to remove known fascist provocateurs from the demonstration but just "keep an eye" on them!

These reformists tried to put their wimpy program into action at the demo. As marchers headed off for the Century Plaza Hotel to get the skinhead thugs, CUFO marshals first tried to slow the protesters down and then they (including the I.S.) linked arms in front of the hotel to bolster the line of cops who were shoving the crowd back.

Last March, a gang of half a dozen skinheads waving swastika flags marched right through a "Rally Against Racism" that was held at the Art Gallery. TL supporters sought to mobilize demonstrators to defend themselves against these fascist thugs. But the rally organizers—the I.S. and CUFO—*let the Nazis parade with impunity!* The social-democratic I.S. is not guided by such Gandhian pacifism when it comes to anti-*communist* exclusions, launching a savage physical assault to keep Trotskyist League members out of a "public debate" in Toronto last August.

The Cold War "socialists" of the I.S. urged solidarity with every imperialist-backed counterrevolutionary force aimed at destroying the former workers states in East Europe and the Soviet Union. The result has been a tidal wave of reactionary nationalism and fascist terror which is the cutting edge of capitalist restoration. Those who cheered these forces in East Europe and the ex-USSR are hypocrites when they claim to want to "fight fascism" at home. The class-collaborationist appetites that underpinned the reformists' virulent anti-Sovietism can be seen in their supine response to the fascist terrorists here.

Forge a Revolutionary Workers Party!

After 16 years of union-busting rule under the ultraright racist yahoos of the Social Credit Party, the powerful B.C. labor movement thought it would get a break under an NDP government. But since their election in 1991, the NDP social democrats have imposed even further austerity, jacking up taxes and slashing social services, while alibiing racist cop terror against minorities. This is hardly new—the last NDP government in 1975 launched the most massive strikebreaking assault in the province's history. The social democrats serve as the labor lieutenants of capitalist class rule—"left" guardians of the decaying system that breeds fascist terrorists. In the course of class struggle, the NDP must be split, its working-class base won to a revolutionary party.

While small in numbers now, the fascists are the mortal enemies of all working people and must be crushed in the egg before they grow. When the capitalists feel their rule is being threatened by the working class—as in Germany and Italy in the 1920s and '30s—the bourgeoisie will finance the fascist killers and grease their rise to power in order to smash the workers organizations. Without revolutionary leadership the working class of Europe paid a terrible price, as the Nazi Holocaust devoured tens of millions of Jews, Gypsies, Slavs, leftists and others. As the TL leaflet concluded:

> "Unionists, minorities and a lot of others who oppose everything the fascists stand for are looking for a way to fight back against a system that has condemned them to poverty, degradation, homelessness, broken unions and broken lives. A genuine class-struggle mobilization to *stop* the fascists of 'Canadian Liberty Net' would give a taste of the power that must be brought to bear in the fight for a socialist revolution to overthrow the decrepit rule of the capitalist bosses which finds its degenerate expression in Metzger's Nazi-lovers, and bring to power the working people who built all the wealth of this country." ■

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Spartakists on Trial...

(continued from page 12)

other minorities, of communists and anti-fascists." This is the murderous flag of the cowardly Nazi bands from Mölln to Rostock and Berlin.

But as of 4:30 on the afternoon of June 23 there was no longer a swastika near the Brandenburg Gate. Courageous anti-fascists seized this bloody symbol of genocide and burned it. Immediately afterward a Spartakist banner with the words, "The Red Army Smashed the Nazi Regime," was unfurled from the roof of the gallery.

A representative of the gallery called the police, and the four Spartakists were briefly arrested. But after the energetic protest of many supportive onlookers and passers-by from different countries, including supporters of the Kurdish PKK, they were released. Now, following the racist pogrom in Rostock and the Nazi murders in Mölln, the four anti-fascists are being brought up on charges for their act of hygiene: Werner Brand, Ronald Krüger (photographer for the newspaper *Spartakist*), Renate Dahlhaus and Toralf Endruweit (both Spartakist spokesmen at the mammoth anti-fascist rally in Treptow in January of 1990, and candidates in the last Bundestag elections).

According to the bourgeoisie's penal code, the swastika is banned. But who would expect the self-proclaimed successor state to the Third Reich to take action against Nazi symbols? In reality its police protect the Nazis in their assaults on refugee hostels, while the victims of the Nazis are either deported or made out to be criminals. Behind the outcry against "violence" and "extremism of the right and the left" stands the racist persecution of refugees and immigrants as well as expanded police repression against anti-fascists. This is why the call for "more police" and for banning the fascists by the PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism) reformists and their ilk, through which they link up with the racist all-party coalition in Bonn, is so dangerous. And our case demonstrates this yet again. Capitalist reunification, welcomed by the SPD (Social Democratic Party) and PDS and their "left" tails, prepared the soil for the fascists. Now the Christian Democrats and Social Democrats are acceding to the murderous "Foreigners Out" slogans, by closing the borders and carrying out mass deportations.

Yevgeni Khaldei

30 April 1945: Red flag raised over the Reichstag as Soviet troops vanquished Nazi Third Reich.

The true face of the ruling class was recently revealed by Karl Dersch (executive board member of the aviation and space firm Deutsche Aerospace, on the presidium of the Federal Association of German Industry, etc., etc.), when he said that he flew his own "private" Reich war flag. In SPD-governed Nordrhein-Westfalen, with its large proportion of immigrant workers, the courts are so heavily infiltrated with Nazi judges, among them the notorious NPD leader Peter Markert, that the public employees union ÖTV organized the occupation of a courtroom. From Augsburg to Hatle, massive cop assaults supplement the Nazi terror.

The workers movement must defend the right to asylum. The present situation cries out for massive workers united-front mobilization, to demonstrate the social power of workers and immigrants against the Nazis and to defend the refugees. This is the program Leon Trotsky fought for at the beginning of the '30s, while the Social Democrats and Stalinists allowed Hitler to march unhindered to power.

The Fourth Reich wants to rehabilitate the Third Reich: this was the aim of Kohl and Reagan's obscene obeisance in Bitburg to SS graves. The bourgeoisie of Auschwitz is again stretching out its hands to rule over Europe. Their henchmen from the SPD stand in the vanguard of the anti-communist witch-hunt—whose high point is the present show trial of Erich Honecker, which is taking place in the Tiergarten state court, in the same complex of buildings—so as to take vengeance for the victory of the Red Army. And the PDS cooperates in the witchhunt in which it is itself being devoured. Freedom for Erich Honecker and all the representatives of the DDR deformed workers state, where the system of the swastika was destroyed!

Toralf Endruweit said: "We are proud to have ripped down the Nazi flag. We will show in this trial what the swastika means, in the Third and in the Fourth Reich. We will show what this flag of murder means to anti-fascist survivors of the Third Reich, to Jews, Roma, communists, gays, to the heroic Germans who fought in the Red Army against the barbarism of their own bourgeoisie, as well as to the Vietnamese workers from Rostock who nearly fell victim to a new holocaust, to the friends, family members and colleagues of those slain in the past few years, from Amadeu Antonio to Silvio Meier and the Arslan family, all victims of the brownshirt rabble. Their deaths spur us on, and we will avenge them, as we will all the victims of the Nazis and, before them, of the Freikorps that murdered Liebknecht and Luxemburg under the sign of the swastika. To eliminate the fascists once and for all we need a workers revolution that will avenge the victims of the Nazi Holocaust. That is what the Spartakist Workers Party is fighting for."

Let's turn the trial of the anti-fascists into a trial of the flag of Nazi genocide and the racist state that incites and protects its fascist bands! Support the campaign, mobilize among your friends, in your trade unions, in your schools and organizations. Send your anti-swastika statements to the Tiergarten District Court, Turmstrasse 91, W-1000 Berlin 21, fax: (030) 39 79 20 10. Send copies to and ask for additional information from the PDC. Send donations to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, New Yurk 10013, earmarked "No Nazi Flag."■

Statements of Solidarity with Anti-Nazi Four

Never Again Fascism! Down with Swastikas!

Karl Kielhorn is a member of the PDS who, with Gerhard Bögelein, was put on trial last year on charges that in 1947 they executed a Nazi military judge who had sent hundreds to their deaths under the Third Reich. Kielhorn was released, but Bögelein was sentenced to life imprisonment.

The order for my arrest, dated 4 June 1940 (IVc2 Haft Nr. 2503/1273/40g.), signed by Heydrich, bears the seal of the Gestapo with the cursed swastika eagle.

My via dolorosa through concentration camp and penal battalion was accompanied by swastika flags.

And then in the midst of Berlin, where 60 years ago the brown SA columns marched with torches and swastika flags through the Brandenburg Gate, a gigantic swastika flag is hung up.

I understand the righteous anger of the four young people who pulled down and burned this flag. Toralf Endruweit and his three comrades are now supposed to answer for this as defendants in February 1993 at the Tiergarten District Court.

With this statement I raise my protest!

The only swastika that I like is the one crushed beneath the boots of the Soviet soldier with a child on his arm, which stands atop the memorial for the fallen Soviet heroes in Treptow Park.

Karl Kielhorn, PDS
Member of the Presidium of
the Dachau Camp Association
Berlin, 7 January 1993

Are Victims Again to Be Seen as Criminals?

Eva Brück is a writer and representative of the East Berlin Jewish Women's Group who fled the Nazi Holocaust with her parents.

Four Germans from the East and West are to be condemned because they "illegally" destroyed..."art objects."

What were these "art objects"?

What they were was a large swastika flag exhibited in a flag installation at Pariser Platz in the summer of this year.

Not only the people who are now being brought up on charges but also many passers-by were outraged at this "shocking diversion into history" (see *Berliner Zeitung*, 29 May 1992).

One asks himself, who should really be standing trial: those who have bitter memories of the time 50 years ago, when they themselves and many others were unjustly hauled into court, when they were chased from house and home, and murdered—or those who placed the swastika as symbol of their inhuman tyranny on their insignia and flags?

This is just the way things started a half century ago: anyone who courageously expressed an opinion displeasing to the Nazis or acted against their wishes was ostracized, fired from his job, robbed of his property and often murdered. Then the condemned were called "kikes, red swine, vandals," etc.; today undesirable elements are stamped "former Stasi agents"—whether they in fact were or not (see Prof. Fink, Stolpe...) and then discriminated against; exposed, without any rights, to "justice" that is neither "based on the rule of law" nor—much less—"democratic."

Then a Senator Ehrhard simply asserts that the witnesses exonerating Prof. Fink were "not believable"—and his dismissal as rector of Humboldt University, Berlin, already repeatedly proved to be unlawful, had to proceed, without argument. Just like that. And swastika flags may be publicly exhibited as "art objects" in the center of Berlin, but outraged democrats and opponents of the Nazis that remove them are to be placed on trial!

Fifty years ago the public kept silent. They kept silent as the Nazis worked human beings to death, insulted them, beat them up before everyone's eyes. They kept silent as six million Jews were driven into the ovens in Auschwitz. They kept silent when the Jews of the Warsaw Ghetto rose up in their last, unequal battle.

And today, 50 years after the Holocaust, opponents of the Nazis are to be condemned by a German court, while a swastika flag is declared to be an "art object."

Is history going to repeat itself?

Eva Brück
Berlin, 30 December 1992

What Happened to Justice?

Atiye Eksi is the mother of a Turkish youth whose murder by fascists a year ago sparked mass protests.

Displaying a swastika flag is not permitted; in another sense, it cannot be allowed to wave as a work of art.

All Nazi flags are an expression of inhumanity. They are a violation of the dignity of humanity. They serve to incite racial hate.

My son Mete Eksi was slain a year ago by racist youths. They have not yet been placed on trial. They were set at liberty.

But those who on 23 June 1992 destroyed the Nazi flag are to be hauled into court on 17 February 1993. Are we still living in the Third Reich? Has Germany not yet overcome that period? Every day foreigners, hostels for asylum-seekers, apartment houses for immigrants are set on fire. People of different skin color are injured and killed. But the murderers are either not

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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"For Us Who Live in Exile, the Vietnam War Is Not Over"

Exiled Antiwar Activist Calls for Amnesty

Letter to Clinton

We print below a letter sent to President Clinton by Bob Malecki, an anti-Vietnam War activist who has been living in exile in Sweden. The letter has received widespread attention in Europe, and was printed in almost every daily newspaper in Sweden. Malecki was not a supporter of the Spartacist League at the time of the actions he took against military and war contractors like Dow Chemical. He subsequently became a longstanding supporter and remains a friend who has suffered more than two decades of exile because he fought against the crimes of U.S. imperialism.

January 20, 1993

To: Bill Clinton
President, U.S.A.

From: Robert Malecki
Robertsfors, Sweden

Dear Bill,

First I should say congratulations on being elected to the presidency and now taking office.

However I would like to come to the point of my letter.

It has been reported here in the media that one of the last things the Bush administration did before leaving town was to pardon some people in the so-called "Iran Contras Affair." These people, all close friends or with contacts with the Bush administration, have been pardoned and are free.

Now I cannot argue all the points either for or against this last goodwill gesture by the Bush administration to these people. But the point is that these people are free!

Now if the Bush administration can draw a line over the Iran Contras Affair, I think that your administration certainly can take up the question of amnesty for all of those people who still are in exile or underground because of the Vietnam War.

I have been living in exile for over twenty years and still wanted by Federal authorities and state authorities for crimes against the government. I personally do not regret anything that I did during this period. *Still today* I can say that I take responsibility for the destruction of tons, yes hundreds of thousands of files for people facing the draft during that period. I take still responsibility for the destruction of Dow Chemical's data banks in Washington D.C. These actions led to both the end of the draft and that Dow Chemical stopped its production of napalm and Agent Orange used against the Vietnamese people.

These actions however I am not accused of; what I have been accused of is *conspiracy* to bomb public buildings in Ohio, *conspiracy* to take out B-52s on Guam in the Pacific, among other conspiracies.

The funny thing about these above mentioned crimes is that they never took place! Conspiracy was the way the state and Federal authorities tried to make us look like terrorists or maniacs. They accused us of planning to do something that was never done. They never accused us of doing things that we said we were responsible for.

Bill, I think it's time that we draw a line over this period. None of us, especially myself, will ever forgive or forget what happened, nor should we. However an amnesty for all those who are in exile or underground is morally justified. All of my actions I did in the interest of the American and Vietnamese peoples. To Vietnam I can go whenever I please however to the United States my birthplace I cannot return.

Today I have a little farm in the northern part of Sweden quite near the polar circle. I live in a little village along with 12 families. I raise vegetables, sheep, and hulls and work part time with retarded children and grownups. I certainly like the life I have now and will never go back to the states to live. However I have a daughter who goes to college in the U.S. and will become a lawyer and another daughter who is a typical teenager. I certainly would like to be able to visit them in my older days.

I know, Bill, that the question of Vietnam is still extremely a question that a lot of people have feelings about. One of the biggest questions during your election campaign was, what was Bill Clinton doing? However you handled it pretty well. Now I think that the question of amnesty should be handled in the same way.

The war is over in Vietnam. However for us who still live in exile it is not! Hoping to hear from you soon.

Warm regards to you and family
Robert Malecki

Letters...

(continued from page 3)

between Lamarckism and Darwinism—for Lamarckism is, fundamentally, a theory of *directed* variation.... Lamarckism holds that genetic variation originates *preferentially* in adaptive directions" (Gould's emphasis).

Until the beginning of this century, Lamarckism was indeed considered a potential explanation for some, if not all, phenomena of natural selection. It was not until the decade of the '30s, with the "modern synthesis" of natural history and Mendelian genetics, that Darwin's mechanism won the day and random genetic mutation was recognized as the mechanism for the appearance of unbiased variation within a population. In "Shades of Lamarck" Gould noted:

> "Thus Lamarckism, so far as we can judge, is false in the domain it has always occupied—as a biological theory of genetic inheritance. Yet, by analogy only, it is the mode of 'inheritance' for another and very different kind of 'evolution'—human cultural evolution. *Homo sapiens* arose at least 50,000 years ago, and we have not a shred of evidence for any genetic improvement since then.... All that we have accomplished, for better or for worse, is a result of cultural evolution.
>
> "Cultural evolution has progressed at rates Darwinian processes cannot begin to approach. Darwinian evolution continues in *Homo sapiens*, but at rates so slow that it no longer has much impact on our history. This crux in the Earth's history has been reached because Lamarckian processes have finally been unleashed upon it. Human cultural evolution, in strong opposition to our biological history, is Lamarckian in character. What we learn in one generation we transmit directly by teaching and writing. Acquired characters are inherited in technology."

The bourgeoisie attempts to ensure its survival through the use of its massive control of society, its technology, its academic think tanks, etc.; ultimately, the massive use of force by armed bodies of men. Against the bourgeoisie the proletariat can count on two major weapons, socialist theory and organization—the fusion of these two in the consciousness of the proletariat and in its vanguard, the revolutionary party, are the means for the victory of the proletariat, ushering in a new dawn for humanity as a whole.

In the 1982 essay quoted above, Gould bemoans the bum rap that Lamarck has gotten from many evolutionists who "reread Lamarck, cast aside the guts of it and elevated one aspect of the mechanics—inheritance of acquired characters—to a central focus it never had for Lamarck himself. Moreover, many of these self-styled 'neo-Lamarckians' abandoned Lamarck's cardinal idea that evolution is an active, creative response by organisms to their felt needs. They preserved the inheritance of acquired characters but viewed the acquisitions as direct impositions by impressing environments upon passive organisms."

Yet in his October 1992 essay Gould rereads his own work, elevates one aspect of its mechanics—contingency—and abandons the cardinal idea that (in cultural evolution) punctuation (revolution or counterrevolution) is an active, creative response by man (organized in classes) to felt needs. Instead, he simply reduces it to the passive expectancy that "perhaps we will punctuate to a better place."

He allows the power of "contemporary events and personalities to shape and direct the actual path taken among myriad possibilities," while noting that "modern punctuationalism" as it is applied to human cultural evolution "emphasizes contingency." But he gives the "last word about modern Russia" to Tolstoy, who said: "Why did it happen in this and not some other way? Because it happened so!" Thus contingency is reduced to random, unknowable and unpredictable luck. To this one can only quote back to him his own rendition of Pasteur's quip about the role of luck in the creative process: "fortune favors the prepared [conscious] mind."

Gould faults Marx for holding to the "conviction that directions of change are progressive, predictable, and well-nigh inevitable."

Against this he raises the all-powerful bugaboo of contingency: "the unpredictability of the nature of future stability." Having thus reduced Marx to a "neo-Lamarckian" caricature of himself, he reduces in the concrete instance of modern Russia the unimpeachable statement that "accidents happen in history" into "history is an accident." Yet compare the quote you reproduce from Marx and Engels about class struggles ending "either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes," with Gould's own words at the end of the paragraph on cultural evolution quoted above:

> "Lamarckian evolution is rapid and accumulative. It explains the cardinal difference between our past, purely biological mode of change, and our current, maddening acceleration toward something new and liberating—or toward the abyss."

Comradely,
Jorge Ramírez

punished or get very mild punishments.

I ask you, where is justice!!!

The mother of Mete Eksi,
Atiye Eksi
6 January 1993

The Undigested Past of Fascism Is the Present of the Fourth Reich

As a German soldier in World War II, Ernst Duschinski went over to the side of the Red Army to fight against the Nazi scourge. In the late 1950s, he was imprisoned by the West German state for being a member of the banned Communist Party.

To the KfsV
Dear Friends:

This morning I gratefully received your letter with the flyer, "Defend the Anti-Fascists of the Brandenburg Gate: We Ripped Down the Nazi Flag!"

My agreement in our phone conversation yesterday evening has thus been overtaken by events. I couldn't have written anything different from what was in the flyer.

Only this much: my sympathy and concern for the four anti-fascists who put an end to the base provocation!

One is, after all, used to a fair bit of megalomania and perversion of justice by West Berlin (in)justice and it would be good to chase these people away as quickly as possible! But the arguments they dragged in to haul the four anti-fascists into court really fill the cup to overflowing!

And this much more: I was born in 1921 and I well recall what disasters fascism and German monopoly capital caused: from the raucous brownshirt hordes who passed through the Brandenburg Gate on 30 January 1933 (almost 60 years ago!) down to the end of the Second World War with 50 million dead. The Soviet Union bore the main burden of this war, and Soviet Sergeant Kontariya and his comrades were able to place the Red Flag of victory atop the Berlin Reichstag not far from the Brandenburg Gate. In doing so, they freed the German people from fascism and extended their hands to us for a new beginning! What the top dogs in the later Federal Republic of Germany made of this is well known: the undigested past of fascism is the present of the Fourth Reich. This is also demonstrated by the provocation with the swastika flag in West Berlin!

Note as well: people of our generation bore the main burden of the fascist war. We survivors were used up in the factories by the West German "economic miracle." Hence the great number of people on early retirement! I know whereof I speak: so never again fascism, no matter what forms it assumes! Never again war! Let us ward it off jointly, there's not much more time!

I wish all of you a good 1993, that won't give us anything for nothing!

With socialist greetings!

Ernst Duschinski
Kiel, 30 December 1992

Swastikas stand for anti-Semitic genocide: 1935 banner in German town square says, "The Jews Are Our Misfortune."

WORKERS VANGUARD

Vancouver Labor/Minority Mobilization

3,000 Drive Off Fascist Skinheads

VANCOUVER—The Nazis of "Canadian Liberty Net" and their gang of skinhead punks were put on the run here Friday night, January 22. The Hitler-lovers had boasted they were going to rally in front of the Vancouver Art Gallery at 7 p.m., and organize a "secret meeting" to "welcome" infamous American Nazi Tom Metzger. What happened instead was no secret. The Nazis' intended site was occupied by 3,000 anti-racist protesters—organized contingents of trade unionists, youth, minorities, gays and other opponents of fascist terror.

When word ran through the crowd, as the rally was winding down, that skinheads had been sighted at the Century Plaza Hotel, hundreds took to the streets, joining with the Trotskyist League of Canada and Partisan Defense Committee in chanting, "Stop the Nazis, this is the hour! Labor, minorities have the power!" As the 500 marchers neared the hotel, the handful of fascists cowered in a side alley. Pursued by the demonstrators, the Nazis jumped walls, scrambled over fences and fled into the darkness.

Spartacist Canada photos

Unionists, minorities, students massed at Vancouver Art Gallery. Spartacists had called for massive labor-based mobilization to stop the fascists.

"This was a victory," PDC spokesman Miriam Scribner declared. "What happened tonight was a vindication of our call for a mass union-centered mobilization to sweep the fascists from the streets." After the two-bit Hitlers fled, the TL led part of the crowd downtown to a victory party, chanting "Off with the hoods! Off with the sheets! We drove the fascists from the streets!"

The *Vancouver Sun* headlined "White Supremacist Skinheads Flee Hotel," reporting: "As thousands of anti-racists demonstrated outside the Century Plaza Hotel, a small group of white supremacist skinheads escaped like terrified prey out a side entrance." The cops took their revenge by arresting two anti-fascist protesters, threatening them with charges including "weapons" possession and wearing a mask! *Drop all charges against the anti-fascist demonstrators!*

"All Out to *Stop* the Fascists"

The attempted "Liberty Net" rally was a deadly threat aimed at all labor and

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Witchhunt Scandal in Germany

Spartakists on Trial for Tearing Down Nazi Flag

The following article is translated from Spartakist *No. 100 (January 1993), newspaper of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany*

On February 17, four supporters of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) and the Committee for Social Defense (KfsV) are to be put on trial at the Berlin-Tiergarten district court for "trespassing." Their "crime"? On 23 June 1992 they removed a gigantic swastika flag that had been hanging since May near the Brandenburg Gate at the Galerie Pariser Platz [see "German Spartakists Tear Down Nazi Flag," *WV* No. 555, 10 July 1992]. By this act they put an end to an outrageous provocation that horrified thousands and constituted a direct slap in the face to the survivors of Nazi terror and all decent human beings.

The swastika is no "art object," as it is described in the indictment of the four anti-fascists. As KfsV spokesman Werner Brand stated, "We won't tolerate this! The swastika stands for the gruesome murder of six million Jews, of Roma and Sinti [Gypsies], homosexuals and

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Spartakist

23 June 1992: Our comrades rip down swastika flag near Berlin's Brandenburg Gate.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 569

12 February 1993

Right-Wing Bigots Mobilize Against

Gays in the Military

Clinton Bows to Anti-Gay Hysteria

Donna Binder/Impact Visuals

Mark Ludak/Impact Visuals

Bible-thumping bigots demonstrate against gay rights in New York, October 1992 (left). Protesters demand end to ban on gays in armed forces (right).

The current furor over Clinton's campaign promise to drop the U.S. military's ban on homosexuals reflects this society's vicious anti-gay social climate, led for over a decade by White House-sanctioned religious fundamentalists. Of course, gays and lesbians have always been in the military, just as they exist—mainly "closeted"—in all areas of society. Despite media claims that gays are now "entering the mainstream," open homosexuals remain prey to ignorant prejudice at best and at worst deadly beatings and even murder.

Navy Seaman Allen Schindler, serving on the USS *Belleau Wood*, was brutally beaten to death by shipmates last October, shortly after he "came out." Schindler had complained of harassment previously, having been subjected to deadly taunts like, "There's a faggot on this ship and he should die." And a few weeks ago three Marines from Camp Lejeune, North Carolina dragged a man out of a local gay bar and beat him while shouting, "Clinton must pay!"

In fact, Clinton's hesitant, on-again, off-again line on ending the anti-gay ban was an invitation for the right-wing backlash. Head of the Joint Chiefs Colin Powell, Republican Congressional leaders and the rabidly militarist wing of the Democratic Party around Georgia Senator Sam Nunn provided moral support for the gay-bashers in khaki and navy blue. Clinton quickly backed off and agreed to a six-month moratorium on ending the ban to allow Congress to "study" the question.

To assert his credentials as a "responsible" CEO of American capitalism, Clinton vows to end "welfare as we know it" and even to slash Social Security. Clinton's entire campaign was geared to distancing himself from the traditional identification of Democrats with a "welfare state," itself a racist code word for anything perceived as beneficial to blacks. At the same time, he exploited the opposition of women from all social layers to the Republican right's campaign against abortion and sexual equality in general. The chauvinist demagogy of the two Pats, Buchanan and Robertson, outraged even wealthy heiresses and women business executives who are as racist as Jesse Helms and as greedy as Michael Milken. Clinton got campaign contributions from businesswomen who had bankrolled right-wing Republicans since the days of Barry Goldwater.

Clinton's campaign promise to end the ban on gays in the military was part of a strategy of appealing to the bourgeois feminist milieu, and "respectable" gays. Such rad-lib types as *Village Voice* columnist Donna Minkowitz dusted off her tux to celebrate Clinton's inauguration: "At the Triangle Ball, kicked-out marine Joe Steffan sang the national anthem while an honor guard of homosexuals purged from the military carried in the flag. I had to keep reminding myself that the military was at that moment bombing hotels in Iraq" (2 February).

The history of America's wars (with the exception of the Civil War) is a history of racist injustice, from its origins in the mass murder of the native Indian population, to colonial massacres in the Philippines, to the imperialist slaughters of World Wars I and II, to Vietnam. As socialists fighting for the abolition of the capitalist system of exploitation,

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Supreme Court Executioners

Innocence Is No Defense

For over a dozen years the Supreme Court has been greasing the assembly line of death—discarding judicial precedents, shredding what reality there was to the Bill of Rights, even stripping a federal appeals court of power in order to "get on with it." The handwriting had been on the wall for quite some time, but in late January the high court of American capitalism spray-painted in blood-red capital letters: innocent or not, let them fry.

On January 25, the Supreme Court rejected Mexican American Leonel Herrera's claim that newly discovered evidence of his innocence required he be granted a hearing before execution. With barely disguised venom for the country's heavily black death row population, Rehnquist & Co. refused to review Herrera's death sentence even after he had presented new evidence that he was not guilty of the crime for which he is to die. Innocence is no defense, decree the haughty high court hutchers in black robes.

The Rehnquist Court had already pronounced Herrera dead last February, when it agreed to hear his appeal but refused to stay the execution. If a state court had not intervened to issue a stay, Herrera's body would have been long cold before the Supreme Court ever decided whether or not he had a right to a new hearing! At the same time as it issued the Herrera decision, the high court ruled on two other death penalty cases. In one, the justices invoked the "no new rules" doctrine to declare that a black man convicted for a crime he

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Gallows at Washington state prison, where the first legal hanging in 28 years was carried out this January.

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Free Sundiata Acoli!

After 20 years of prison hell, former Black Panther Sundiata Acoli will make his first appearance before the parole board on February 22. Like Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) and so many other former Panthers behind bars, Acoli's "crime" was to survive a murderous cop assault which left one of his comrades dead and another severely wounded.

As a Black Panther Party militant at the height of the FBI COINTELPRO vendetta, Acoli was no stranger to brutal state repression. Then known as Clark Squire, he and 20 other Panthers were charged in 1969 with plotting to blow up, among others, the Bronx Botanical Garden, Macy's and Bloomingdale's—charges so ludicrous that the jury took only 90 minutes to acquit the Panther 21 in May 1971, after a nine-month trial.

The cops got their shot at Acoli two years later, in May 1973, when he, Zayd Malik Shakur and Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard) were flagged down by state troopers who immediately started blazing away with their guns, killing Zayd Shakur. One of the troopers was killed in the crossfire, hy a bullet from a police revolver. Assata Shakur, shot by the cops while sitting in the back of the car with her hands over her head, barely survived. In a classic example of racist capitalist "justice," she and Acoli were then convicted on charges of killing the cop and their own comrade! Assata Shakur escaped from prison in 1979, and was given asylum in Cuba.

Despite 20 years of imprisonment—including eight years in 23-hour-a-day lockup in the notorious Marion prison—Acoli remains politically active. In 1991 he was one of over 100 prisoners who signed a statement demanding "Stop the Legal Lynching of Mumia Abu-Jamal!" Consistently favorable prison work reports have finally made him eligible for parole. But it will take a massive outpouring of support to win Sundiata's freedom. We urge readers to send letters demanding his release to: New Jersey State Parole Board, CN-862, Trenton, NJ 08625. Send copies and write for more information to: Sundiata Acoli Freedom Campaign, P.O. Box 5538, Manhattanville Station, New York, NY 10027.

Courtesy Jaan Laaman

Sundiata Acoli (standing, second from right) with fellow political prisoners in Leavenworth, including Ohio 7's Jaan Laaman (standing, far left) and Leonard Peltier (standing, center).

Free Geronimo!

Even as his supporters stood assembled outside Tehachapi prison and ABC News waited to tape the proceedings, the parole hearing for Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) scheduled for January 29 was postponed at the last minute. The new hearing is scheduled for May 21.

A former leader of the Black Panther Party, Geronimo has spent over 22 years behind bars, framed by the FBI and Los Angeles Police Department for a murder they know he did not commit. Mobilize now to demand Geronimo's freedom! We urge you and your organization to send letters of support. Address them to the California Board of Prison Terms and send them to the PDC, P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107.

* * *

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, NY, NY 10013. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Malcolm X Against Capitalism and Imperialism

A new generation is discovering in Malcolm X an outspoken and courageous fighter for the liberation of black people. The mass media seek to portray him as an example of individual advancement and a precursor of so-called "black capitalism," who moreover was supposedly moving toward a reconciliation with the pro-Democratic Party liberal pacifism of Martin Luther King. This is a lie! Until he was cut down by assassins' bullets in February 1965, Malcolm X retained his intense hatred for capitalism and American imperialism. As Marxists, we understand that capitalism will not simply collapse but must be smashed by anti-capitalist revolutions, extending from America to Zimbabwe, through the leadership of an international communist vanguard

It is impossible for capitalism to survive, primarily because the system of capitalism needs some blood to suck. Capitalism used to be like an eagle, but now it's more like a vulture. It used to be strong enough to go and suck anybody's blood whether they were strong or not. But now it has become more cowardly, like the vulture, and it can only suck the blood of the helpless. As the nations of the world free themselves, then capitalism has less victims, less to suck, and it becomes weaker and weaker. It's only a matter of time in my opinion before it will collapse completely.

—Malcolm X, "*Young Socialist* Interview" (January 1965)

This society is controlled primarily by the racists and segregationists who are in Washington, D.C., in positions of power. And from Washington, D.C., they exercise the same forms of brutal oppression against dark-skinned people in South and North Vietnam, or in the Congo, or in Cuba or in any other place on this earth where they are trying to exploit and oppress. That is a society whose government doesn't hesitate to inflict the most brutal form of punishment and oppression upon dark-skinned people all over the world.

Look right now what's going on in and around Saigon and Hanoi and in the Congo and elsewhere. They are violent when their interests are at stake. But for all that violence they display at the international level, when you and I want just a little bit of freedom, we're supposed to be nonviolent. They are violent in Korea, they are violent in Germany, they are violent in the South Pacific, they are violent in Cuba, they are violent wherever they go. But when it comes time for you and me to protect ourselves against lynchings, they tell us to be nonviolent.

—Malcolm X, "After the Bombing," (February 1965)

WV Photo

Martha Phillips

10 March 1948 – 9 February 1992

It has been a year since our comrade Martha Phillips was murdered in Moscow. At the time of her death, Martha was the most visible fighter for the program of Trotskyist internationalism in the former Soviet Union. The destruction of the Soviet workers state and associated ravages of capitalist restoration cry out for the construction of a party that can organize and lead the urgent battle against fratricidal nationalism, chauvinism, and all forms of bigotry. Martha Phillips dedicated her life to building such a party, a Leninist tribune of the people.

Our anguish over the irreplaceable loss of a beloved comrade and cherished friend is compounded by the fact that we still do not know who murdered Martha, or why. Our efforts to press for a serious investigation into this tragedy continue to be met with utter indifference by the American consulate and deliberate evasion and incompetence by the Moscow authorities.

As stated in the preface to the document of our recent international conference, "the International Communist League dips the red banner of the Fourth International in honor of comrade Martha Phillips, who died on the front lines of the struggle to reimplant Lenin and Trotsky's communism in the homeland of the October Revolution." On this first anniversary of her death, we salute our fallen comrade. We honor her spirit, tenacity, courage and intelligence in our resolve to continue the struggle.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 569 **12 February 1993**

Lynch Mob Atrocity in Florida

On New Year's Day, Christopher Wilson, a black stockbroker from Brooklyn, was on working vacation in Florida and visiting his girlfriend in Tampa. On his way to pick up a newspaper that day, Wilson was seized in broad daylight by three white racist thugs. He was forced at gunpoint to drive 16 miles on a winding road to a remote farm area near Fort Lonesome. Stopping in a field, the racists robbed Wilson, doused him with gasoline and set him on fire. "You're going to die, n-----," they taunted as they laughed and drove off. The would-be killers, Jeff Ray Pellet, Mark Kohut and Charles Rourke, left a note behind signed "KKK," reading: "One less n----- and one more to go."

Christopher Wilson did not die, but he now suffers excruciating second and third degree burns on 40 percent of his body. He narrowly escaped being burned to death, managing to reach neighbors who used a hose to put out the fire.

In an outrageous display of official racism, authorities first labeled the atrocity a routine "robbery." This attempted cover-up of a savage, murderous racist attack is not surprising, despite efforts to paint Tampa/St. Petersburg as a fun-in-the-sun tourist spot in "the Sunshine State." Despite the cosmetic overlay of the "New South" touted by capitalist politicians, the lynch mob terror of the Old South remains. Plenty of black and working people know the Florida coast as the "Redneck Riviera," and lots of white racists across the "cracker belt" are proud of it. A couple of years ago, some of these types pushed for a referendum for the northern part of the state to secede from the heavily Jewish and Hispanic southern region and join Alabama.

Florida has always been a Klan stronghold, ranking right up there with Georgia and Alabama in numbers of cases of KKK violence, surpassed only by Texas and Oklahoma. Tampa Bay was one of the main KKK centers for decades and currently has the highest rate of hate crimes in Florida. In the years before World War I, the state had the highest per capita rate of lynching in the country. Now, like the attempt to cover up the torching of Christopher Wilson, a cover-up was recently revealed of the lynching of an entire black community in Florida, on New Year's Day 1923. The only two remaining survivors of the Rosewood massacre, Lee Ruth Davis, 77, and Minnie Lee Langley, 88, are demanding that the state legislature reimburse them for property loss and memorialize the massacre.

Rosewood was a thriving town 75 miles north of Tampa, where black homesteaders worked for the area's pencil factories and turpentine mills. The Klan

New York Newsday

Christopher Wilson, nearly burned to death in racist attack.

marauders on that January day showed up under pretext of searching for a black man alleged to have raped a white woman—long the rallying cry for lynch mob frenzy. Droves of Klansmen from all over Florida and as far away as Georgia rode against Rosewood, killing dozens of black men, women and children, and torching the town. "All that remains of Rosewood," a recent UPI (29 December 1992) account notes, "is a green and white sign with the name of the town on it and a two-story white clapboard house. It was owned by the only white resident, which is why it was spared."

Lee Ruth Davis and Minnie Lee Langley were only children when they witnessed the bloody massacre. Their stories are searing—a partially paralyzed black man was forced to dig his own grave, then was shot and shoved into it. Another man was hanged from a tree, a pregnant woman was shot as she crawled under a porch to hide. Bloodhounds bayed as the lynch mobs hunted down fleeing men, women and children, and gunmen were waiting at the railroad to kill anyone escaping. "We had all our property there, and they took everything they didn't burn," recalls Langley. "They even took it off the map" (*Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, 17 January). The Rosewood massacre was so obliterated from history that no one even knows how many people were killed in the rampage. Newspaper accounts vary from 7 to 21. A lawyer representing the two survivors puts the number closer to 100.

The '20s were years of rampant racist terror throughout the U.S., as white soldiers demobilized after the war were set against the black population. In 1921, an aerial police bombing obliterated the black district of Tulsa, Oklahoma, killing 75 people, mostly black, while 4,000 more blacks were thrown into concentration camps. Florida was notable for the fact that its various KKK chapters did not go into decline after the "roaring twenties" as in other states.

As documented in David M. Chalmers' history of the KKK, *Hooded Americanism*, the racist terror—assaults, floggings, murders, bombings—went on unabated through the decades: the dynamiting murders of state NAACP leader Harry Moore and his wife in 1951, the 1960 "Ax Handle Saturday" mob attack against lunch counter sit-ins in Jacksonville, the bloody St. Augustine siege in 1964 against Martin Luther King led by local cops and Georgia Klan killer J.B. Stoner, who also carried out the bombing murder of four young black girls in a Birmingham, Alabama church. Just last year the Klan paraded in the Tampa Bay area. Meanwhile, official racist government policy is to keep thousands of Haitians—fugitives from junta terror made in America—languishing in dungeons like Miami's notorious Krome Avenue Detention Center.

The destruction of Rosewood and the obliteration of black Tulsa were echoed in 1985 with the bombing of Philly MOVE by Reagan, the FBI and black mayor Wilson Goode. In all these cases of state-sanctioned or state-engineered mass murder, the racists in suits or sheets wanted to make sure no one got out alive.

The integrated labor movement, in particular longshoremen from Jacksonville and the Tampa Bay area, has the power to put an end to the reign of terror by the KKK and their allies. But for the real power of the multiracial labor movement to be wielded in defense of the workers and oppressed minorities requires a combative labor leadership fighting for power against the racist status quo. It will take socialist revolution to sweep away this system of racist terror and finish the Civil War. No blank pages in the history books—Remember and avenge Rosewood! Full restitution to the survivors of the Rosewood massacre! ■

Knight Ridder/Tribune

Atlanta Journal and Constitution

Lee Ruth Davis, survivor of 1923 Ku Klux Klan massacre which obliterated black town of Rosewood.

Down With the Flag of Slavery!

Furor Over Georgia State Flag

Atlanta, Georgia is the showcase city of the supposed "New South," a town that dubs itself "the city too busy to hate." But in recent weeks black Atlanta has been made to suffer the indignities and threatening reminders of a past of chattel slavery and a present of racist violence and inequality. A proposal by Georgia governor Miller to finally remove the Confederate battle emblem from the state flag has roused a storm of protest by Klansmen and their "civilized" auxiliary, the Sons of Confederate Veterans (they wear ties instead of hoods), to preserve this banner of racist terror *North and South*.

In a provocation deliberately timed to spit on the observance of Martin Luther King Day, five enormous billboards displaying the Confederate flag were placed within a mile of the state capitol, like monster Nazi flags at Hitler rallies. One billboard was appropriately defaced and removed. And on January 19, 300 Sons of Confederate Veterans rallied at the capitol to "save" the banner of slavery. Blaring *Dixie* at top volume, racist losers dressed in Confederate uniforms fired frighteningly real-sounding gun volleys in the direction of city hall's black administration.

As a columnist in the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* wrote, "Just when you think the New South is all set—a gloss of skyscrapers and canny businesses—the Old rises again, like something undead in a Stephen King novel." Undead indeed. Some of the most sinister racist creeps in America are fighting to preserve the battle flag of slavery, including Vietnam war criminal General Westmoreland, ultra-right powerbroker and fascistic presidential hopeful Patrick Buchanan, segregationist Lester Maddox, and *two dozen* members of the Georgia state legislature!

While black Democratic Party hacks applaud Miller's "change of heart" in proposing to replace the flag (he wants the Confederate "Stars and Bars" instead!), we remind people that this racist pig launched his political career campaigning against the 1964 Civil Rights Act. His "change of heart" is a cynical move to protect the big bucks that are expected to flow into Georgia when Atlanta hosts the 1996 Olympics. It finally dawned on profit-conscious racists that flying the Confederate flag over an international sports competition dominated by the world's best black athletes might be bad for business—after all, the city's new "official" VISA credit card might balk at carrying the flag as its logo. Meanwhile, under the cover of the flag flap, Miller is trying to ram through a welfare "reform" that would deny aid to children born to women on public assistance—the vast majority of whom are black.

Every time and everywhere the Confederate flag is raised is a burning reminder of the unfinished business of the Civil War. The Georgia state legislature dug up the battle flag and slapped the state seal on it in 1956 as a gesture of open defiance of the Supreme Court's order to desegregate public schools. From capitol domes across the old Confederacy, to KKK cross-burning rallies, to marauding white ethnic mobs in Howard Beach, New York, the Confederate flag is a symbol and rallying point for murderous racist terror. The fight for black freedom requires a socialist revolution to *finish the Civil War*. Then the red flag of liberation will fly from the state capitol and we can set to work sandblasting Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, and Stonewall Jackson from the granite face of Stone Mountain and put an end to the night of the living Confederate dead once and for all. ■

WV Photo

Spartacist League supporter Richard Bradley tears down the Confederate flag in front of San Francisco's Civic Center, 1984.

U.S. USec Supporters: It's a Dog's Life

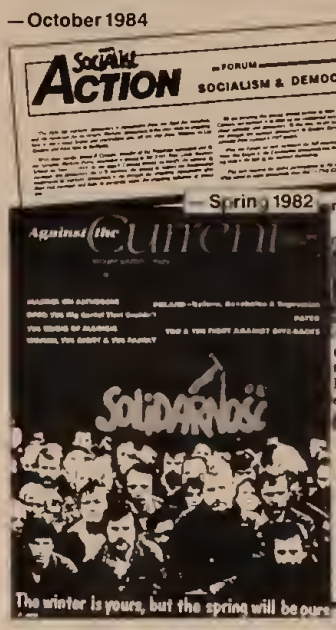
Being an adherent of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat" (USec) has never been a particularly happy lot for his followers in the U.S. In the early 1970s, militants who saw the European Mandelites' enthusiasm for Third World guerrillaism and chants of "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh!" as a left-wing alternative to the stodgy reformism of the Socialist Workers Party anxiously awaited each USec World Congress in the hope that Mandel would finally dump the SWP as the American section. Instead, when the SWP expelled these left-wing oppositionists, such as the Internationalist Tendency, Mandel ordered them to crawl back and "reintegrate" themselves into the SWP. Rather than do so, some even chose political emigration as the only way out—fleeing to more hospitable environs in then-centrist USec affiliates in Canada, Mexico and elsewhere.

Mandel never dumped the SWP. Instead, two decades later, the SWP split from the USec. Already by 1983 SWP leader Jack Barnes had brought in the New Year by publicly denouncing the theory of permanent revolution as "ultra-left" and overtly renouncing even the pretense of Trotskyism. This was accompanied by mass purges of SWP oppositionists in the mid-'80s, particularly aimed at dispatching the last remaining veteran cadres of the old, revolutionary party of James P. Cannon. While the USec leadership made some disapproving noises over this, they did not find it cause to sever relations with Barnes' SWP. To piece off those who were expelled from the SWP, this time Mandel simply granted USec recognition to the various outfits they set up—Socialist Action, the Fourth Internationalist Tendency and the Fourth Internationalist Caucus of "Solidarity," that collection tank of anti-Soviet leftovers of the defunct International Socialists.

In Europe and elsewhere, youthful leftists of the '70s who once cheered the Viet Cong came of age in Cold War II as cheerleaders for social democracy, hailing virtually every counterrevolutionary force in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. In the U.S., the two-and-one-half USec outfits were never leftist. Despite somewhat divergent political appetites, they all yearned for the "golden age" of the SWP when it operated as the "mass movement" brokers for the Democratic Party in the Vietnam antiwar mobilizations. During the Persian Gulf War, they tripped all over themselves trying to replay this "tradition"—with Socialist Action, in particular, acting as the "best builders" of the yellow-ribbon popular-front demonstrations which demanded, "Support Our Troops—Bring Them Home Now!" But their hoped-for "mass influence" was cut short by the one-sided slaughter of over 100,000 Iraqis by "our troops."

Now it's really the end of the line. With the terminal collapse of Stalinism and the victory of the very forces they spent a decade championing, the USec's chickens are coming home to roost, with massive political disarray and the wholesale liquidation of various of its affiliates into social-democratic and ex-Stalinist organizations internationally. What use is there today for this sham "Fourth International" which peddles social-democratic "anti-Stalinism" as "Trotskyism"? Last September, the FIT threw in the towel, voting by a narrow margin to dissolve into Solidarity, where they will join the "Fourth Internationalist Caucus" (which exists in name only). Socialist Action continues to boast lamely of its ties to the disintegrating USec. But there is nothing in this that politically separates them from Solidarity—which seems to be becoming the elephants' graveyard for American USecers.

—October 1984



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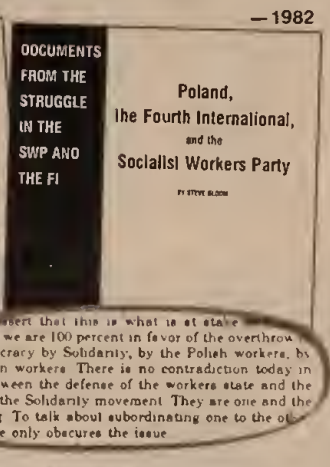


American Mandelites of Socialist Action and future FIT leader Steve Bloom echo anti-Trotskyist "Third Campists" in hailing clerical-nationalist Polish Solidarność, spearhead of Washington-backed counterrevolution in East Europe.

Mandel's American Orphans

In an internal letter opposing the "fusion" with Solidarity, David Riehle, a longtime leader of the FIT, captured the general spirit of demoralization:

> "What is happening in the FIT is a subset of what is happening world wide to the radical, socialist and communist movements as a result of the collapse of Stalinism and 'real, existing socialism' and its repudiation by millions of people, as well as the general stagnation and decline of world capitalism, and the profound degeneration and default, and utter bankruptcy of the various labor bureaucracies.... This is most directly and immediately embodied in the discussion, motivation and gut feeling articulated by the proponents of this so-called fusion, most especially the feeling that nothing much is going to change for an indefinite period and we therefore must seek refuge in some more benign and hospitable political atmosphere."

Now those FITers, who in their younger years enthused that Castro's guerrillas were the modern-day equivalent of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks, are in the same organization as the heirs of Max Shachtman, who supported U.S. imperialism's "Bay of Pigs" invasion of Cuba! In his younger days, Solidarity leader Kim Moody used to publish something called *Wildcat*; his current publication, *Labor Notes*, could aptly be named *Bureaucrat*. Among the SWP veterans who were the founders of the FIT are some who go back to the days of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strike; they doubtless found Jack Barnes' notions of "talking socialism" trade-union work to be rather peculiar. Now they're in an organization whose "union" work consists mainly of operating as finks for the feds through outfits like "Teamsters for a Democratic Union"—one of the moving forces in the Reagan government's takeover of the Teamsters union.

But who is Socialist Action to sneer over the "FIT's dissolution into Solidarity"? They have long aspired to serve as water boys for American labor tops—as evidenced by their organizational debut during the 1983 Greyhound strike, where they served as the unpaid goons for the union bureaucrats in blocking militant workers from stopping scab buses. At the same time, the primary underpinning of Socialist Action's politics was virulent anti-Sovietism. In 1981, Nat Weinstein, then still a member of the SWP and later the central leader of Socialist Action, was caught in a widely published picture picketing together with East European "captive nations" reactionaries and the right-wingers of the Libertarian Party in a Bay Area rally in support of "AFL-CIA"-backed Solidarność' counterrevolutionary bid for power in Poland.

When the Berlin Wall fell in 1989, the Weinsteinites echoed the most right-wing revanchists in championing "German reunification." The cause of "German unity" impelled Alan Benjamin, then editor of *Socialist Action*, and a half dozen or so of his supporters out of the USec and into the arms of Pierre Lambert's virulently Stalinophobic Liaison Committee for a Workers' International. Today, Socialist Action continues to hemorrhage as members seek greener (and bigger) pastures where they can pursue their reformist appetites free of the yoke of Socialist Action's nominal label of "Trotskyism."

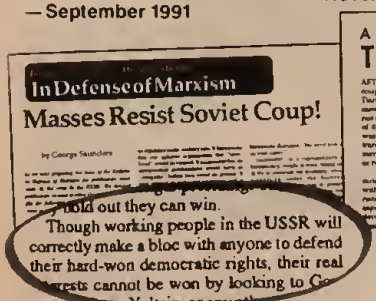
At Socialist Action's national conference in August, a faction led by none other than the despicable Barry Sheppard split, taking 12 members out. The all-purpose hatchet man for the Barnes leadership during the 1980s purges in the SWP, a few years later Sheppard himself got axed. He went sniveling to Socialist Action, which took him in. Now Sheppard et al. have established themselves as "Activists for Independent Socialist Politics." Another smaller tendency based in Chicago also walked out of the organization at the Socialist Action conference.

Now an increasing number of these Trotskyoid lonely hearts seem to be looking to find a "home" in the Committees of Correspondence (CoC), a collection of "dissident" members of Gus Hall's Communist Party who found in the collapse of the Soviet Union the occasion to split to the right of the CPUSA in unbridled pursuit of the Democratic Party. One thousand people attended the CoC national conference in mid-July, where the ex-Stalinists in charge urged support for Bill Clinton as part of their plan to build a left pressure group in the Democratic Party (in the name of "independent politics," of course).

In an article in his new journal *Independent Politics* (Fall 1992), Barry Sheppard (who is identified as a member of the Oakland CoC) applauds the leaders of the CoC for "seeking to create a real center for the whole left to join together in common action and debate." Solidarity members and some other ostensible Trotskyists have also begun to take out dual membership in the CoC.

While the former CPers were unabashed in boosting the Clinton-Gore ticket, the denizens of the so-called "far left" latched on to the presidential campaign of Jesse Jackson's former campaign manager, Ron Daniels. Probably 99.9 percent of the American population didn't even know of Daniels' candidacy. But it was a *cause célèbre* in the press of various fake-leftists for whom the campaign of this black liberal, which was aimed at pressuring the Democratic Party from the "outside," was the occasion to huddle together

—September 1991



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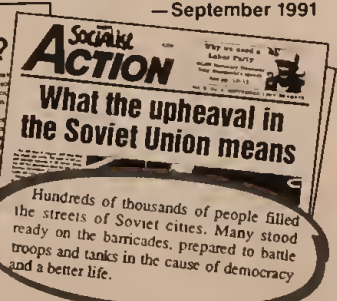

On the barricades with Yeltsin/Bush: Fourth Internationalist Tendency, *Against the Current* and Socialist Action celebrate August 1991 victory of open counterrevolutionaries in the USSR.

under the umbrella of the popular front in the name of "unity."

The FIT—No Reason to Be

Those who are looking for a larger and more hospitable emporium to peddle their reformist wares will hardly find it among the ex-Stalinists of the CoC. This crew wants to get in on the ground floor of the Democratic Party and they don't want some leftover "Trotskyites" getting in their way. One is reminded of the old cartoon of the cop beating a man with a billy club. The man yells, "But I'm an anti-Communist!" To which the cop responds, "I don't care what kind of Communist you are." And the CoC doesn't care what kind of "Trotskyite" you are. But the prospect of seeing Barry Sheppard getting trampled on in the CoC is not an unhappy one. It couldn't happen to a nicer guy.

We feel rather differently about the fate of those FITers who were veterans of Cannon's SWP and who now have put themselves at the tender mercies of Solidarity's leadership. An article in *Socialist Action* (October 1992) reports that only those FITers who voted for unity will be allowed into the organization, *provided* the local Solidarity branch doesn't object. Those who make it in will be joining with the Fourth Internationalist Caucus—a tendency which only meets every two years at Solidarity national conferences and even then only to hear "informational" reports. But it wasn't enough to make the FITers get on their knees and beg, the Shachtmanites ordered the former Cannonists to crawl on their bellies.

While the proponents of this "fusion" made much of Solidarity's agreement to allow for continued publication of the FIT's journal, *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism* (*BIDOM*), the rules are that it cannot be published any more frequently than Solidarity's *Against the Current* nor can *BIDOM* "publish any criticism of Solidarity projects." Further, "the network of the magazine's supporters will not be organized to carry out any distinctive political activities in any social movement or organization"! *BIDOM* will henceforth exist at the pleasure of the Solidarity leadership.

According to the *Socialist Action* article, a few FITers refused to sign on as *BIDOM* supporters, "questioning the lack of any organizational control and the largely ceremonial role to which both the editorial board members and supporters would be relegated." Indeed, "disputed questions" and other editorial policy are to be determined through mail polls of subscribers who pay an additional $20 a year for the privilege! But it was the last part of the motion on the publication of *BIDOM* passed at the Solidarity convention that has the ugliest undertones. It notes that "at a time when Solidarity is near financial implosion, we are approving a project with a funding base many times the existing Solidarity reserves."

Reportedly the main opposition to continued publication of *BIDOM* centered on its "funding base," with speakers arguing that the magazine should be disbanded and the FIT should turn over the money to solve Solidarity's "financial crisis." One is led to wonder, not unreasonably, if Solidarity's sudden interest in the FIT's "unity" appeals was motivated by visions of getting their hands on the *BIDOM* trust fund.

The FIT "Opposition"

The FIT's dissolution into Solidarity was opposed by 39 percent of the organization. Last August, an internal document called "Against Fourth Internationalist Tendency Entry into Solidarity," signed by 14 FIT members (including veterans of the old Socialist Workers Party, who retain a sentimental if completely attenuated attachment to "Trotskyism"), argued: "Solidarity sharply and conclusively rejects the model of the Cannonite SWP; affiliation with the Fourth International; the centrality of the goal of a labor party, as opposed to a populist, 'progressive' third party of ambiguous class character, 'independent of the Democratic Party'." FIT leader Steve Bloom responded to opponents of the FIT's dissolution into Solidarity:

> "Because no matter what terrible utterance—about rejection of program, about 'Leninism leading to Stalinism' or about anything else—Marilyn can quote from some source in Solidarity, *I can guarantee you that exactly the same ideas are being expressed in various sections of the Fourth International around the world, even in its leadership bodies!*"

While the opposition charged that entering Solidarity was "liquidationist"—what was there to liquidate? The FIT is giving up its name. But that's all it was, a name. Their "perspective" was to "rejuvenate" the SWP—and Jack Barnes pulled that rug out from under them when he split with the USec. As Bloom put it, "When we formed the FIT we explicitly stated our intention of going out of business as soon as possible." Now they are doing just that.

Other FITers objected to surrendering their editorial control of *BIDOM*. For our part, we appreciated the journal's "Archives of Marxism," which featured material from Cannon's SWP and the series "Notebooks for the Grandchildren" by Mikhail Baitalsky, a member of Trotsky's Left Opposition who was imprisoned in one of Stalin's labor camps. But otherwise there was nothing in *BIDOM* that would politically distinguish the FIT from the anti-Leninist, anti-Communist denizens of Solidarity.

continued on page 7

"In a Very Small Teacup"

The following remarks about strange goings-on among American supporters of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec) were made by comrade Jim Robertson at the conference last fall of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Something odd happened lately to the variety of groups that split away—well, were *expelled* away—from the Socialist Workers Party when they decided essentially to disappear Trotsky and Cannon. So that now the revolutionary line of descent is Lenin, Farrell Dobbs, Jack Barnes. And the people who objected to this pantheon were done away with. They ended up in three different groups: Socialist Action, a sort of heavy-handed trade-union-bureaucracy-oriented group, led by Nat Weinstein; the FIT—Fourth Internationalist Tendency—which old George Breitman set up to try to get back in the SWP by way of being a USec loyalist.

This perspective they pursued for some years, but then two things happened: the SWP walked out of the USec, and George Breitman died. So the FIT thought about it for a year, and has liquidated into the third group, which is a composite group, called Solidarity. Its senior figure is an old-time Shachtmanite-type social democrat named Kim Moody, but they do admit people into it who pretend to a Trotskyist persuasion—*if* they never, ever act on it or speak about it. So that's where the FIT went.

Meanwhile, Peter Sollenberger [ex of the RWL] is fooling around, sniffing at these various motions. And something quite large—but probably rather transient—has been formed, the Committees of Correspondence (CoC). The people who got tired of being in Gus Hall's party when the Soviet Union wasn't around anymore formed a more petty-bourgeois wing, which the Gus Hall people—in good Stalinist-proletarian fashion—dumped unceremoniously and fairly physically. Some people from Socialist Action decided that Nat Weinstein was about as tough as Gus Hall, so they went to the CoC.

So now we have a situation on the left in the United States where Bill Clinton, a Democratic Party candidate, has petty-bourgeois support from the CoC, and "proletarian" support from Gus Hall. All in a not-very-large teacup.

Le Bolchévik

Together again at 1988 Paris confab: Ernest Mandel (left) and one-time mentor Michel Pablo destroyed Fourth International in 1950s and have dragged the banner of Trotskyism through the mud.

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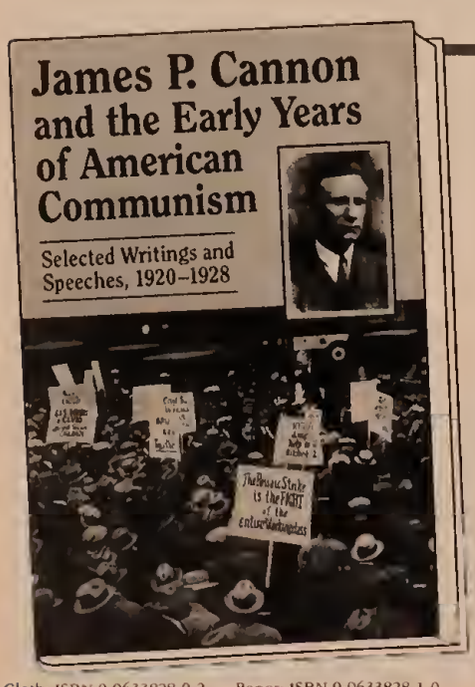

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As Fascists "Celebrate" Hitler's 1933 Takeover

Berlin: Militants Defend Immigrant Hostels

BERLIN, February 4—On Saturday evening, January 30, some 100,000 anti-Nazi protesters took part in a "string of lights" centering on the Brandenburg Gate, the symbol of German nationalism. It was the 60th anniversary of Hindenburg's naming of Adolf Hitler as Reichskanzler, which led straight to the Second World War and the Holocaust. Bourgeois politicians piously intoned "Never again." Yet last year, official statistics recorded almost 2,300 incidents of right-wing terror, including 17 murders. Nazi attacks have become an everyday affair in oh-so-democratic Germany.

In the past week alone, fascists in Schwerin burned down a hostel for foreigners seeking political asylum, while another in Düsseldorf was surrounded by a moh of skinheads hurling stones and screaming racist epithets. And Berlin's Jewish community reported being hombarded by anonymous threats demanding they "leave Germany by Saturday." Meanwhile, the Bonn politicians —from Free Democrats to Christian Democrats (CDU) to Social Democrats (SPD)—are preparing to carry out the fascists' program of "foreigners out" by gutting the right of asylum.

Spartakist

At January 30 Berlin demonstration, militants gather under KfsV banner calling for workers defense of immigrant hostels against Nazi terror.

At the same time, the Nazi pogrom in Rostock last summer and the fascist murders of a Turkish family in Mölln have produced a wave of indignation, including against the hypocrisy of the bourgeois/reformist refugee deporters—the skinheads "with tie and a hair part," as novelist Günter Grass described federal interior minister Seiters. And they have galvanized an upsurge of leftist youth protests. The Komitee für soziale Verteidigung (KfsV—Committee for Social Defense), supported by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD), with which it is associated, called for united-front action to mobilize the power of the workers movement against Nazi terror. Under the headline "Workers, Immigrants, Anti-Fascists: Defend the Hostels!" a January 20 KfsV leaflet noted:

> "In some places unions have already signed up as 'sponsors' for nearby hostels or, as in the case of Hoesch in Dortmund, organized telephone trees to protect threatened immigrant colleagues. This is a beginning, but what is necessary is determined, organized workers defense groups in front of the hostels and massive worker/immigrant mobilizations to prevent fascist provocations."

The KfsV call was supported by numerous trade unionists from the Berlin area and from Halle-Bitterfeld in the ex-DDR (East Germany).

As the candles were being lit on Unter den Linden on the 30th, scores of people, mostly youth, met at the KfsV banner in order to organize the protection of a large immigrant hostel in the Berlin area that night. "Candle chains don't defend immigrants," a bullhorn called out: "Put the hostels under workers defense!" Well over 100 people participated in the successful defense action, primarily youth from several districts of Berlin, as well as from Halle, Leipzig and Hamburg. In addition to the SpAD there were members of the Lichtenberg branch of the Party for Democratic Socialism (PDS) and other leftist and anti-fascist organizations. A KfsV press statement on January 31 reported:

> "The immigrants were able to have a peaceful night and socialize with the defenders. But in the early morning hours, after Nazis had circled the hostel several times, fascist provocateurs shot a gas pistol at the guards at one of the entrances to the hostel. The guards were immediately reinforced, and during the next provocation a Nazi car was decisively forced away. Some Nazis left their boots and bomber jackets behind."

On the previous night, the KfsV organized patrols on short notice when reports were received of a possible fascist attack on the hostel. And on the night of January 30-31 there were patrols around a smaller hostel in an outlying area notorious for Nazi attacks on immigrants and other residents. Residents of the hostel complex later thanked the KfsV for the defense, noting that there had been rightist threats in recent months and that the police had previously raided the dormitories on numerous occasions.

Popular Front: Candle Chains and Cops

The deadly fascist assaults and pogroms have polarized Germany, and the sharpening of social tensions has put increasing pressure on the reformists. The SPD is mainly concerned to demonstrate its "ability to govern" in a bourgeois government. So while SPD chief Engholm and his consorts previously spoke of "expedited processing" of refugees (along with concentration-camp-like "collection camps"), now, under pressure from Kohl's CDU, they have come out directly against the right to asylum. The Social Democracy reacted when a significant number of trade unionists endorsed the KfsV call for workers defense of the immigrant hostels, particularly in the key ÖTV public workers union, which gave Kohl a slap on the ear with its powerful strike last spring. So SPD union bureaucrats mobilized to prevent formal endorsements from turning into real union participation in the defense action.

For its part, the PDS, rather than mobilizing against the Nazis on January 29-30, was involved in wrangling over participation in competing demonstrations. (Nevertheless, some PDS districts actively supported the January 30 hostel defense action, including the PDS fraction in the Bitterfeld city council.) Having been excluded from the speakers list at the January 30 popular-front demonstration, the PDS tops discovered that "Lights Don't Replace a Wrong Policy" (*Neues Deutschland*, 1 February). The leaders of the JRE (Youth Against Racism in Europe), on the other hand, declare that the "chain of lights were an impressive sign of protest" and eagerly join in. While PDS youth have joined the JRE in the East, its leadership lies in the hands of the Voran group (associated with the social-democratic Militant group in Britain), which for decades has been a loyal "left" house opposition within the SPD.

"Chains of light" and the police—these are what the reformists today call for against the fascists. Even many youth who orient to the Autonome have illusions in the police, at least the Berlin police, thinking that when they are there,

Der Spiegel

DPA

Nazi skinheads wreak murder and terror throughout German Fourth Reich. House in Mölln firebombed by fascists last November, killing a Turkish family.

the fascists won't attack. This echoes the Social Democrats in the 1930s, who appealed: "*Staat, greif zu!*" (State, intervene!). Then many thought that police recruited from the SPD wouldn't go after workers; today some feel that police taken over from the DDR won't support fascists. But just look at Rostock, where the police made a deal with the fascists to carry out their pogrom and bottled up the leftists.

The PDS calls for more cops against Nazis. Voran has called for "trade-union control" of the police. We Trotskyists, in contrast, uphold the basic axiom put forward by Marx, Engels and Lenin, that the bourgeois state is the core of capitalist class rule, the fascists are the shock troops of capital, and thus the cops and courts will inevitably be used against the left, the workers movement and the oppressed.

As for the "chains of light," these only serve to chain the oppressed to their oppressors in one big people's front, extending from the pseudo-Marxist left through the PDS and SPD to the coalition government in Bonn, all serving to improve Germany's image abroad, and not incidentally the export earnings of German capital. Meanwhile, the Spartakists, who tore down the huge Nazi flag at the Brandenburg Gate last June, are being hauled before the judges in the same Moabit court building where the Honecker show trial has been taking place, charged with destroying an "object of art"!

Build a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

Our organization of the immigrant hostel defense of January 30-31 was an *exemplary action*, seeking to put into practice the Trotskyist program of workers mobilization against the fascist threat. As a result of the social-democratic blowback and countermobilization against the KfsV initiative, we were not able this time to achieve a full-fledged *workers defense* including organized trade-union participation. The bulk of the participants were working-class youth, including those who look to the Autonome as a radical rejection of bourgeois society. But in sharp contrast to the semi-anarchistic Autonome, the KfsV-initiated united-front hostel defense was characterized by effective proletarian discipline.

Today the fascists don't dare to show their heads openly in Berlin except under direct cop protection. Should the Nazis attempt to stage an open provocation, there must be a united mobilization of the workers movement to disperse these deadly terrorists and to root them out of their rat holes. That is what the SpAD and KfsV sought to do against the Nazi march in Halle on 9 November 1991, and what we continue to fight for today.

Spartakist

Residents of Berlin immigrant hostel participate in united-front action against Nazi threat, January 24.

And this is what our Canadian comrades did last month in Vancouver, when 3,000 trade unionists, leftists and minorities put the Nazis on the run.

Before Hitler's columns reached the portals of power, Trotsky repeatedly called for a workers united front embracing the principal organizations of the German proletariat, such as in his pamphlet *What Next?* (January 1932), which was distributed in the tens of thousands. It is a commonplace today that if Trotsky's policy had been followed then, the Nazis would never have come to power.

The key is the question of the revolutionary party, which learns from the experience of the class struggle, educating the cadres to appeal to the most conscious layers of the workers and galvanize them behind their class interests. The German Trotskyists in the 1930s were weak and isolated. But even so they sought to put their class-struggle program into practice. A Workers Struggle Committee, initiated by the Trotskyist Left Opposition, was founded in early 1932 in Oranienburg near Berlin, embracing the KPD (Communist Party), SPD, unions and unemployed committees; that summer it set up a workers *Schutzstaffel* (defense squadron).

The workers united front for which the Trotskyists fight is the application of the lessons of the successful organization of the proletariat by the Bolsheviks in the Russian October Revolution of 1917. Today the revanchist German bourgeoisie is seeking to rewrite history to wipe out Bolshevism, and in particular to reverse its own defeat at the battle of Stalingrad. The surrender of the German Wehrmacht in Stalingrad on 31 January 1943 marked a heroic Red Army victory demonstrating the vitality of the conquests of October, even after two decades of Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration. But five decades later, counterrevolution has triumphed in the former Soviet Union, as it did in East Germany before that, without decisive resistance by the working class.

The SpAD, which alone said "no" to capitalist reunification, without any ifs, ands or buts, today continues to fight against the devastating consequences of that counterrevolution—not least of which is the upsurge of Nazi terror. As the German bourgeoisie tries to shove the costs of their victory down the throats of the workers, East and West, through the lie of a "solidarity pact," the SPD, PDS and other reformists haggle over the terms of the wage cuts and dismantling of social programs. In contrast, the Spartakists call for sharp class struggle by the working class, including its strategic immigrant component, to defend their interests against the common enemy, and to sweep away the fascist plague by bringing down the capitalist system that breeds it. ■

U.S. USec...

(continued from page 5)

For that matter, the FIT outdid these Shachtmanites as PR agents for any and every reactionary nationalist movement in the former Soviet Union.

As for the "model of the Cannonite SWP"—the revolutionary politics that animated Cannon's party had been thrown out the window two decades before Jack Barnes officially renounced Trotskyism and initiated his purges of the last vestiges of the old SWP. The SWP consolidated on a thoroughly reformist basis in the late 1960s/early 1970s when the organization worked to contain opposition to the Vietnam War within the framework of capitalist politics. Yet for the FIT, like for Socialist Action, these are the "good old days" of the SWP.

It's hardly a far cry from acting as the brokers for the Democratic Party "doves" in the Vietnam antiwar movement to giving electoral support to a "third party of ambiguous class character." Indeed, it was precisely the question of both organizations' support to Ron Daniels' presidential campaign that the FIT's unity mongers pointed to as evidence of the increasing "political convergence" between themselves and Solidarity.

Grasping at straws, the only thing the FIT oppositionists could dredge up as a "principled" issue for not dissolving into Solidarity was the question of which popular-front antiwar coalition to capitulate to during the Persian Gulf War! "We had a clear and unambiguous difference with Solidarity on this crucial question," opined David Riehle in his letter. The difference? The FIT called for both coalitions to "unite" to build a mass social-patriotic mobilization, while Solidarity opted to build only one of these red-white-and-blue demonstrations.

While the proponents of dissolving into Solidarity attempted to portray this as some kind of present-day equivalent of the "French Turn"—when the Trotskyists entered Social Democratic parties in the 1930s to win leftward-moving youth and workers to revolutionary politics—Riehle complained, "I'm too old to join the YPSL's," referring to the Young People's Socialist League, youth group of the American Socialist Party.

To compare the YPSL of the 1930s with the aging, "Big Chill" social democrats of Solidarity is, in a word, grotesque. The intervention of the American Trotskyists into the Socialist Party in the '30s, which ripped out a whole layer, was aimed at forging a revolutionary leadership of the workers movement. In contrast, the FIT is hoping to cash in on Solidarity's "influence" in labor, i.e., on these Shachtmanite castoffs' operation as social-democratic braintrusters for a middle layer of the trade-union bureaucracy, for whom the U.S. Justice Department and the capitalist courts are the main arenas for "struggle."

As we wrote of the FIT in our article "Barnes Axes Last Veterans of the Old SWP" (*WV* No. 353, 27 April 1984):

> "It's no accident that those of us who go back personally to the SWP have feelings of affection for some of these comrades and no sympathy whatever for the Weinstein crowd. This is a modest psychological reflection of the political realities. The FITers' impulse to cling to Cannon and Trotsky is not so much a program as an act of nostalgia, but an honorable act nonetheless. We have to have some considerable respect for their decades in the Trotskyist movement and for the evident sincerity of their effort not to betray Trotskyism as they understand it—a pale pink attempt at red orthodoxy."

But blinded by their own politics, the old-timers from the SWP who went on to establish themselves as the FIT could not see that the decisive break in the revolutionary continuity of Cannon's party had come some 20 years before Jack Barnes overtly wrote off Trotsky as an "ultraleftist."

However much they wanted to deny it, these FITers were part of an SWP which began to abandon Trotskyism in 1960—a slide which began with abstentionist tailing of black nationalism in the civil rights struggle and embrace of Castro's petty-bourgeois guerrillas as the equivalent of the proletarian internationalist leadership of the Bolshevik Revolution, and ended in the SWP's decisive degeneration into reformism around the Vietnam antiwar movement. The party the FIT sought to "rejuvenate" had long been dead to revolutionary politics. Now these SWP veterans have reached the end of the line.

Even those who went along with the "fusion" with Solidarity were not particularly sanguine about it. As FIT leader Frank Lovell, a longtime cadre of the old SWP, put it in a letter responding to Riehle's objections to the "fusion" with Solidarity: "It is not an inspiring picture. But we must look at it for what it is, and try and figure out if there is anything we can do to influence the course of change that is going on within these remnants of the radical movement."

Revolutionary Continuity

The origins of the Spartacist League are in the Revolutionary Tendency, a left opposition within the SWP in the early 1960s which fought to reverse the party's slide into centrism. The RT, centered in the SWP's youth organization, sought to win a chunk of veteran party members. We recognized in them the living continuity with the revolutionary party of James P. Cannon, which, despite some weaknesses easier to see in hindsight, we believe possessed the capacity to lead a workers revolution in this country if such an opportunity had opened during the effective political lifetime of its central cadre. The RT's bureaucratic expulsion in 1963, which was the organizational handmaiden to the decisive slide of the SWP into reformism, frustrated our attempt to win these veterans.

The ex post facto justification for the purge of the RT—the first-ever political expulsion in the history of the SWP—was codified in a 1965 organizational resolution which effectively prohibited factional rights in the SWP. Two decades later this resolution was wielded by Barnes in the mass purges of the mid-1980s which ousted the last cadres of the old party. Lacking a revolutionary program, these veterans couldn't understand what hit them, and now the last of them have reached the end of the road.

As we wrote in "Barnes Axes Last Veterans of the Old SWP":

> "...of all the significant splits from the SWP in past decades, only the Spartacists have persisted for more than 20 years as an effective national organization of ostensible Trotskyism.... It is because we know where we came from, because of our political roots in the fight against the disintegration of the SWP as a revolutionary instrument, that we are here. We stand on the shoulders of the old revolutionary SWP—the American Trotskyist organization founded by Jim Cannon and a cadre of comrades who split out of the early Communist Party in defense of Leninism, the organization through which Trotsky led the Fourth International directly until his assassination by Stalin in 1940. That's *our* SWP; it's not Barnes', and it never was." ■

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"Willie Horton Socialists"

Cops, Crime and the BT

The multiracial explosion which erupted in Los Angeles last May, following the acquittal of the racist cops who beat black motorist Rodney King, was a demonstration of deep-seated outrage over cop terror. The videotape of the lynch mob in blue uniforms methodically, repetitively and sadistically torturing King as he lay helpless on the ground drove home the searing image of the racist police brutality that is everyday reality in America. The L.A. upheaval sparked an outpouring of protest across the country.

The ruling class sent in an army of cops and troops to suppress this explosion of plebeian rage, while orchestrating racist hysteria against "criminal elements." California's Lalaland yuppies, who already had "armed response" signs all over their neatly manicured front lawns, reacted with heightened fear and loathing of "mob violence." And on the left, one dubious little outfit rushed in to offer a "socialist" cover to the "anti-riot" hysteria. As tens of thousands took to the streets against *cop* terror, the so-called "Bolshevik" Tendency issued a leaflet which raised the call for "workers defense guards" as a way to "expose the futility of individual terrorism, and thus prevent bloody spontaneous explosions, like riots"!

From appealing for labor auxiliaries to police the ghettos and barrios, the BT has now gone a bizarre step further, devoting a four-page issue of its *1917 West* (October 1992) to the question of "Cops, Crime & Capitalism." Here we read: "The police occasionally do useful things, of course, such as directing traffic, comforting children and even risking their lives to rescue victims of disasters." The BT's "evenhanded" portrayal of the police would surely come as news to the mother of five-year-old Patrick Mason, the black child gunned down in his own home by an Orange County cop in 1983, or to residents of the poor, black West Oakland neighborhood who tried to rescue survivors of the 1988 earthquake and were driven off by gun-wielding cops.

To be sure, the BT article also denounces "police brutality," and even genuflects to the Marxist understanding that the cops are "the armed fist of the ruling class"—enough at least to cover its ass with a veneer of orthodoxy. But occasional Marxist phraseology notwithstanding, what agitates these "Marxists" is not the rampant police violence which sparked mass upheavals and drew international attention, but random street crime. The BT article goes on and on about "fear of crime," how "crime is an explosive issue," how the U.S. "has one of the world's highest rates of violent crime"—even providing an Interpol readout of statistics for murders, rapes and robberies.

"Crime in the streets" is stock in trade for every racist bourgeois politician in this deeply racist society, the "genteel" way to play the race card. In 1988, George Bush rode into the White House on the "Willie Horton" affair, as Democrat Dukakis was excoriated for paroling a black convict who allegedly went on to commit a rape. Bush couldn't pull it off in '92, running against "Governor Death Penalty" Clinton. But that didn't stop the BT from making "crime" *its* issue during the election campaign!

UPI

BT panders to "law and order" racism typified by vigilante "Citizen's Crime Watch" in Florida. Cops, armed thugs of the capitalist class, set to attack Latino janitors in Los Angeles, 1990.

The Labor Aristocracy and Liberal Reformers

What's going on here? The BT has for years tried to sidle up to the racist labor bureaucracy, exhibiting arrogant indifference to the hideous oppression of black people in this country. When the Spartacist League initiated a massive labor/black mobilization that stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. in November 1982, this crew of embittered ex-members sneered that this was evidence of our turn "away from the unions" to "ghetto work." A couple of years later, the BT's model of a "trade-union militant," Howard Keylor, sought to give a labor face to the longshore bosses' anti-drug witchhunt by calling for "union discipline as part of the effort to help the brothers overcome their problems."

Of late, the Bay Area BT has thrown itself into a Berkeley outfit called "Copwatch," whose declared aim is to "reduce police violence and harassment through accountability." Of course these liberals have no argument with the capitalist cops per se—just with the "excesses" they perform "in the line of duty." Or, as Copwatch puts it in its "Nonviolence Guidelines," "We must recognize that just as all panhandlers are not aggressive, all cops are not into police brutality."

Extending the hand of recognition, the BT writes: "Even if some cops are not subjectively racist.... The conditions in which the police perform their function of controlling people who live in brutally dehumanizing conditions on the margins of society, require and reproduce police forces which are brutal and racist institutions." The cops don't mean to be racist pigs, says the BT, it's just the "brutally dehumanizing conditions on the margins of society" (read: the ghetto streets) they're subjected to. If this has a familiar ring, recall that LAPD cop Stacey Koon justified his role in the Rodney King beating by telling the all-white Simi Valley jury: "Sometimes police work is brutal. That's just a fact of life." Meanwhile one of the defense lawyers explained that the cops were "part of the line between society and chaos."

Brandishing a fig leaf, the BT cautions against any illusions that police "abuses" can be eliminated under capitalism. Nonetheless, they argue, "depending on the political composition and effective powers given to it, establishing a civilian police review board with a real measure of independence from the cops is a demand which Marxists can support." Indeed, the BT boasts of its own role "in presenting individual cases of police misconduct before the Berkeley Police Review Commission."

At times, the issue of a civilian review board essentially becomes a referendum on racism and cop bonapartism, as it did in New York City last year when 10,000 cops stormed City Hall against a bill to replace cops on the sham Civilian Complaint Review Board with civilians. But this is *not* a demand which Marxists espouse. As we wrote then: "Civilian review boards are designed to curb the independent mobilization of workers and minorities against police terror by fostering illusions that 'neutral' government can 'moderate' the 'excesses' of the police" ("NYPD Lynch Mob Frenzy," *WV* No. 560, 2 October 1992).

Consistent Crime-Fighting Leads to Socialism?

The BT is intent on proving to its liberal colleagues in Copwatch that "socialists" are the most consistent fighters against "crime." To this end, they plumb the depths and "expose" all the options available under capitalism. And we do mean *all*: "the institution of a police state might at least in the short term, substantially reduce crime—but it would require huge (and economically irrational) investments in the machinery of repression which would further erode the competitive position of American capitalism." There you are, the problem with a police state is...it's too expensive!

The BT obviously hasn't noticed, but a virtual reign of police-state terror already exists in the inner cities, while a wholesale legal counterrevolution has gone a fair way in turning the entire country into some kind of "democratic" police state. The racist American rulers aren't as "rational" as the BT would have them be. Having looted the productive wealth of this country, they seek to preserve the "competitive position of American capitalism" by throwing their military firepower around abroad and spending billions upon billions on more cops and prisons to maintain their decrepit rule at home.

Capitalism can't stop crime, concludes the BT, so "What can be done?" As a "proletarian" answer, they offer up the model of the February 1917 revolution, which "created the most 'crime free' period in modern Russian history up to that time." So apparently the real gain of the February Revolution was not the overthrow of tsarist despotism, not opening the road to soviet power, but a successful fight against street crime! Remarkably, in all three volumes of Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution*, this point is never made. And while reducing the February Revolution to the most successful "crimebuster" in history, the BT studiously neglects to mention the October Revolution, which smashed the criminal rule of the bourgeoisie and brought the working class to power.

Capitalist America is a vicious, violent society, where many people are afraid to walk the streets at night. Indeed, a system based on wholesale theft of the labor and lives of working people, on economic coercion and vicious class inequality and racism, cannot but give rise to violence and fear. But the BT article, while pushing notorious racist buttons like drugs and prostitution and declaring homeless people "less socially acceptable," is completely oblivious to lynch mob murders like Howard Beach and Bensonhurst. And while the BT rightly opposes gun control, in its own "colorblind" manner, it conspicuously avoids taking a stand against the racist death penalty. Indeed, their article devotes barely a sentence to the big-time criminals—the capitalist rulers who A-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki, who slaughtered two million Vietnamese in a dirty imperialist war, who rained down death on more than 100,000 Iraqis only two years ago.

The BT writes that its "Marxist analysis of a class-divided community has at times been a point of debate within Copwatch." Copwatch and the other "good civilians" of the Berkeley Police Review Commission needn't worry. Any "Marxism" the BT raises, it doesn't really mean. On the contrary, "Cops, Crime and Capitalism" is simply their attempt to give a "proletarian" facelift to liberal "law and order" reaction. ■

WV Photo

Labor/black mobilizations, such as that which stopped the Klan and skinheads from parading in Philadelphia in 1988, are disparaged by the BT as Spartacist turn to "ghetto work."

Gays...

(continued from page 1)

we carry on the tradition of militant Marxist opposition to imperialist war, as expressed in the slogan "Not one man, not one penny!" for the imperialist army. At the same time, the military is a microcosm of society as a whole, and just as we fight against racist atrocities and discrimination in "civilian" society, so we oppose it in the armed forces.

Open gays and lesbians have just as much right as anyone else to participate in the armed forces. The "Dreyfus Affair" of the 1890s in France became a key test for socialists then on the question of democratic rights. Captain Alfred Dreyfus was a Jewish career army officer who was framed up on espionage charges and sent to Devil's Island in a frenzy of vindictive anti-Semitism. The Dreyfus affair brought France to the brink of civil war between the bourgeois right—the officer caste and Catholic hierarchy—and the socialist-led workers movement.

Since practically everyone admits that gays have always served in the military, the screeching opposition now coming from the military brass reeks of hypocrisy. While anti-homosexual exclusion in the military goes back decades, an executive order banning gays outright came with a 1982 Reagan directive stating, "Homosexuality is incompatible with military service." In the 1980s, anti-gay purges surpassed even the World War II period or the 1950s, when Cold War witchhunts against both suspected Communists and homosexuals reached a crescendo. Yet such stalwart anti-Commie witchhunters of the period as Roy Cohn and J. Edgar Hoover participated in gay parties at NYC's Plaza Hotel, where Hoover reportedly sported high heels, wig, black chiffon and "Under his dress he was wearing a little, short garter belt" (*New York Post*, 5 February). Gives new meaning to the phrase "G-man."

Everyone knows that sexual orientation has nothing to do with fighting capacity. Every cadet in every military academy in the world studies the battles of Alexander the Great of Macedonia and Frederick II (the Great) of Prussia. All students of military history know that these two commanders were openly homosexual. And Alexander could have taken apart the entire U.S. Joint Chiefs in single combat, for in those days commanders led their men into battle.

Courier Launches Probe of
Army's Blue Discharges
NATIONAL EDITION Pittsburgh Courier 10c
Veteran Benefits Denied Holders
GEORGIA GOVERNOR FIGHTS WHITE-PRIMARY DECISION

Washington Post

Black flying aces in World War II. Popular black newspaper *Pittsburgh Courier* denounced "blue" (dishonorable) discharges for tens of thousands of black and homosexual veterans.

Gays and Blacks in World War II

When the U.S. entered WW II, the massive need for manpower temporarily overwhelmed more "normal" prejudices. Toward the end of the war, some blacks began to be integrated into white fighting units, both blacks and women joined military units and became industrialized in unprecedented numbers, and many conscripted gays and lesbians found themselves for the first time thrust into a broader social milieu, discovering there were many others across the nation like themselves, as Allan Bérubé noted in his history of gays in the World War II military, *Coming Out Under Fire* (1990). However, black soldiers continued to be victimized by white racist officers. Almost four times as many black GIs as whites were executed in Europe by military courts, even though they made up only 10 percent of the troops.

Toward the end of the war, tens of thousands of veterans—disproportionately gay and black—were drummed out of the service with "blue" (undesirable) discharges, which not only stigmatized them in efforts to get civilian jobs, but cut them off from GI benefits. Military apologists for the gay ban deny any connection between gay rights and the struggle leading to the 1948 racial desegregation order. But in fact black civil rights activists at the time, in addition to fighting Jim Crow in the military, also championed the cause of the discharged homosexual soldiers. The *Pittsburgh Courier*, then the most widely read black newspaper in the U.S., campaigned "in behalf of veterans who are holders of blue discharges," specifically including homosexuals, asserting it was "fighting for the rights of the 37,000 white veterans involved as well as for those of the 10,000 Negroes involved."

The U.S. ruling class has always been deeply ambivalent about arming blacks. While the "volunteer" American army overwhelmingly relies on black and Hispanic, as well as white working-class, soldiers to carry out its racist wars of conquest overseas, at the same time the integration of blacks into the armed forces is a potentially powerful base for struggles for black emancipation.

Allowing gays into the military with full rights is a simple democratic demand. However even if the formal ban is dropped, gays will still face harassment and violence at the hands of bigoted officers and fellow soldiers in this bigoted society. Career military types bluster that allowing gays in will undermine the "morality" of the military—that piggish, male-chauvinist "morality" exemplified by the Navy Tailhook affair, where drunken officers mauled any woman in the vicinity. Gay oppression is rooted in the ideology of the family, an institution which is a bedrock of capitalism.

In sweeping away capitalism and tsarist autocracy, the Russian Revolution also eliminated all laws against homosexuality. We would also note that it was the Soviet Red Army which in practice solved the apparently thorny problem U.S. military types can't seem to figure out: Can women really fight? The "Night Witches" women's units in the Soviet Union's World War II air force struck terror into the Nazis' air aces. These female bombers and fighters were defending not just their homeland, but a workers state, albeit deformed, against imperialist attack. When we have our own American workers state to defend, our army will be in the forefront of eliminating discrimination and oppression. ■

Supreme Court...

(continued from page 1)

carried out when he was 17 years old could not retroactively appeal for leniency on the basis of a later precedent. In the other case, it held up a "new rule" to dismiss an appeal based on an old precedent. By the macabre Catch-22 of the high court executioners, the *only* "rule" that counts is the one that sends you to the chair!

In an angry dissent, Justice Harry Blackmun denounced the Herrera ruling as being "perilously close to simple murder." Rehnquist & Co. are more than "perilously close"—they're over the precipice. Last April the Rehnquist Court explicitly ordered an appeals court to stop issuing stays of execution, so that the California gas chamber could claim its first victim in 25 years. A month later, the Supreme Court refused to halt the execution of Virginian Roger Coleman despite substantial evidence of innocence. It is a measure of the scope of the Reagan/Bush legal counterrevolution that only one of the nine judges could bring himself to make the simple statement: "I believe it contrary to any standard of decency to execute someone who is actually innocent."

With legal constraints disappearing and bipartisan legislatures expanding the list of crimes punishable by death, the death toll grows higher each year. Last year, 31 people were executed in the U.S., the greatest number since 1962. And with Democrat Bill Clinton in the White House, the assembly line of death is likely to be moving even faster. Just in the month Clinton was inaugurated, there were three executions:

• On January 9, the State of Washington carried out the country's first legal hanging in 28 years, as Westley Allan Dodd swung through a trapdoor with a noose around his neck.

• On the eve of the inauguration, disabled Virginia prisoner Charles Stamper was rolled into the electrocution chamber and strapped into the chair.

• A week later, a Missouri executioner injected poison into the arm of 35-year-old Martsay Bolder.

While anti-abortion and anti-gay reactionaries rail at Clinton as a hopeless "liberal," when it comes to legal lynching the Dixie yuppie is at one with the "right-to-lifers." During the election campaign, a Clinton spokesman boasted his boss "is the only candidate in the race who has carried out the death penalty." Clinton ostentatiously took time out from the campaign to return to Arkansas to oversee the legal murder of a brain-damaged black man. The brutal reality of Clinton's "New Arkansas" was in full view when a racist backlash was unleashed against the first black man to serve as acting governor in the state. When Dr. Jerry Jewell used his four days as governor (while Clinton's successor attended the inauguration) to grant clemency to two inmates and pardon two parolees, white legislators erupted in indignation, while Jewell was besieged with phone threats and racial slurs.

In this capitalist system based upon social inequality, the government's only answer to the growing crime rate bred by its decaying economy and racist oppression is greater state repression. The U.S. leads all industrialized countries, including racist South Africa, in executions. In fact, the semi-bonapartist Salinas regime in Mexico, which normally goes out of its way to lick Washington's boots, has been forced by a wave of popular outrage to protest the threatened executions of 18 Mexican immigrants on death row in the U.S.

The racist American rulers don't just use the death penalty—they revel in it. San Quentin prison actually has a museum (!), whose greatest attraction is the death penalty wing (situated next to the gift shop). The ghoulish exhibit includes replicas of the old gallows and the current gas chamber, a "personal collection" of miniature nooses tagged with the victims' ID numbers which are "souvenirs" of 150 "successful" executions, and other grisly displays. Kids can't go into an R-rated film, there are fewer and fewer libraries and museums open, but parents can always take them for an "educational" outing to San Quentin's hall of death.

We do not accord this racist capitalist state the right to say who lives and who dies. As the Herrera case shows, to the rulers of this country innocence doesn't matter when the victim of "legal" state murder is poor, black or Hispanic, like most of the over 2,500 men and women crowded into death rows across the country. Ultimately the death penalty is intended for those who fight against the depravity of this vicious system—Sacco and Vanzetti, the Rosenbergs, and current Pennsylvania death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, a lifelong fighter for black equality and a piercing critic of the bourgeoisie's racist hypocrisy, inequality and barbarity. Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

Ultimately it is only socialist revolution that can end the system of capitalist lynch law and guarantee the rights of the oppressed. And for that it is necessary to build a revolutionary party which will lead the working class and its allies in overthrowing capitalist class rule. Then and only then will the Supreme Court of capitalist injustice join the other relics of the barbaric past, the medieval rack and the modern death chamber. ■

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Black Teenager Gunned Down in Bay Area

Racist Killer Cop Walks

OAKLAND—The Alameda County D.A.'s decision on January 22 not to press any charges against the killer of 19-year-old Jerrold Hall has fueled widespread anger in the East Bay black community. Last November 15, Bay Area Rapid Transit cop Fred Crabtree leveled a 12-gauge shotgun blast at the back of the black teenager's head. Obscenely, while the killer cop walks free, Hall's friend John Henry Owens was initially charged with being an "accomplice" to the "murder" of his friend—by the cop! He now faces a six-year sentence for felony robbery.

Crabtree claims he stopped Hall and Owens outside the Hayward BART station on suspicion of having robbed a passenger at gunpoint. His shotgun loaded, the cop ordered the two youths to drop spread-eagle on the ground. When Hall objected, Crabtree slammed his head with the shotgun with such force that a piece of the stock broke off. As the young men walked *away* from him, Crabtree fired his shotgun twice; the second blast left Hall dying in a pool of blood. According to the D.A., the cop used "reasonable force." Yet not one person saw Hall with a gun that night, not even Crabtree, who says only that the young man *could* have had one. After a brief "internal investigation," Crahtree was returned to duty.

The cover-up began immediately. BART officials lied that Hall had been shot in the chest while attacking the cop. Now the D.A. endorses Crabtree's claim that the 6'4", 225-pound cop—who was armed with a shotgun, pistol and mace and accompanied by an attack dog—felt his life threatened by an unarmed 5'6", 135-pound black teenager! This is the same Alameda County D.A.'s office which was in the front line of the FBI's war against the Black Panthers and whose most notorious alumnus was Reagan's top cop, Ed Meese. Now, seeking to quell outrage over Hall's murder, the FBI has announced an "investigation" to determine if the killer cop "violated the young man's civil rights"!

The obscene murder charge against Owens was dropped after 72 hours. But he was kept in jail for *two months* on the felony robbery charge, until bail was finally reduced to $1,000, a tacit admission that there's no case against him. Another hearing has been set for March 16, though the cops have yet to produce the purported robbery victim. Owens now faces six years in prison, his only "crime" being that he survived Crabtree's murderous assault. Drop the charges now!

Jerrold Hall's father is an Alameda fire captain and human rights commissioner in nearby Union City where he lives. Every black person in the East Bay knows it could have been their son. During and after World War II, black workers came to the Bay Area by the thousands to work in the Kaiser shipyards. Today Oakland has the largest proportion of blacks of any California city. The cities of the Bay Area are overwhelmingly presided over by Democratic Party administrations, and Oakland's mayor is a black Democrat. Yet little has changed; Oakland's mainly white police force is notorious for racist brutality.

The FBI "investigation" is nothing but eyewash. Just look at the farcical federal prosecution of the racist cops who beat Rodney King which is taking place even as the virtual police-state siege of South-Central Los Angeles is strengthened. Yet the demand for a federal investigation into the murder of Jerrold Hall, together with calls for impotent "civilian review boards" to curb the mad dog cops, is the sum total of the response of various rad-libs and fake-leftists. They look to the racist Dixie "yuppies" in the Clinton White House for "justice."

The integrated unions of the Bay Area have the power to organize a massive display of the social power of labor and minorities to demand the jailing of the killer cop and that the charges be dropped against John Henry Owens. Only when this racist capitalist system is swept away by socialist revolution will Jerrold Hall and the other already too numerous victims of cop terror be avenged!

Steel Strike...

(continued from page 12)

home and hit with frame-up charges of "discharging a firearm and reckless endangerment." Drop the charges! No victimizations!

"We Are Union! We Are Union!"

Less than a month after the strike began, the company tried to reopen the plant with scabs. On a Sunday night they brought in hired thugs from the Special Response Corporation (SRC), infamous for their strikebreaking in the New York *Daily News* strike two years ago. These company cops, clad in full riot gear, erected two "observation towers" outfitted with video cameras and tear gas.

But when two carloads of SRC goons approached the gate on the morning of October 12, they were met by over 500 pickets, as the strikers' ranks were bolstered by steel workers and miners from the area. Chants of "We are union! We are union!" rang out from the picket line. The strikebreakers unleashed a barrage of tear gas, but as one group of strikers retreated, another took their place. The guard towers came down—one with an SRC thug still in it—and for three days nothing moved in or out. But a county judge handed down an injunction on October 14 limiting pickets to ten per gate. The company has since moved in scabs, although Local 9226 president James Allen told *WV* they have not shipped any rail cars out.

Jeff Roberts

Local 9226 members put the match to company letters firing over 50 strikers.

The strikers are demanding parity with UAW workers at Trinity's other rail car plant in Greenville, Pennsylvania. But the UAW tops refuse to pull out the Greenville plant in solidarity, even with Trinity set to target the local when their contract is up in March. The last thing the pro-capitalist union tops want is some hard class struggle that disrupts the honeymoon of their anti-union, right-to-work Democrat, Bill Clinton. And despite the strikebreaking role of the cops and courts, the reformist SWP continues to alibi the union tops and push illusions in the neutrality of the capitalist state. The SWP's *Militant* (30 October 1992) declared that strikers "scored a victory" when the judge restricted the company's use of the Special Response goons (but not the scabherding cops) *and simultaneously* enjoined the union from mass picketing.

The strikers won the battle of October 12 because *mass pickets* stopped the scabs—and that is exactly what the hosses' courts want to outlaw. That is the lesson of the lockout of Ravenswood, West Virginia steel workers, who held out for 19 months in defense of their union, but were forced to return alongside scabs after the USWA International sabotaged their fight by pushing an impotent consumer boycott, instead of the mass pickets and hot cargoing needed to win. Now Ravenswood worker Bob Buck sits in a federal prison for the "crime" of refusing to fink for the feds on his union brothers. Freedom for Bob Buck!

"Cauldron of Class Conflict"

The Bessemer-Birmingham area is no stranger to class war. In this area rich in coal and ore, the capitalist class sought to guarantee a cheap labor force by keeping the workers unorganized and racially divided. But under the leadership of Communist Party militants who fought against all-sided racist oppression, Birmingham became "a cauldron of class conflict," as Robin Kelly called it in his history of Alabama Communists during the Depression, *Hammer and Hoe* (Chapel Hill, 1990). It was here that courageous black Communist Angelo Herndon organized black and white miners and the unemployed in the late 1920s.

In 1936 black steel workers in Birmingham, led by Communists Joe Howard and C. Dave Smith, won a strike by organizing Alabama's first sitdown. This challenge to the capitalists' precious private property terrified the bosses—and the labor tops in the Alabama CIO, who fired Howard and Smith as Steelworker organizers. Communist union organizers were beaten, jailed and tortured by the Klan and cops, but their defiance attracted the downtrodden black masses. When the fascists warned, "Negroes Beware—Do Not Attend Communist Meetings—The Ku Klux Klan Is Watching You," black Communists responded with their own leaflets declaring: "KKK! The Workers Are Watching You!" Birmingham blacks saw the fight for industrial unions "as a crusade for racial justice," and poured into the new CIO unions.

In order to forge the multiracial unity necessary to win strikes, you need a class-struggle leadership willing to go up against the whole system of racist oppression, from the company judges to the Klan to the racist Democratic Party. In the Deep South in the 1930s there were thousands of subjectively revolutionary black—and white—workers who fought for an end to the capitalist system they recognized as the bedrock of the deep racist oppression of blacks. In the words of one Communist, "The first Civil War didn't free them, but this one will." It is one of the greatest crimes of the reformist CP that they betrayed this struggle on the altar of their popular-front alliance with the Democratic Party. What is needed is a revolutionary workers party, in which the combative black proletariat will play a leading role.

Today in Bessemer, the courage of the integrated Trinity strikers should be an inspiration to the rest of Birmingham labor, and workers throughout the South. Mobilize mass pickets to win—Victory to the Bessemer strike! ■

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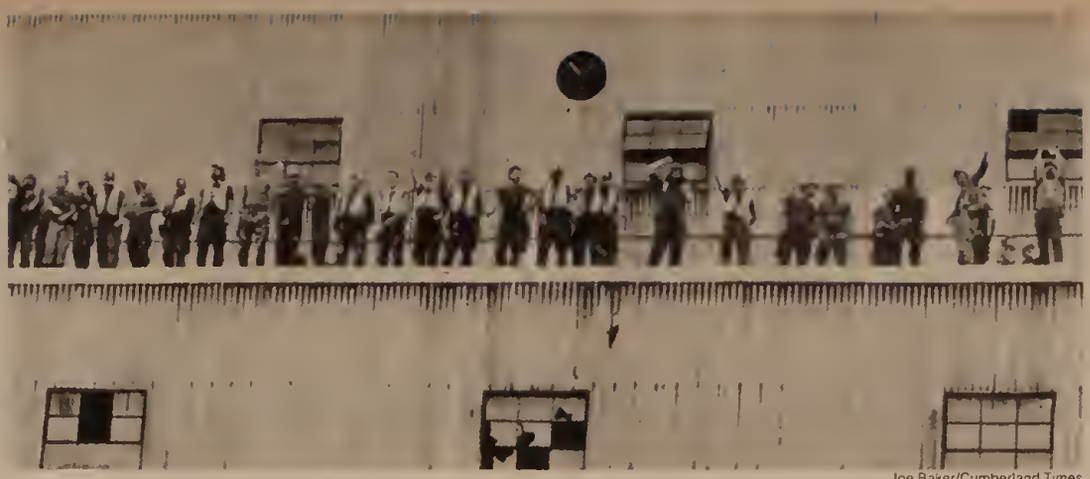
Coal Strike...

(continued from page 12)

And the rest of labor had better stand with them. Thousands of tons of Peabody and Eastern coal are sitting on the docks in Newport News, Virginia and at the Great Lakes ports of Sandusky and Toledo. Union workers on the Norfolk Southern and CSX railroads haul tons of coal every day. Rail workers, longshoremen, power workers—don't touch scab coal!

The best way to organize the unorganized is through a solid strike that *wins*. Miners: Fight for a national coal strike! For an industrywide contract! Organize the unorganized!



Joe Baker/Cumberland Times

Pittston miners' occupation of Moss No. 3 plant in 1989 shut down company's scab operations; UMW head Trumka called it off.

Pittston Strike Was Betrayed

In the first days of the strike, Eastern has already thrown down the gauntlet to the union, reopening the Harris No. 1 mine in Bald Knob, West Virginia, in the heart of UMW District 17. Another 13 independent mines have locked out their workers. Only *one* member of the BCOA coal bosses is being struck—and just over half of Peabody's coal production is shut down, as Trumka exempted operations in Montana, Wyoming, Colorado and Arizona. Mine No. 10 in Pawnee, Illinois, continues to supply Illinois Power under a no-strike agreement.

Under the hammer blows of the coal operators, and betrayed by a union leadership which looks to the bosses' courts and labor boards, the UMW is in desperate straits. Only one in three miners today is a union member. And the companies, increasingly dominated by big multinational holding companies, have wiped out thousands of union jobs under the practice of "double breasting"—closing union mines, laying off union labor and opening up new mines under the control of non-union subsidiaries. But Trumka *invited* this attack to continue with his 1988 contract, which lets operators hire two non-union miners for every three UMW members when they open up "new" mines.

Trumka has further divided the union's forces, giving a 60-day contract extension to a four-company group of "Independents" in the hopes of brokering labor peace in the coal fields through corporatist "labor-management" cooperation. But the bosses aren't buying, as the biggest coal companies, like Ashland Oil and Consolidated Coal, are opening scab mines in the heart of the Appalachian coal fields. It is the *union* which is being eliminated—not the profits. After World War II, 320,000 miners produced 480 million tons of coal annually in the U.S. In 1991, more than *one billion* tons were extracted by just over 100,000 miners.

When the picket lines went up at Peabody, Trumka bragged that this strike may "dwarf" Pittston, referring to the 1989-90 strike against the southwest Virginia company. For ten months, Pittston miners faced coal company thugs, thousands of arrests and millions in fines. During the summer of '89, 50,000 miners wildcatted in solidarity with the Pittston strike, but Trumka ordered them back to work and then stopped the powerful occupation of the Moss No. 3 processing plant that September. Not *once* did the UMW call on railroad workers to "hot cargo" the scab coal which was rolling to the ports.

In January 1990, Trumka rammed through a contract which allowed the company to buy its way out of the health benefit funds at bargain basement prices. We warned at the time:

> "Trumka is trying to sell a contract which threatens everything the Pittston strikers have fought for.... This will open the floodgates to a coal company offensive against the health and pension funds and industrywide bargaining, endangering the very existence of the union."
>
> —"Pittston Miners: Rip Up Trumka's Sellout!"
> *WV* No. 494, 26 January 1990

Incredibly, Trumka *paid Pittston millions of dollars in union money* to settle the strike on the company's terms. Like the A.T. Massey strike in 1984-85, in which the UMW tops abandoned victimized Kentucky strike militants who remain in jail to this day, the Pittston strike was *betrayed*. And the medical benefits which the UMW tops vowed would be "saved" through Congressional legislation are now threatened, as companies have filed suit to be exempted from funding the insolvent health benefit funds.

Don't Play by the Bosses' Rules!

From the Labor Department campaign of Arnold Miller, to Carter/Mondale's use of Taft-Hartley against the long, bitter 1977-78 strike, to Trumka's bowing before the injunctions of the coal company judges during the Pittston strike, the miners' historic militancy has been throttled in the service of the bosses' parties and the capitalist state. Now Trumka has bowed to court orders that miners undergo mandatory "strike training" to teach them to be "peaceful, legal." Militant miners got *their* strike training at Bloody Harlan and Blair Mountain, and the lesson of those struggles is: You can't win if you play by the bosses' rules.

The key is leadership. The same Taft-Hartley "slave labor" law which outlaws real solidarity action was the bosses' weapon to purge the labor movement of the reds who built it. In the early 1920s, when the labor movement was under assault as it is today, veteran Communist labor organizer and Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon pointed the way forward:

> "Let the labor unions put aside their illusions; let them face the issue squarely and fight it out on the basis of the class struggle. Instead of seeking peace when there is no peace, and 'understanding' with those who do not want to understand, let them declare war on the whole capitalist regime. That is the way to save the unions and make them grow in the face of adversity and become powerful war engines for the destruction of capitalism and the reorganization of society on the foundation of working class control in industry and government."
>
> —"Who Can Save the Unions?"
> *James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism* (1992) ■

Black History Month
Spartacist Forums

The Civil Rights Movement and the Black Power Era

Malcolm X:
The Man, the Myth, the Struggle

Speakers: Don Alexander and Joseph Seymour,
Spartacist League Central Committee

Friday, February 26, 7:30 p.m.
Yablon Cultural Center
7213 Beverly Blvd. (west of La Brea)

For more information: (213) 380-8239

LOS ANGELES

From Germany to Vancouver
The Fight Against Fascism

Including eyewitness report:
Vancouver labor/minority mobilization drives off fascist skinheads

Speaker: Peter Atkins, Spartacist League Central Committee

Friday, February 26, 7:30 p.m.
UC Berkeley
126 Barrows

For more information: (510) 839-0851

BERKELEY

Saturday, February 27, 7:30 p.m.
First Unitarian Church
1187 Franklin (Fireside Room)

For more information: (415) 777-9367

SAN FRANCISCO

Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste Forum

3,000 Drive Off Fascist Skinheads
Labor/Minority Mobilization Stopped Nazi Provocation in Vancouver!

Eyewitness accounts by participants in January 22 demonstration

Saturday, February 20, 7:30 p.m.
For more information: (416) 593-4138

TORONTO

University of Toronto
International Student Centre
33 St. George Street
(just north of College St.)

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

There Is No Justice in Capitalist America

Speaker: Ray Bishop, Spartacist League Central Committee

Thursday, February 25, 7:30 p.m.
Harvard University
Emerson Hall, Room 305
(in Harvard Yard)

For more information: (617) 492-3928

BOSTON

Friday, February 26, 7 p.m.
Columbia University
Schermerhorn, Room 614
(#1 train to 116th St. and Broadway)

For more information: (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY

WORKERS VANGUARD

Organize the Unorganized!

Coal Miners: Fight for a National Strike!

FEBRUARY 8—Over 5,000 members of the United Mine Workers (UMW) at 21 mines in West Virginia, Illinois, Indiana and Kentucky struck at midnight on February 1 against Peabody Coal and its subsidiary, Eastern Associated Coal. The strikers are up against the largest coal producer in the U.S., with profits of $260 million last year and coal reserves of eight billion tons. Peabody, owned by the giant British conglomerate Hanson Industries, mines 10 percent of all coal in this country. The picket lines outside Peabody pits are today the front line of a fight for the future of the UMW.

This is the first big labor confrontation of the Clinton administration, and UMW president Richard Trumka has no intention of embarrassing his friend, the yuppie Democrat. Trumka was among the union presidents who traveled to Clinton's "labor summit" in Little Rock in December to hear the right-to-work president-elect demand "sacrifice" from the working class.

Trumka said at the outset, "I didn't want to strike to begin with"—and that's how he's running it. The Peabody strike is the continuation of the union bureaucracy's disastrous "selective strike" strategy which has divided and weakened the union, leaving isolated groups of miners to go it alone against the bosses and their cops and courts. This is particularly suicidal given that Peabody and the power companies have amassed huge stockpiles of coal, while over 70 percent of the country's coal is mined by non-union labor. As the strike broke out, the bosses' *Journal of Commerce* (2 February) gloated: "The prevailing calm Monday reflects the loss of clout the union has undergone. Fewer than one of three Eastern mines is organized by the once-powerful union, and these produce a little less than half the coal mined."

But the mining bosses can be made to eat their words. The UMW still has a lot of muscle and a long tradition of militant struggle. The miners are the historic shock troops of the American labor movement. A strike committee member and 16-year UMW militant in Boone County, West Virginia, invoked the miners' historic watchword "No contract, no work!" He told *WV*: "If we lose this one, they're just going to take everything, that's the way I feel about it. So we're going to have to make a stand now and go for it.... I think that everybody ought to be out right now."

That's right! Every UMW member ought to be out right now, on mass picket lines that nobody crosses, and with a strategy aimed at extending the strike to non-union pits. It's time for the UMW to reclaim the coal fields—all of them.

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Ferrell/ NY Times

West Virginia miners set up picket shed for strike against Peabody Coal. No contract, no work! Pull out the entire UMW!

Bessemer

Victory to Alabama Steel Strike!

Jeff Roberts

Mass picketing by steel workers and supporters stops scabs and company thugs last October.

BESSEMER, Alabama—A sharp class battle is being waged here at the Trinity Industries rail car plant, by 800 members of United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 9226. They are in a fight for survival against Trinity, the largest manufacturer of rail cars in the U.S. In early January, one striker was shot and a second pistol-whipped by a scab. Since the strike began on September 19, workers have withstood almost six months of attacks by scabs, company goons and cops. There have been drive-by shootings at the picket line and union hall, while three strikers were pulled from their car at a Shoney's at gunpoint. Over 50 workers have been fired for defending their picket lines; nine face charges from the Bessemer police.

In the face of this union-busting assault by Trinity and the bosses' state, all Birmingham labor must come to the aid of the strikers. Weeks into the strike, USWA District 36 director Dick Davis blustered that "Had we wanted it, had it been necessary, we could have had 50,000 people out here." It was necessary from the start! The integrated labor power—in the steel mills, railroads and mines—of this "Pittsburgh of the South" must be mobilized in mass militant picket lines that no scab would dare cross! Victory to the Trinity strikers!

The Bessemer plant, site of the former Pullman Standard factory, was organized after a bitter six-week strike in 1988. In open shop Alabama, *98 percent* of the workers here have joined the union. They are angry at the high injury rates and unsafe conditions, and at wages that average only $9.80 an hour. On top of this, workers have to pay $53 a week for medical insurance—and Trinity now wants to raise that to $71. The company refuses to even discuss a settlement unless the union drops its demand for amnesty for the 53 fired workers. After the company offered a $5,000 reward for the names of "violent" strikers, Raul Gonzalez, a supporter of the Socialist Workers Party, was dragged from his

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 570 | 26 February 1993

Yuppie Democrat Targets Blacks, Poor, Elderly

Clinton's Killer Budget—Death and Taxes

"New breed" Democrat Clinton's February 17 economic speech was just what the bourgeoisie ordered. He wants those of us who have some income left to be taxed to pay for the ruling class' fiscal irresponsibility and parasitism. Clinton's "Throw Momma from the Train" budget slashes Medicare payments to doctors and hospitals, and even goes after Social Security. For the poorest part of the population, which has grown enormously in the past decade, he threatens to "end welfare as we know it" by simply removing recipients from the rolls after two years.

If this isn't bad enough, there's more to come, when Hillary Clinton unveils her "health care" proposals, which sound like pretty nasty medicine. After her bubba hubby gets done taxing gas, she's going to go after cigarettes and alcohol, the few small pleasures working people can still afford to take their minds off this miserable society. While the Clintons talk of health coverage for all, they aim to slash away at government-financed medical and hospital care for the tens of millions on welfare and others—many of them black and Hispanic—who aren't covered by employer insurance plans. By the profit-driven logic of the capitalist medical system, cutting Medicare and Medicaid payments means even fewer doctors and hospitals will accept those patients.

Butow/NY Times

Clinton axes health care for the poor: above, patients wait hours for care in federally funded family planning clinic.

Clinton has also proposed a one-year wage freeze—a 4 percent *cut* in real wages—for the country's 700,000 heavily black federal employees. "It's not fair!" exclaimed one outraged $20,000-a-year government agency worker in New York. It sure ain't, but fairness is not a quality this greedy ruling class is known for. Meanwhile, despite the supposed economic "recovery," unemployment continues to climb.

In New York City, unemployment rose to a staggering 13.4 percent in January, the highest rate in the 25 years since the Bureau of Labor Statistics started keeping figures. The number of homeless families in NYC rose 14 percent just in the months between July and October, and is slated to climb another 45 percent over the next year. In Detroit, almost one-third of the population scrapes by below the official poverty line. Across the country, a record 14 million people now rely on miserly welfare payments. These are the people Clinton wants to "sacrifice."

The fact is, the American bourgeoisie wants higher taxes on the majority of the population and cutbacks in social programs because the only other *really* big budget item left to slash is military spending. And for all the squabbling between the Pentagon and the White House, there is a ruling-class consensus that any substantial cut in funding the gendarmes of the "New World Order" is taboo. In his televised address to the nation, Clinton hinted that Reagan and Bush were responsible for jacking the debt up sky-high. But he never explained

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Germany

Case Dismissed Against Spartakists Who Tore Down Nazi Flag

BERLIN, February 17—In a trial at the Tiergarten Administrative Court today, the case was dismissed against four supporters of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) and the Committee for Social Defense (KfsV) who were charged with tearing down an enormous swastika flag at the Pariser Galerie next to the Brandenburg Gate in June 1992. Toralf Endruweit, Spartakist spokesman and former SpAD candidate in the March 1990 DDR (East German) parliamentary elections, declared in a statement to the court: "As the numerous statements of support show, the court has, to put it mildly, gotten heart palpitations."

He continued: "We won't allow this blood-soaked banner to just hang anywhere. We tore it down on 23 June 1992 and burned it. We are proud of that, and will do it again if necessary. We did it in the name of all anti-fascists."

About a hundred demonstrators gathered before the beginning of the trial in front of the entrance to the court, chanting: "Swastika means genocide, destroy the flag everywhere!" and "1, 2, 3, 4—No Nazi flag here! 5, 6, 7, 8—Stop the Nazis with workers power!" Representatives of the Jewish Group of Berlin, the PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism), the SDAJ (German Socialist Young Workers), the KPD/ML (Communist Party of Germany/Marxist-Leninist), as well as the SpAD, spoke in the demonstration organized by the KfsV, in which many anti-fascist youth participated.

At the demonstration, Atiye Eksi said in a moving declaration: "My son Mete Eksi was slain a year ago by racist youths. They have not yet heen put on trial. They were set free. But those

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Spartakist

The Spartakist 4 who wara arrested for tearing down Nazi flag, at rally outside Berlin courthouse, February 17.

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ADL Connection to CIA/FBI Exposed

SAN FRANCISCO—A sensational but secretive FBI investigation of a local cop suspected of selling police intelligence files nn U.S. citizens to South African and Israeli agents has provided a glimpse into a sinister web linking secret police operations in the three countries. Right in the middle of this dirty spy network is the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, which in the name of fighting anti-Semitism targets pnlitical opponents of the Zionist rulers.

This scandal has also blown the cover off political spying by the San Francisco Police Department. After revelatinns of decades nf surveillance—in particular against nearly 100 organizations at the 1984 Democratic convention, including the ACLU, the National Lawyers Guild and groups opposed to U.S. intervention in Central America—a 1990 court ruling ordered the SFPD to destroy its massive political intelligence files. Now SF police chief Tony Ribera admits the files have not been destroyed. And only last year, then police chief Richard Hongisto ordered cops "to gather information on East Bay activists suspected of being involved" in protests against the acquittal of the racist cops who beat Rodney King (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 29 January).

At the center of the storm is one Tom Gerard, a career SF police officer who skipped the country suddenly last Nnvember and resurfaced in the Philippines, Gerard was originally trained as a bomb expert by the SFPD. In 1982 he took a leave of absence to work secretly for the CIA in El Salvador, where he helped train the death squad junta's army for three years. He was also the SFPD's "official liaisnn" to the FBI. Welcomed back to the police force in 1985, Gerard was assigned to the intelligence unit, where "one of [his] jobs was to gather data, including rumors, about Arab Americans and pro-Palestinian groups" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 16 January).

Enter Roy Bullock, art dealer and paid "investigator" for the ADL. Bullock infiltrated the Arab American Anti-Discrimination Cnmmittee to spy on its members, and was also seen at an anti-apartheid rally attended by South African exiles. Gerard admits he and Bullock secretly passed information to the South African consulate, apparently including an FBI file on the Black Muslims. Some of these files, "which were supposed to be classified, eventually wound up in the hands of the Anti-Defamation League" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 15 January). In May 1991 Gerard joined other police officials on an all-expense-paid "ADL law enforcement mission" to Israel. It turns nut that San Francisco's current mayor and then police chief Frank Jordan went on a similar ADL-financed trip to Israel in 1987.

Gerard seems to have been quite energetic, to say the least. According to columnist Warren Hinckle, Gerard met a member of the notorious Royal Ulster Constabulary at a "law enforcement clambake in Washington, D.C." who later showed up at the SFPD "accompanied hy two British Special Branch Intelligence agents" (San Francisen *Independent*, 29 January). As Hinckle notes, this fuels suspicions by local Irish groups about the SFPD's role in three recent Bay Area arrests of escapees from Northern Ireland's notorious H-Block prison.

Who else have they been spying on, when, and for whom? The FBI clearly doesn't want its victims to find out. All the search warrants have been sealed, and a San Francisco Superior Court judge rejected an *Examiner* appeal for their release. But the victims of spying have a right to know. Because they are in grave danger.

Remember the FBI's own murderous COINTELPRO targeting the Black Panthers for extermination. A lot of Central Americans are in California because they fled their homes in fear of the U.S.-trained death squads. For decades the Mossad has done the CIA's dirty work, particularly in Latin America, Africa and the Near East. And the Mossad has long had a close partnership with South Africa's secret police.

The FBI has specially targeted Arab Americans for harassment and persecution, at the behest of the Zionists in Israel and in the U.S. The "L.A. Eight," seven Palestinians and a Kenyan woman, have been fighting for five years against a witchhunting government vendetta which seeks to deport them on the sole charge of their alleged political sympathies for the Palestinian PFLP. During their legal fight, government plans came to light to throw Arab Americans into concentration camps in time of war. Now, with Israel deporting hundreds of Palestinians as suspected supporters of the fundamentalist Hamas group, the FBI is tracking all potential "Hamas supporters" in the U.S. Notably, one of the names in Gerard's voluminous files was that of Mohammed Jarad, a Palestinian American grocer from Chicago who was arrested as a "Hamas terrorist," along with two other American citizens, while visiting relatives in the West Bank.

Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin has hailed Gerard as a "hero." And what of the ADL, which has been furiously denying that it has anything to do with the Mossad or the Israeli government? Bay Area ADL spokesman Elliot Bien boasts that the Zionist outfit "shares information on extremist groups with law enforcement agencies" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 24 January). And while the "extremist groups" include the KKK and the pro-Nazi "Institute for Historical Review," the ADL is also notorious for "disinformation" and spying aimed against pro-Palestinian and leftist organizations. Several years ago, in the course of pre-trial discovery, we came across a February 1985 ADL letter to the SFPD which revealed that they had cooperated in spying "on the Sparticus [sic] Youth League's activities on San Francisco State University's campus."

KTVU-TV

Sinister SF cop Tom Gerard linked to FBI/CIA/ Mossad.

In the fall of 1988, the ADL launched a massive "disinformation" drive aimed at sabotaging a successful labor/black mobilization in Philadelphia initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, which spiked a threatened Klan/Nazi skinhead provocation (see "ADL Redbaiters Defame Anti-Klan Protest," *WV* No. 465, 18 November 1988). As we noted at the time: "The Zionists hate our guts because we have their number: they do nothing to defend Jews against racist terror here and they cheer on racist terror against Palestinians in Israel."

We demand full disclosure of all the links between the SFPD, the ADL and the American, Israeli and South African political police. While the Democrats call on the district attorney to initiate yet another investigation alongside those already supposedly being pursued by the SFPD and FBI, the only sure thing is that all these cover-up "investigations" will do nothing to safeguard those targeted by the murderous cops and feds. We fight for the socialist revolution that will sweep away the capitalists together with their secret police. ■

Hitler's Takeover and the Soviet Union

TROTSKY

LENIN

The end of January marked 60 years since Hitler's rise to power and 50 years since the surrender of German forces at the Battle of Stalingrad, which led directly to the Red Army's victory over the Third Reich in 1945. Leon Trotsky and the Left Opposition had fought for a united front of Communist and Socialist workers as part of a revolutionary strategy to smash the Nazi menace before it took power. In that context, Trotsky also raised the possibility of the Red Army intervening to assist the German workers struggle. But the Social Democrats and Stalinists allowed Hitler to march to power unchallenged, just as decades of Stalinist sabotage have now allowed the triumph of counterrevolution in the ex-USSR. Trotsky addressed the absence of workers resistance to the Nazi takeover in a March 1933 article.

The complete absence of resistance on the part of the German workers has provoked certain troubles within our own ranks. We expected that the onward march of the fascist danger would surmount not only the perfidious policy of the reformists but also the ultimatist sabotage of the Stalinists. These hopes were not confirmed. Were our expectations false? This question cannot be put in such a formal manner. We were *obliged* to proceed from a course based upon resistance and to do all in our power for its realization. To acknowledge a priori the impossibility of resistance would have meant not to push the proletariat forward but to introduce a supplementary demoralizing element....

If the internal situation in the USSR had permitted, the Soviet government, at the time of Hitler's first approach toward power, should have mobilized some army divisions in White Russia and the Ukraine, naturally under the shield of defending the Soviet borders.... Naturally, the Red Army cannot replace the German workers in making the revolution; rather, it can only assist the revolution of the German workers. But in different stages this assistance can have different manifestations. For example, the Red Army can assist the German workers to *begin* the revolution.

What paralyzed the German prnletariat was the feeling of disunity, isolation, and despair. Merely the prospect of armed assistance from the outside would have exercised an enormously encouraging influence upon the vanguard.

—Leon Trotsky, "Germany and the USSR" (March 1933)

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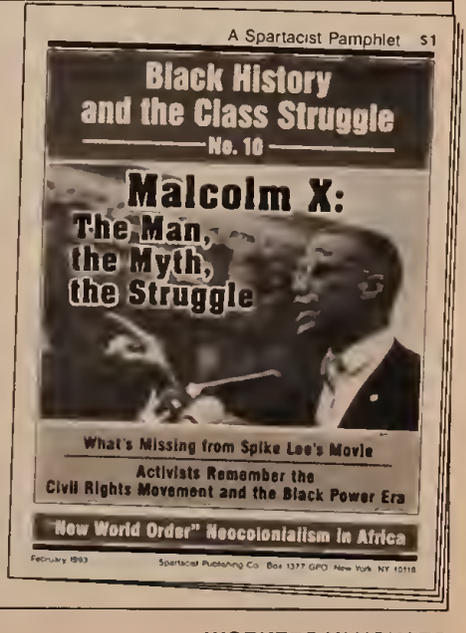


Kartenberg/Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung

Coal miners demonstrate solidarity with steel workers in the Ruhr, heart of Germany's industrial powerhouse.

Germany: Bosses Throw Down the Gauntlet

The following article is adapted from Spartakist *No. 100, published by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).*

FEBRUARY 21—The Ruhr, Western Germany's industrial heartland, is boiling with working-class anger. Steel bosses are threatening to slash 30,000 jobs and shut down the blast furnaces altogether at historic production sites. In response, thousands of workers have gone into the streets day after day, from Eisenhüttenstadt on the Polish border to Bavaria in the south. The wave of demonstrations could easily escalate into strikes and plant occupations. After 20,000 workers and their families occupied highway B-1 in a torchlit "night of a thousand fires" in Dortmund, the first wildcat strike broke out in the town of Siegen on February 18. But isolated protests will fail unless the heavy battalions of the proletariat, East and West, including the strategically placed and militant immigrant component, are mobilized in united struggle.

For there is a concerted capitalist offensive under way. The coal magnates are threatening to lay off thousands more in the Ruhr area. Simultaneously the metal industry cartel unilaterally canceled union contracts which called for raising wages in the East German states to 82 percent of the Western level on April 1. While talking of a "solidarity pact," the Bonn government, industrial barons and the SPD "opposition" are using the old tactics of divide and rule. As a result of the international steel crisis, Western bosses want to shut down production entirely in the area of the former East German workers state. Krupp-Hoesch plays off steel workers in the Ruhr cities of Dortmund and Duisburg against each other. But this could backfire. On February 10, some 25,000 metal workers from East and West came together in a jobs protest in Magdeburg.

The potential for sharp class struggle is enormous. But the workers' hands are tied by the social-democratic union bureaucracy. Lines of torches are just as impotent in stopping layoffs as "candle chains" are in warding off attacks on immigrants—and such nationalist popular-front tactics are just as treacherous in chaining German workers to the German bourgeoisie. A steel workers' banner addressed to Bonn politicians declared, "You Need German Coal and German Steel." The DGB labor federation and IG Metall union tops are calling for a month of "actions," culminating in a "March of 100,000" on Bonn on March 26. This could easily be turned into a nationalist march on Brussels, as SPD politicians led by Johannes Rau, prime minister of the state of Nordrhein-Westfalen, thunder against American protectionism and cheap imports from East Europe.

At a national steel conference meeting on February 16 in Duisburg that brought together 500 plant council members, there were many complaints that March 26 is too late. But the purpose of this delay, and of a month of local actions, is to blow off steam. *Because the SPD politicians and social-democratic union tops are supporting the steel plant closings.* The SPD state government says that it "can't secure either the threatened jobs or the endangered production sites" (*Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 18 February). And when IG Metall chief Steinkühler calls for "maintaining steel center Germany" it means dropping the union's opposition to closing any steel centers. At the Duisburg meeting, the metal union leader said the union was "helpless in the face of a situation in which hundreds of thousands are threatened with unemployment. We have nothing to offer" (*Berliner Zeitung*, 17 February).

Just listen. Here is the head of a 3.3-million-member labor organization, which boasts of being "the strongest union in the world," confessing it can do nothing in the face of a frontal assault on its membership! This is a stunning declaration of the hankruptcy of labor reformism in the epoch of capitalist decline. In fact, IG Metall and the other German industrial unions have tremendous power. It is the pro-capitalist politics of their leaders that paralyze them. When Steinkühler, Rau and SPD leader Engholm call for a "national steel conference," they are begging to continue the institutionalized class collaboration of the "social market economy" synthesized in the fraud of "co-management." But there is nothing social about the market economy in times of sharp capitalist crisis.

After World War II the bourgeoisie set up an elaborate social welfare state to ward off the threat of Communism. But with the collapse of Soviet Stalinism, the capitalists see no need to continue such expensive sops to the workers. Barely two and a half years after capitalist reunification, it's almost universally recognized that the "German model" of a high-wage welfare state is a thing of the past. Having taken on the "burdens" of a world power, the masters of the Fourth Reich are intent on jacking up the rate of exploitation. Steinkühler himself recognizes this, speaking of the "spectre of a crisis of the system." But he has "nothing to offer." The *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, that voice of the bankers, ironically remarks that "militant 'struggle actions'" don't attract investors. Militant struggle actions for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, for equal pay for equal work, could bring together the economically powerful industrial workers of the West with millions of their class brothers and sisters in the East, half of them now jobless, who know from their own experience in the DDR that unemployment can be eliminated in a planned economy. But a planned economy cannot be sustained in a single country, much less half a country.

The job-slashing European Community steel barons are targeting Italy and Spain as well as Germany. Coming amid a Europe-wide recession and Europe-wide worker unrest, the labor showdown in Germany underscores the decisive importance of the fight for internationalist, revolutionary leadership of the working class. It is to resolving this key question that the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) addresses itself.

Class Struggle in the Fourth Reich

Since 1990, the imperialist rulers in Bonn have carried out the biggest hostile takeover in history, annexing and destroying the bureaucratically deformed workers state of the DDR and establishing economic overlordship throughout East Europe. But they did it on credit, and they want the workers to pay for it. Today they are weighed down by mounting debt, and the workers are in no mood to pay for the bosses' rapaciousness. Christian Democrats, Free Democrats and Social Democrats wrangle over the terms of a hypocritically misnamed "solidarity pact," as the SPD joins the governing coalition in gutting the right to asylum for refugees and legitimizing "constitutional" intervention by the Bundeswehr around the globe. Rather than solidarity, the pact proposed by the "chancellor of lies" aims at getting the population used to "hard times," with lower unemployment benefits, fewer holidays and sick days, and higher taxes.

Seeking to prop up sagging profits, Kohl has undertaken privatization of the post office and the railways. But by proposing to impose user fees on the sacrosanct autobahns, he may have shot himself in the foot. While the bourgeoisie is talking tough, ever since Kohl got a slap in the face in the ÖTV public workers strike last May the German ruling class has been nervously looking at its bankbooks. No more 5.4 percent wage increases—in December IG Metall's Steinkühler settled for 3.3 percent for steel workers. And in January, the ÖTV's Wulf-Mathies stuffed a 3 percent deal down the throats of her members in the West—a full percentage

continued on page 6

Der Spiegel

Dortmund, February 17: 20,000 steel workers and supporters march with torches in "night of 1,000 fires," protesting threatened steel mill closures.

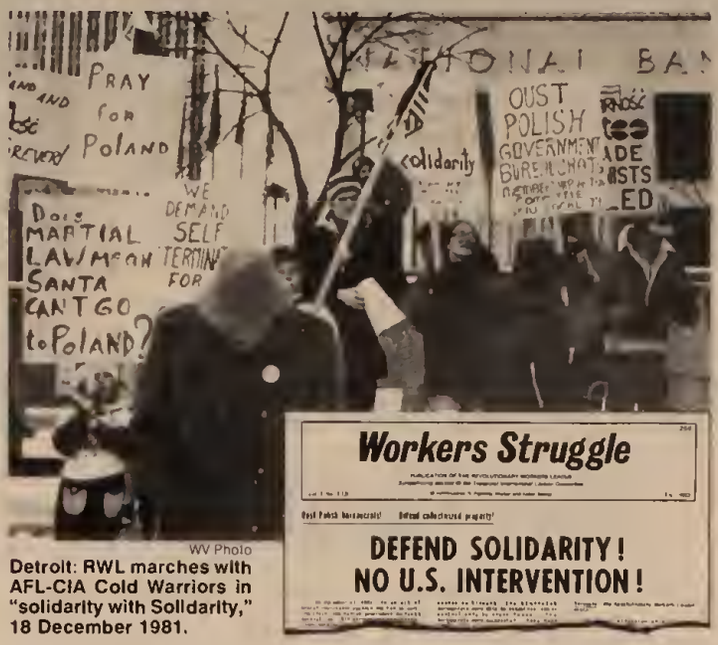
RWL: Mitosis of a Cult

A vocal group of militant youth based in Detroit and Ann Arbor has been making its presence felt at some women's and gay rights demonstrations around the country in recent months. It's called the National Women's Rights Organizing Committee (NWROC). Unlike feminists who *explicitly* support the capitalist Democratic Party, NWROC claims to stand for a workers party. It advocates "direct action" in abortion clinic defense mobilizations, instead of reliance on the police and courts. NWROC boasts that its "leadership" in such actions in Buffalo and Baton Rouge last year inflicted resounding defeats on the anti-abortion bigots of Operation Rescue and virtually "forced" the Supreme Court to uphold *Roe v. Wade*.

A reality check seems to be in order. NWROC is the latest in a long line of front groups concocted by the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), an opportunist sect that has been plying eastern Michigan's I-94 corridor for lo these past 20 years. While claiming to be Trotskyist—even professing support for the Spartacist League's (SL) basic documents (up to 1971!)—the RWL is utterly hostile to the communist principles that guide authentic revolutionaries.

Even its stand for women's liberation is a fraud: the RWL is mired in thoroughly bourgeois feminist organizations like NOW which handcuff women to their oppressors and thus are an *obstacle* to the liberation of women, minorities and working women in particular. NOW scandalously invited the FBI to set up a recruitment booth at NOW's 1991 national conference—yet all it took was some hot air from Molly Yard about a "third party" for the centrist RWL to look to this white ladies auxiliary of the Democrats to...build a workers party! And the pro-Clinton NOW looks pretty good compared to some of the anti-woman outfits the "radical feminists" of the RWL have supported internationally, like the Iranian mullahs who imprisoned women behind the veil, and Polish Solidarność, which has banned abortion as part of its clericalist crusade.

But NWROC is shrinking and the RWL itself underwent mitosis in a bitter split between its two central leaders in the summer of 1991, when Peter Sollenberger broke away to form the Trotskyist League (TL). Leland Sanderson was left as king of the RWL's Ann Arbor sand castle with some newly recruited youth, whom he has tried to hold together with mindless single-issue activism, grandiose delusions of mass influence and a steady diet of radical lifestylism in place of politics. For subjectively revolutionary youth, the RWL is a dead end.



WV Photo

Detroit: RWL marches with AFL-CIA Cold Warriors in "solidarity with Solidarity," 18 December 1981.

Spectre of Spartacism Haunts the RWL

We long ago described the RWL as a cult—the organizational emanation of Sollenberger/Sanderson's egos—and the documents around its split provide a real worm's-eye view. The 270 pages of documents devoted to "The Split in the International Trotskyist Committee," published by the TL, are nearly devoid of politics but chock-full of the most personalistic, apolitical charges and exposés. Much of it revolves around which of the two gurus was the more "tired" and "irresponsible." During the Persian Gulf War, say the Sandersonites, Sollenberger "appeared to have vanished. Repeated urgent messages left on his answering machine received no reply at all." The Sollenhergerites counter that Leland "spent much of the mid- and latter 1980s a recluse in his apartment with his phone unplugged, writing one incomplete document a year."

Hovering over the split was the RWL's anti-Spartacism, which has animated the group since its inception. Sollenberger's "Tendency for a New Course" charged that Sanderson was leading the RWL through a "Spartacist-style degeneration," raising "angular" slogans designed to turn people off. One Sollenbergerite wrote:

> "Leland, years and years ago, said—and it hardly needed to be said then—that without the SL the RWL never would have been what it was. I want to communicate particularly to younger comrades who want to understand the transitional method, that you must know the history of the SL in order to know the history of the RWL."
>
> —Ron L., "The Transitional Method and the RWL" (August 1991)

"Why didn't Peter *and* Leland, who were collaborating on everything at that point, why didn't they both join the SL?" asks a Sollenberger supporter in the split documents. "I said the main reason to me was that although the SL had the Transitional Program from Trotsky, they did not have the transitional method, which is something harder to define...." That "hard to define" quality is the *reformist* "method" introduced by the latter-day Socialist Workers Party, which reduces Trotsky's Transitional Program —a program to guide the proletariat in struggle for state power—to a series of separate, reformist demands. Typically, the RWL will tack on a radical-sounding slogan and march as the left tail of some liberal mobilization aimed at pressuring Democratic Party politicians to legislate a reform.

The RWL version of history is that the Spartacist League "degenerated" in the early 1970s, roughly coincident with the arrival in the proletarian bastion of Ann Arbor of two Harvard graduates who had just decided *not* to join the SL. The problem for this centrist duo was how to carve out some turf for themselves between the revolutionary SL and the popular front. They could not ignore us, because increasingly Spartacists are recognized as *the* Trotskyists in the U.S. and internationally. So, in classic centrist fashion the RWL negatively defined themselves against us, peddling their wares as the soft-core "Trotskyists." While occasionally mouthing an orthodox-sounding word or two about Soviet defensism, opposition to the Democrats, or the strategy of revolutionary integrationism as the road to black freedom in this country, the RWL made sure that none of it was taken seriously enough to keep them out of the opportunist action.

Sollenberger and Sanderson spent the 1970s assembling an anti-Spartacist cult around themselves. Their politics, in a nutshell, were and are anti-labor, anti-black, and anti-Soviet. Until 1980 this group had no public press and was known chiefly for its members' *scabbing* during a University of Michigan campus strike in 1977. When they finally began publishing the misnamed *Fighting Worker*, three out of eight pages of the first issue were devoted to *trashing* the historic principle of the labor movement that *picket lines mean don't cross*. Trotsky said, "*Strike pickets* are the basic nuclei of the proletarian army" (Transitional Program), but *Flinching Scab* (as we call the RWL paper) ridiculed the "so-called 'picket-line question'" as a Spartacist "aberration." These Harvard boys also displayed their arrogant petty-bourgeois contempt for "dumb workers" by putting out a rag whose Archie Bunker "workerese" makes the *New York Post* look intelligent.

It was the Spartacist League's commitment—and successes—in the struggle for black rights that particularly exercised this cult. On 27 November 1982 over 5,000 people—leftists, blacks, unionists—joined in a united-front action that stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. The RWL stayed away and instead joined a pro-Democratic Party diversion two miles from the confrontation with the KKK. Then, using a racist Confederate slur, they actually called SL supporters who organized the successful anti-Klan mobilization "carpetbaggers." On the origin of this term, W.E.B. Du Bois wrote in *Black Reconstruction in America* of the response to Reconstruction by the "white South": "The campaign of slander against 'carpetbaggers' rose to a climax which included every Northern person who defended the Negro...." The RWL still echoes this racist campaign of slander against the real defenders of black liberation.

RWL: Solidarity with Anti-Sovietism

Defense of the gains of the October Revolution against imperialism and counterrevolution has been a defining cornerstone of Trotskyism. Only by giving lip service to this program could the RWL stake any claim to being Trotskyist. In fact, their anti-Soviet appetites grew commensurably with the anti-communism of Cold War II. They bowed to Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution" in Iran. They denounced the Soviet intervention against CIA-backed Islamic reaction in Afghanistan as a "gift" to the imperialists, while claiming to give "military support" to the Red Army. But when it came to backing Solidarność' capitalist counterrevolution in Poland, the RWL went whole hog. Marching together with the AFL-CIO Cold Warriors under the banner of "solidarity with Solidarity," the RWL eagerly paid the price of admission to the popular front in the Reagan years.

Against the pseudo-Trotskyist abettors of "bourgeois-democratic" counterrevolution in East Europe and the former Soviet Union, we Spartacists *uniquely* fought against the Solidarność "company union" for the CIA and Western bankers. We were the *only* political party to fight unambiguously against the Fourth Reich's capitalist *Anschluss* (annexation) of East Germany. As the "Russian question" was posed point-blank in the Soviet Union itself, we

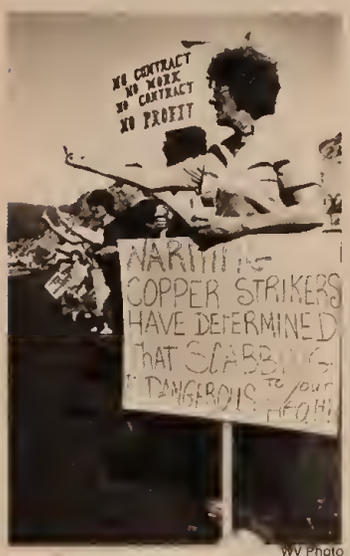
WV Photo

Red-white-blue bourgeois feminists banned socialist literature at abortion rights march in Washington, April 1992. RWL calls on NOW to "build workers party."

fought in defense of the gains of October—for a workers political revolution to sweep away the ossified Stalinist bureaucracy and to smash the capitalist-restorationist Yeltsinite forces. And to the extent our limited forces permit, we continue to fight to win the Soviet working class to a program to reverse and defeat the counterrevolution.

Wherever and whenever defense of the Soviet Union was concretely posed, the RWL flinched. At the time of the August 1991 events, they tried—in the usual centrist fashion—to straddle the barricades. While acknowledging that with Yeltsin's victory, "All the forces pushing for capitalist restoration have been enormously strengthened," they argued for Soviet workers to observe Yeltsin's strike call—i.e., they offered to give Yeltsin's pro-capitalist countercoup a "working-class" character! How seriously the RWL takes Soviet defensism can be gauged by the fact that even though the RWL split coincided with the August 1991 Yeltsin countercoup, neither the Sollenberger nor the Sanderson faction had anything to say about this in the voluminous documents on their split!

Yeltsinite counterrevolution succeeded in strangling the Soviet workers state. The change in the class character of the former Soviet state is evident and wrenching for anyone rooted in reality. The introduction of "free market" misery means that rickets, a disease of poverty, now afflicts some *60 percent* of Soviet children; that murderous national chauvinism has exploded in bloody conflicts



WV Photo

RWL says Spartacists invented the "picket line principle." Tell that to picketing strikers in 1984 Arizona copper miners strike!

throughout the former Soviet republics; that anti-Semitism, racism and all forms of social bigotry are on the rise.

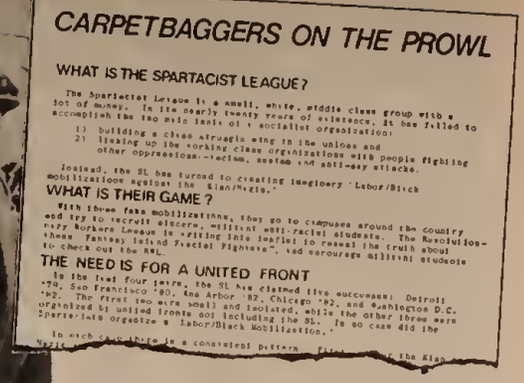
To alibi their backhanded support for Yeltsin, the RWL cynically argues that the Soviet Union still exists. Only now, *after* the counterrevolution has triumphed, can they finally find something to defend—"nationalized" property. Like the Labourite social democrats, the RWL elevates nationalized property to the highest pedestal—and remains utterly indifferent to the key question of *which class rules*. Let's look at what Trotsky had to say on the question:

> "Should a bourgeois counterrevolution succeed in the USSR, the new government for a lengthy period would have to base itself upon the nationalized economy. But what does such a type of temporary conflict between the economy and the state mean? It means a *revolution* or a *counterrevolution*. The victory of one class over another signifies that it will reconstruct the economy in the interests of the victors."
>
> —"Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" (November 1937)

A NAIL in the Coffin

Unable over the years to build any stable presence outside its Michigan home base (save for a small satellite in the Bay Area), in 1990 the RWL recruited

Washington Post



CARPETBAGGERS ON THE PROWL

WHAT IS THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE?

WHAT IS THEIR GAME?

THE NEED IS FOR A UNITED FRONT

We stopped the Klan in Washington, November 1982. RWL went to pop-front gabfest, reviled militant anti-fascists with racist slur of "carpetbagger."

a layer of feminist youth from Simon's Rock College in western Massachusetts and began to intervene in antiwar activities around the country. Its front group NAIL (National Anti-Imperialist League) was based on the slogan "Victory to Iraq!" While this may have attracted some young militants as a healthy alternative to the "bring our boys home" crowd, for whom any call for the defeat of U.S. imperialism was anathema, NAIL in fact sought to be the "left wing of the possible"—the left tail on the social-patriotic popular-front coalitions, which included liberal Democrats like Jesse Jackson.

In contrast, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs fought to build a proletarian-revolutionary pole *against* the popular front. Opposing the "yellow ribbon" brigade, we forthrightly demanded: "Defeat U.S. Imperialism—Defend Iraq!" Against class-collaborationist appeals to Democratic "doves," we fought for *labor* strikes against the war. We sought to turn opposition to the war into *class struggle* to *bring down* this imperialist ruling class, the main enemy of mankind. And we called for workers revolution throughout the Near East against the Zionist butchers, sheiks and bonapartist colonels, including Saddam Hussein.

In contrast, the RWL's call for "victory to Iraq" simultaneously implied military support to Iraq in its takeover of Kuwait and *political* support to the "anti-imperialist" Saddam Hussein, a former U.S. ally responsible for the massacre of Iraqi Kurds and Communists. Sanderson even refused to allow RWLers to carry a banner reading "For Workers Revolution Throughout the Middle East" at the 26 January 1991 demonstration in Washington. Reportedly Sanderson declared at the RWL conference the following June: "If the RWL could have had eighteen banners, they all should have said 'Victory to Iraq!'" (quoted in Peter S., "Statement on Behalf of the International New Course Faction," August 1991).

The utter unseriousness of Sollenberger and Sanderson's dispute over Gulf War slogans was revealed in the rivalry for support within the RWL's International Trotskyist Committee (ITC). *Both* the Sollenberger and Sanderson factions had only praise for the ITC's Italian grouping—until its leader, Franco Grisolia, came down on Sollenberger's side. Only then did Sanderson, the ITC's supposed "international secretary," notice that the Italians "did not have a position on the war" and that Grisolia, as a central committee member of Rifondazione Comunista (a split-off from the Italian Communist Party), had refused to fight against his party's support for imperialist UN sanctions against Iraq (see "Swamp Things: Combined and Uneven Developments in the USec," *WV* No. 562, 30 October 1992).

Lifestylism and Cult "Politics"

The RWL's breakup allowed each of the two gurus the chance to pursue the same opportunist program according to their variant appetites. Sollenberger, who sees his opportunity for international influence in the crumbling fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) of Ernest Mandel, spent a year sniffing around the Fourth Internationalist Tendency (FIT), which last fall liquidated into Solidarity, a frankly anti-Soviet and anti-Leninist organization. Sollenberger's TL continues to pursue regroupment in the reformist swamp of the USec's American supporters and has tailored its politics accordingly: Issue No. 1 of *International Revolution*, the TL's "theoretical/agitational newsletter" (September 1992), came out in support of "independent" bourgeois candidate Ron Daniels. Having noticed that both the FIT and Solidarity were backing this former campaign manager for Democrat Jesse Jackson, the TL baldly observes: "Daniels' campaign provides an opportunity for left regroupment."

While Sollenberger took out most of the RWL's older members—trade unionists and pop-frontist coalition builders—Sanderson was left with the energetic "Simon's Rock youth." The RWL emerged from the split declaring that it would "place the revolution on its agenda again" (why and when they took it off the "agenda" went unexplained). The main vehicle for RWL activity remains NWROC. NWROC is a textbook example of how centrists are "inclined to cringe before those who are more moderate," as Trotsky put it. NWROC's call for a demonstration at Clinton's Detroit "town meeting" on February 10 declared, "We must *no longer* rely on Clinton." And an NWROC resolution for the upcoming gay rights march in Washington proclaims:

> "Like the Democratic Senators who stole our votes by 'promising' to fight for abortion rights just before they let Clarence Thomas be confirmed as a Justice of the Supreme Court, *Clinton has stolen our votes* and then taken a dive in the first round of the renewed fight for lesbian/gay rights." (our emphasis)

"No longer" rely on Clinton? Clinton has stolen "our" votes? Did these self-styled revolutionaries actually *vote for Clinton*?

Devoid of a revolutionary program, the RWL is a cult whose *only* "program" is petty-bourgeois lifestylism. Rather than fighting to mobilize the social power of the working class, when facing off against Operation Rescue at abortion clinics RWLers lie on the sidewalks simulating sex and chant, "I fuck to come, not to conceive!" (So who cares?) These puerile antics, aping late-'60s "guerrilla theater," rehash the New Left "personal is political" message that "liberated" lifestyles are the road to social emancipation.

Similarly, the RWL's only "program" for gay liberation is "outing." They scream about the SL's so-called "closet rule," lying that our gay members are "forced" to go "straight"! Not at all. We fight against the special oppression of homosexuals as a Leninist tribune of the people, mobilizing the working class to defend gay rights and to strike down the bourgeoisie's stultifying "moral" codes. Thus when the Nazis threatened to attack Chicago's gay pride parade in 1982, it was the Spartacist League that initiated a mass labor-centered mobilization and brought out hundreds of blacks, gays, Jews, and unionists to defeat the Nazis and defend the gay community and themselves. This kind of united-front mobilization is unthinkable for the lifestyle sectoralists of the RWL.

As to the sexuality of members of our organization, we believe what consenting individuals do in bed is nobody's business but that of the individuals involved. Our party and all of its members fight for gay rights, not by flaunting their personal lives, but *politically*. In contrast, the RWL lifestylists elevate sexual preference to a political principle. Last fall's horrendous murder and mutilation of a

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From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Down With Flags of Racism!

If the saying, "a picture is worth a thousand words," is even remotely true, then the picture I saw must be worth, at least, two thousand words.

The picture, published in the *Workers Vanguard*, shows a man with suspenders, holding a long metal pole with a scythe-like cutting device on its end, ripping a huge flag from a wall mounting in June 1992.

The flag?

A dark field with a light circle in the center, boasting a massive black swastika—the symbol of Germany's fascist past; the symbol of the Third Reich, the Nazis.

The wall from which it was hung? Not a dingy beerhall, where neo-Nazis gathered, but high, on a public wall near the Brandenburg Gate, in the heart of Berlin, part of a so-called government "historical display."

The man-in-suspenders, a supporter of the Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands (or Spartakist Workers Party of Germany), instead of being publicly applauded, found himself and several SpAD comrades taken into police custody for daring to disrespect the symbol of the Nazi terror.

He, Toralf Endruweit, Werner Brand, Ronald Krüger and Renate Dahlhaus, found themselves under arrest, until the spontaneous demonstration formed by people who witnessed the action, including supporters of the Kurdish Workers Party, demanded and got their immediate release.

Now Endruweit, Brand, Krüger and Dahlhaus are going on trial, by a state that seems bent on honoring and resurrecting the symbol of Nazi state terror—the swastika.

The picture of Endruweit ripping the Nazi death symbol down brought to mind pictures of southern black legislators, climbing atop state capitols in Dixie, to tear down the flag of the Confederacy, a symbol of slavery. Several were arrested.

As offensive as the crossed bars and stars of the Confederate flag was to African-Americans, so too must the swastika flag enrage and offend Jews, Romani (Gypsies), Communists and homosexuals, all of whom were fed to the gas chambers and death ovens, while the Nazi banner flew above carnage.

In the ripping down of the Nazi flag from the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin, the SpAD supporters did the right thing—better still by burning the racist rag.

For over a year since the flag was torn down, newly reunited Germany has exploded in a murderous orgy of *Ausländerfeindlichkeit* (German for hostility to foreigners) aided, abetted and exploited by unprincipled politicians from the major parties.

Since Reagan's salute to the Waffen SS in the Bitburg cemetery a mushrooming of neo-Nazi and skinhead terror has gripped Germany, marked most recently by the firebombing murder of a Turkish family of longtime immigrants several months ago.

In this hour then, as the state tries to embark on its Fourth Reich, progressive forces must put aside their partisan interests and applaud the ripping down of the racist rag bearing the swastika.

Demand freedom and acquittal for Endruweit, Brand, Krüger and Dahlhaus!

Support the SpAD defendants!

Down with the flag of racism and reaction!

Aus der Todeszelle, hier spricht Mumia Abu-Jamal.

From death row, this is Mumia Abu-Jamal.

14 January 1993

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Jamal faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, Drawer R, Huntingdon, PA 16652.

German Workers...

(continued from page 3)

point less than inflation. So the leaders of these powerful unions are now imposing real wage *cuts*.

This is coming to a head over the East German metal workers, where after ripping up the contract stipulating a 26 percent wage increase (while steel wages and benefits are barely half the Western level), the bosses are now "offering" 9 percent, less than the rapid increase in prices. The bourgeoisie clearly has its sights set on turning the annexed Eastern states into a cheap labor reserve. The DGB cried "provocation" and "blackmail." The Berlin-Brandenburg IG Metall leader Wagner called it a "declaration of war" and promised "the hardest resistance." But while Wagner talks of "plant by plant" walkouts, the head of the industrial employers association called strikes "by far the lesser evil."

The bosses are clearly calculating that with such massive unemployment (the DGB lost a million members to layoffs last year, more than 600,000 of them in the East), the unions won't be able to strike. They figure on the IGM/DGB using the same kind of partial and "warning" strikes as usual. But metal remains the strategic core of German industry. Solid nationwide strike action by steel, metal, coal and auto workers, East and West, including plant occupations, would have enormous power, especially in alliance with transport and government workers, furious at the wage cuts recently imposed on them, and in coordination with steel workers in the rest of Europe. What's needed is a class-struggle program and leadership to mobilize this power.

East German workers are outraged: after the "unity lie" comes the "wages lie." They feel cheated because after 40 years of Stalinist rule, most bought Kohl's lies that capitalist reunification would soon bring prosperity and a "blooming landscape." Instead East Germany has been devastated, with industrial employment slashed by 75 percent as the capitalist victors set out to atomize the working class. Yet for all their anger, the consciousness of large sectors of working people of the ex-DDR does not go beyond pure economism. And this full-force capitalist offensive cannot be defeated by isolated strikes. Precisely because of the economic crisis, any serious working-class resistance to the consequences of counterrevolution will have to become a political challenge to the rule of capital.

In the West, many workers have also soured on reunification, saying that the Berlin Wall shouldn't have been torn down. But this can easily become anti-Ossi (East German) chauvinism. And the labor brass with their program of simple trade unionism end up bolstering such sentiments. Thus a "we in the West" IG Metall leaflet says, full of sympathy for the bosses, that "Companies in East Germany really aren't doing well.... One can really ask then how they can manage a 26 percent wage increase." The answer of Steinkühler & Co. is to look to the (capitalist) state, and push for bringing the SPD into the government.

The PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism) of Gysi and Bisky, meanwhile, supports the SPD's version of a "solidarity pact" with the usual "butter not guns" reformist rhetoric—this time with the PDS slogan "construction helmets not blue helmets." The kind of protectionist poison that the SPD is pushing today leads to the *guns* of interimperialist war tomorrow. And at the state level, the SPD has been in office for years, and declares itself "helpless" in the steel crisis.

When steel workers in the Ruhr, among whom many of the best fighters are Turkish and Kurdish workers, rallied in 1987-88 to prevent the shutdown of the Rheinhausen steelworks by Krupp boss Cromme, the occupation of plant and company offices and the takeover of the "solidarity bridge" over the Rhine created what an SPD parliamentarian described as a "prerevolutionary situation" (*WDA*, 18 February). But there was no revolutionary party to galvanize this resistance to "Cromme's coup" into a struggle for power. The bankrupt program of "reforming" capitalism is now turning into the destruction of trade-union gains. We Trotskyists call instead for a program of transitional demands leading from today's immediate needs to bringing down the capitalist boom-bust system of unemployment, racism and war.

Spartakist

Berlin, 19 October 1991: 1,000 Vietnamese and others protest Nazi attacks. Spartakists call for workers to defend their immigrant colleagues.

SPD leaders Rau and LaFontaine's deportation policy of "Roma [Gypsies] out," like the SPD/DGB's "buy German" protectionism, fuels racist terror. And as Rostock and Mölln show, Nazi terror seeks to divide and intimidate the working class by targeting first its strategic immigrant component who provide many of the best activists and fighters. The Spartakists, who fought tooth and nail against capitalist *Anschluss* while other so-called socialists bargained over the price for the sellout of the DDR, today call upon class-conscious workers to take the lead in fighting the anti-communist witchhunt, and in forming workers defense groups to protect their immigrant coworkers against the murderous attacks of the Nazis who will provide the strikebreaking stormtroops for capital. An SpAD leaflet issued in conjunction with a campaign for workers defense of immigrant hostels ("Stop the Nazi Pack with Workers Power!", 28 January) quoted from Trotsky's 1938 Transitional Program:

> "Scabs and private gunmen in factory plants are the basic nuclei of the fascist army. *Strike pickets* are the basic nuclei of the proletarian army.... In connection with every strike and street demonstration, it is imperative to propagate the necessity of creating *workers' groups for self-defense*."

Not since the world economic crisis during the Weimar Republic have there been as many unemployed in Germany as there are now in the East. The crisis in the Ruhr is the deepest since "Zero Hour" following the collapse of Hitler's Third Reich. There will not be a "second economic miracle" of German capitalism. Last fall, German bankers provoked the explosion of the European monetary system; today a trade war with the U.S. is looming. The intensifying recession in Germany is taking Europe down with it into economic and political chaos, which could last years. The *New York Times* (19 February) recently declared that "the German standard of living, like the American one, is probably in for a long period of stagnation, and perhaps even some decline."

A social-democratic manifesto, issued last December by former chancellor Helmut Schmidt, Mercedes-Benz boss Reuter and others, asked worriedly, "Will democracy continue to be accepted if it can't justify itself by constantly improving the well-being of its citizens?" We Marxists, in contrast, declare that declining capitalism is destroying the living standards of the working people, as well as their hard-won democratic and trade-union rights, while engendering racist terror and a drive toward war. This makes more urgent than ever the need to forge a Trotskyist party to lead the fight for socialist revolution to sweep away this bankrupt system. ■

Flag Case...

(continued from page 1)

who on 23 June 1992 destroyed the Nazi flag are to be hauled into court on 17 February 1993. Are we still living in the Third Reich? Has Germany still not overcome that period?" Also today the Berlin prosecutor brought charges against Turkish friends of Mete Eksi for the "crime" of having survived the fascist assault in which he was killed.

The charges against the four Spartakists, Werner Brand, Renate Dahlhaus, Toralf Endruweit and Ronald Krüger, were brought amid a monstrous rise in Nazi terror and racist murders throughout Germany. In Rostock it has now been confirmed for all to see that the police made a pact with the Nazi gangs who burned down an immigrant hostel, in which 115 Vietnamese barely escaped death. As KfsV spokesman Werner Brand said: "This was a state-authorized pogrom! Now the Bonn regime is carrying out the Nazis' program on a national scale, with the energetic support of the SPD, by destroying the right to asylum. Now they are employing 1,500 Nazis on the Polish border in order to hunt down refugees."

The Nazis are cold-blooded killers. After the racist pogroms in Rostock and the Nazi murders in Mölln, everything indicates that SDAJ member Olaf Heydenhluth in Suhl, Freiburg activist Kerstin Winter and Mühlhausen leftist Mario Jüdecke must be added to the list of murdered leftists and anti-fascists which already includes Mete Eksi and Silvio Meier.

After first bringing charges against the four Spartakists, in January, as the case was becoming a cause célèbre, the Academy of Arts in Berlin withdrew the charges, saying it did not want to "be placed in the position of defending a Nazi flag." Showing the political pressures in play, the judge wrote that there is "no public interest in trying them under the present circumstances (right-wing radical tendencies)." Still the state prosecutor continued to press charges, until the case was finally dismissed in today's proceedings.

In its call for today's protest demonstration, the KfsV declared. "Let's put the successor state of the Third Reich on trial, the state that protects the swastika flag and makes use of the fascist gangs." Renate Dahlhaus, Spartakist candidate in the 1990 federal parliament elections and speaker at the anti-fascist mass demonstration on 3 January 1990 at Treptow Park, stated: "In order to bring down the capitalist state that is the breeding ground for fascist terror, we need a revolutionary party which leads the working class to revolution as the champion of all the oppressed. ■

Yevgeni Khaldei

Victorious Red Army tramples Nazi swastika, Austria 1945. No "art object," swastika stands for hideous torture and murder of millions.

Statements of Solidarity

Demand Charges Be Dropped

Dr. Israel Shahak is a renowned fighter for Palestinian rights and a survivor of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp.

Jerusalem
10 February 1993

As a Holocaust survivor and as a fighter for human rights for all human beings in the Occupied Territories and in Israel, I want to express my horror at the rise of the neo-Nazi or other fascistic movements in Germany. I want to support the Spartakists who protested courageously against this horrifying phenomenon and are charged with destroying a so-called "work of art." I want to remind the German people that it was such behavior of being tough on defenders of democracy and human rights, while really supporting or at least being lax to the Nazi forces before 1933, which allowed Hitler and his Nazis to come to power. I demand that all charges should be dropped against the Spartakists and in the same manner that all those who fight for democracy and human rights and who oppose the neo-Nazis should not be prosecuted. Convey my feelings of support and encouragement to your comrades, especially those who are awaiting this unjust trial.

Israel Shahak

An Honor to Be Brought Up on Charges in This Country

Hamburg
15 February 1993

Concerning: Charges of Burning a Nazi Flag

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is indicative of the condition of this country when on the one hand people are brought up on charges for having destroyed Nazi emblems, while on the other hand judicial hearings against the culprits are dropped.

Thus a couple of days ago, preliminary hearings were dropped against Ruth Kellermann, who in the days of the swastika flag prepared racial-diagnostic reports on Gypsies, and thus participated in the systematic murder of many thousands of Roma and Sinti.

Under these circumstances, it is an honor to be brought up on charges in this country!

Best wishes,
R.J. Kawczynski
Chairman, Rom & Cinti Union

A Symbol Which Awakens Agonizing Memories

Milano
10 February 1993

The Jewish Community of Milano bears witness to its spiritual closeness with and understanding for those who have been prosecuted for having shown their utterly democratic and anti-Nazi sentiments by ripping up the symbol of an aberrant system, a symbol which awakens agonizing memories among those who suffered its persecution.

The Jewish people, who above all others suffered under the Nazi boot, ardently hopes that Germany can free itself from any legacy of the tragic past, and express with concrete acts of justice a sincere anti-Nazi and democratic consciousness.

Chief Rabbi
Dr. Prof. Giuseppe Laras

Spartakist

Atiye Eksi, the mother of a Turkish youth murdered by the fascists, gives solidarity greetings to anti-fascists who burned Nazi flag, at February 17 Berlin rally.

The Height of Irresponsibility

Professor Willi Sitte, a prominent East German painter, is a former member of the Academy of the Arts, Berlin, and until 1988 was the president of the DDR Association of Artists.

Halle
14 February 1993

For rubbish, greasy scraps of paper and banalities to be publicly declared art, even by experts, is a daily affair and appears tremendously liberal and democratic.

But for a symbol of the "Thousand Year Reich," which was responsible for suffering, oppression, death and destruction of millions worldwide, to be played up in a state of law as a work of art, in an objective and normal fashion, is the height of irresponsibility.

Willi Sitte

Thanks for Striking Blow Against Nazis

Chicago
4 February 1993

To the Court:

I am astounded to learn that removing a banned symbol of Nazism, the swastika, is now a crime in the new Germany. In the context of seemingly ever growing numbers of Nazi murders and assaults, it is particularly obscene to be persecuting anti-fascists for pulling down the blood-soaked standard of genocide.

While fascist thugs appear free to assault and even slaughter innocent people at will, one finds the fact that the police and courts have nothing better to do than proceed against leftists (who have attacked a piece of cloth) uniquely disturbing.

Not only should all charges be dropped against the four supporters of the Spartakist Workers Party, these brave anti-fascists should be publicly thanked by the court for having struck a symbolic blow against the new Nazis who are once again shedding innocent blood on the streets of Germany.

Sincerely,
William A. Pelz, Ph.D., Director
Social Sciences Program
College of Liberal Arts and Sciences
DePaul University

Swastika Flag: Bloody Shroud Which Has Covered Two Peoples

The Klarsfeld family are French Zionist Nazi hunters who have tracked down mass murderers such as Klaus Barbie and documented U.S. government protection of this "Butcher of Lyon."

Paris
13 February 1993

"The struggle for Germany's rebirth is a battle of symbols. It is the world's good fortune that the blood-red flag with the swastika has triumphed in Germany. The swastika is the sacred symbol of the fight against the Jewish race destroyers. In the future, it will be forbidden to Jews to hoist and to wave the colors of the Reich and the Nation."

These words were spoken 48 years ago, on 17 September 1935 before the Reichstag by Goering, who had been

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Statements of Solidarity...

(continued from page 7)

assigned the job of presenting two draft laws: one on racial legislation, the other making the swastika flag the official flag of the nation, the Reich and the army.

This symbol which was once holy for Goering is now the accursed symbol of the extermination of six million Jews and hundreds of thousands of Gypsies. An accursed symbol for the descendants of those who were tortured and massacred by the men of the swastika, but also an accursed symbol for the "children" of the torturers, who are fighting today to give Germany a humane and generous image.

Those whom the public prosecutor now wants to convict for having removed the swastika flag from the façade of the Pariser Galerie are the children of this Goering, who wanted to hoist the swastika flag for a thousand years over European capitals from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Last summer the media of the whole world showed hundreds of youth with shaven heads marching in certain German towns, wearing Nazi armbands on their way to burn down the hostels of refugee Gypsies and Vietnamese. Fall and winter saw first the youth, then finally the German political establishment, mobilized against everything this flag represents.

If today the German judiciary convicts young people for having torn down this symbol of Nazism, even as German society has risen up, united, to try to wipe it out of the minds of that fraction of the population which sees in it an easy solution to their daily problems, this would not only be paradoxical, but contrary to the course of history.

Some may tell you that the flag was not displayed with the intention of defending the values associated with it. They may also say that this Nazi flag was placed among other German flags and that this ensemble constituted a work of art. And finally they will tell you that it was displayed for historical reasons between the black, red and pale yellow of the flag of the Weimar Republic and the bolder yellow of Adenauer's.

This is all true, but it is not against the intentions of the gallery that these young people rose up, but rather against the consequences of the gallery's action.

Because of all the atrocities committed in its name, the flag has lost in the eyes of civilization its own nature as a rallying signal, to become a blood-soaked shroud covering two peoples, the Jewish people and the Gypsies.

But civilization unfortunately does not mean the entire human race, and some people still see in this flag a banner under which they can form ranks.

Some weak minds, seeing the flag so displayed—in public—could see in it an approval and a trivialization of Nazism. It is against these dangers that these young people acted, and only against these dangers.

It was the responsibility of the gallery to take the measures necessary to show and expose, at the same time and just as publicly as the swastika flag, the vile consequences produced by Nazism. The crimes with which the flag are soiled are a part of this flag and can be neither removed nor ignored.

Last year, on October 17, at Rostock, where we had gone to affix a plaque to the City Hall recalling the martyrdom of the Gypsies during the last war and to demonstrate against the carrying out of the German-Romanian treaty providing for the deportation of 50,000 Gypsies from Germany to Romania, we were arrested by the Rostock police. A little before, as a symbolic act, we had burned a swastika flag. We (sons and daughters of the Jewish deportees of France) were legally charged for this. The charge was not based on the fact that we had burned the flag, but on the fact that it had been displayed in public for a few seconds before its destruction through fire.

Between Rostock and Berlin lie only 200 kilometers, but we hope that on February 17 there will be all the distance between an obtuse and sclerotic justice and a justice aware of its responsibilities and concerned with the soul of Germany.

Beate Klarsfeld
Serge Klarsfeld
Arno Klarsfeld

German Press Covers Anti-Fascist Victory

History of Hate Must Not Repeat Itself

Dr. Henry Morgentaler is a pioneering champion of abortion rights in Canada, whose clinic was firebombed by right-wing bigots.

Toronto
16 February 1993

Dear Friends,

As a survivor of the Nazi Holocaust I commend the supporters of the Spartakist Workers Party and the Committee for Social Defense for removing the swastika flag near the Brandenburg Gate.

The swastika flag is not an "art object." It is the most powerful and well-known symbol of hate in the history of humanity. The charges against the four individuals who removed this offensive flag must be dropped. These people are not only courageous, but also representative of the majority; democratic, free-thinking individuals who will not tolerate the rise of neo-Nazism. The history of hate, prejudice and injustice must not repeat itself.

Yours sincerely,
Henry Morgentaler, M.D.

Symbol of Genocide and Slavery

Esteban Volkov is the grandson of Leon Trotsky.

Coyoacán, Mexico
16 February 1993

It is inconceivable that it he considered a crime to carry out the removal of the flag of one of the bloodiest dictatorships and of the attempt to revive one of the bloodiest and most unjust of regimes. Any person who is in favor of human rights and social progress must oppose the type of atavism and historical regression signified by the Nazi flag, symbol of genocide and slavery.

Esteban Volkov

This Flag Is Still a Wound

The painter and writer Vlady is a prominent Mexican muralist.

Cuernavaca, Mexico
16 February 1993

A flag unites or divides. A flag is a wound or it is a trophy from the defeat of an enemy.

This flag is still a wound. And these angry young people prove how painful it is.

The pyramids of sacrifice and the castles of injustice, Inquisitorial relics and camps of martyrs, these are symbols of evils, and as such *are memory*—but while the memory is intolerable, it is not through repression, it is not through feigned equanimity that the injustice, the pain, are erased—let us allow the scars to be soothed, let us not open wounds by taking the side of a flag which is still alive. Indignation is more impartial than the injustice of *feigned* justice.

Vlady Kibalchich

Nothing Could Be Further From Art

Mexico City
16 February 1993

To the Tiergarten District Court,
Berlin

In my capacity as Cultural Coordinator of the Institute of the Right of Asylum and Public Freedoms, the Museum of the House of Leon Trotsky, I state my complete solidarity with the action carried out by Werner Brand, Renate Dalhaus, Toralf Endruweit and Ronald Krüger when they tore down the Nazi flag from the wall of the Galerie Pariser Platz in Berlin.

My stand is absolutely opposed to that of the Berlin prosecutors who say the act of the four "accused" was a crime, saying that flag was a "work of art." For us a swastika flag means genocide, the unpardonable Holocaust of millions of human beings and, today, an incitement to racist attacks. Nothing could be further from art.

May the four persons put on trial by the court receive our solidarity.

Sincerely,
Dr. Gladys Rodríguez Valdez
Cultural Coordinator
Instituto del Derecho de Asilo
y las Libertades Públicas
Museo Casa de León Trotsky

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Statement to Berlin Court

We Ripped Down Nazi Flag, and We'd Do It Again

We print below the excerpted statement by Toralf Endruweit to the Berlin court on February 17 on behalf of the four Spartakist defendants.

Spartakist

Spartakists on trial for "crime" of ripping down giant Nazi flag near Berlin's Brandenburg Gate.

First of all I want to state that the swastika is no "art object." This Nazi symbol is a threat and means murder. The swastika stands for the horrendous murder of six million Jews, of Roma, Sinti, homosexuals and other minorities, of communists and anti-fascists. We won't allow this blood-soaked banner to just hang anywhere. We ripped it down on 23 June 1992 and burned it. We are proud of that and will do it again if necessary. We did it in the name of all anti-fascists. And to make it clear who put an end to the horror of the Third Reich, we hung up the following banner: "The Red Army Smashed the Nazi Regime!" For this state would like to eradicate the memory of this, would like to avenge the victory of the Red Army and the expropriation of the capitalist enterprises.

We were charged with trespassing and material damage, by a court of the German state in which no Nazi judge has ever been condemned for his crimes. We and many others call this state, which is ruled by the same bourgeoisie that brought the Nazis to power in 1933, the Fourth Reich. And this state, which feels itself stronger than ever following capitalist reunification, is now carrying out a monstrous witchhunt against those who have fought and are fighting against fascism. And the flip side of this coin is state repression of refugees, asylum seekers, immigrant workers and all immigrants. The state repression that has kindled the flames of the daily and deadly Nazi terror.

I would like to emphasize that from the very beginning we Spartakists said openly and unambiguously: "No to capitalist reunification!" It was on this program that I ran for the DDR Volkskammer in March 1990. Today our struggle against its devastating consequences goes on.

We Spartakists defend the victims of the anti-communist witchhunt affecting all layers of society. We Trotskyists demanded the freeing of Honecker, and continue to demand the freeing of the other representatives of the DDR such as Kessler, Stoph and Mielke.

And we demand the freeing of all the anti-fascists who are being brought up on charges for having relieved fascists of their insignia, jackets and propaganda, and now are sitting in investigative detention for supposed politically motivated "theft."

We have received the support of Karl Kielhorn, a member of the Dachau Survivors Association, who says, "The only swastika I like is the one crushed beneath the boots of the Soviet soldier with the child on his arm at the memorial for the fallen Soviet heroes in Treptow Park." I am proud that Spartakists initiated the 250,000-strong mass rally in Treptow against the Nazi desecration of the Soviet memorial and in defense of the Red Army on 3 January 1990, which is plenty of proof of the deep anti-fascist sentiments of Berlin working people.

The court claims we illegally destroyed objects of art. Was the flag installation supposed to be provocative, shocking art according to this state? Well, as a communist and active lover of art I let myself be provoked, and spared the anti-fascists, Jews, immigrants and tourists near the Brandenburg Gate additional terrors. You don't have to hang up swastika flags to be terrified at the Nazi horrors, you only have to open the paper or turn on the TV to be shocked at the real, deadly terror of the Nazi bands.

We received much international support, including from Israel Shahak in Jerusalem, a survivor of Bergen-Belsen and fighter for human rights, from the Klarsfeld family of Nazi-hunters in Paris, and from Mumia Abu-Jamal on death row in the state of Pennsylvania. Our comrades also destroyed a Confederate flag in San Francisco in 1984. It hung on a flagstaff in a square adjacent to City Hall, and Richard Bradley climbed up and cut it down. The flag of the Southern Confederacy is, so to speak, the swastika of American fascists, who would reverse the outcome of the Civil War.

Last June we ripped down the swastika flag, and then, following the state-approved pogrom in Rostock, following the fascist triple murder in Mölln committed by a Nazi who had just been released by state authorities, in December of last year this state had the audacity to charge *us*. Now the court, judge and prosecutor may well wish to drop the charges, since "no public interest exists." Well, we think that public interest in this case is so great, as demonstrated by the numerous statements of support, that the court has, to put it mildly, gotten heart palpitations at prosecuting to the bitter end a giant idiocy of this state. If charges are indeed dropped, then it's because it is politically too uncomfortable for the court. Here I'd like to say that we offer heartfelt thanks to all those who supported us in this case.

Many of those supporters were present on January 30 in Berlin at a trade-union-supported hostel defense. We are proud to have made certain, on the 60th anniversary of Hitler's seizure of power, that at a large hostel, hundreds of Vietnamese and Mozambican contract worker colleagues could spend a safe night. We initiated this for political reasons, because the organized workers movement must be mobilized to stop the Nazis effectively. We know Trotsky and the Left Opposition in the '30s had the right program for stopping the Nazis, but the Stalinist and Social-Democratic leaders allowed the Nazis to come to power without real resistance. Hundreds of thousands of trade unionists, linked in a united front with all anti-fascists, have the social power to put an end once and for all to the Nazi rabble that today is again murdering anti-fascists and immigrants under the sign of the swastika. We demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

Sitting in the spectators' seats here are representatives of thousands of youth who wish to fight the Nazis. To you I say the fact that these charges were brought against us is yet another proof that the call for banning the Nazis is only an impotent appeal to this court, designed to lull us to sleep. In 1932 the SA was banned, and despite this Hitler was able to come to power. Ultimately it will take socialist revolution to eliminate the breeding ground for the Nazis. Class struggle is necessary to put an end to capitalism, which at every crisis brings the fascists out of their rat holes again. Stalinism is dead, communism lives. The paralyzing influence of the Social Democracy must be repelled. We need an international party armed with the revolutionary program which can take on the bourgeoisie of the Fourth Reich and of the entire world. This is what the Spartakists are fighting for. ■

It takes money to fight the Fourth Reich! To defray the costs of this campaign, send donations to the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, New York 10013, earmarked "No Nazi Flag."

RWL...

(continued from page 5)

homosexual seaman who had "come out" in Japan should serve as a reminder to the RWL lifestylists that the social norms of Ann Arbor and Simon's Rock don't prevail in 99.99 percent of the world. Our last issue's front-page article is in defense of gays in the military.

As for the RWL, the split documents reveal that Sollenberger and Sanderson were in *everyone's* closet. Sollenberger's followers are denounced for "the exploitation and manipulation of the psychological distress of comrade R." They respond by reporting: "May 13, 1991—Leland and Shanta attend Ann Arbor Local meeting and denounce Judy L. and Paul L. for wanting to be parents. Shanta claims that Judy L. is betraying the women's and lesbian liberation movement as a lesbian in a monogamous relationship who wants to have a child."

Where the RWL has a real "closet rule" is in its *politics*. At the February 10 Detroit demonstration, called to protest the ban on gays in the military, there was not a single placard or chant against the imperialist military itself, nor any open RWL presence (RWL members were there solely as NWROC). Despite the RWL's pretensions that NWROC is a "united front," it is nothing but a class-collaborationist *front group* in which "socialists" act like liberals in order to attract...liberals. Well, you reap what you sow. At NWROC's conference last November, one woman complained, "I don't give a shit about Marx, Lenin or revolution. I just want to talk about NWROC."

Building a Genuine Leninist-Trotskyist Party

To those youth around the RWL who do care about Marx, Lenin and revolution, we say: revolutionary politics is serious business. The sweep of capitalist counterrevolution across East Europe and the former Soviet Union are catastrophic events that have completely redefined the world we live in. The post-WW II "equilibrium" is shattered. Unity of the imperialist powers, maintained for decades by the "Communist menace," has broken down as economic rivalries intensify as a result of the worldwide economic crisis and the race to carve up new markets in the former Soviet bloc. The U.S. terror bombing of Iraq, the shredding of Yugoslavia into its warring ethnic component parts, the imperialist starvation of Africa and invasion of Somalia are all reflections of a New World *Dis*order which threaten broader, nuclear confrontations.

But against the bourgeoisie's false triumphalism over the "death of communism," the class struggle manifestly lives. From Greece to Germany, all of Europe has been rocked by the biggest proletarian strike wave in years. The multiracial upheaval across the United States following the verdict freeing the racist cops who beat Rodney King terrified the American ruling class and put them on notice that they lord it over a deeply disgruntled and potentially explosive population. In East Europe, the ex-USSR, and especially Poland, the working class has begun to fight back against the ravages of capitalist restoration.

The International Communist League (of which the Spartacist League is the American section) recognizes that this period is fraught with dangers *and opportunities*. We seek to actively intervene in the struggles of combative workers and youth around the world with a Bolshevik program capable of leading those struggles to victory. We don't play with politics. We know that young militants have to understand how Stalinism became the gravedigger of the October Revolution if they are to be trained in preparing the next October through the struggle for a Leninist-Trotskyist International. It is this steadfastness of political program and resolution of purpose that make the International Communist League unique. Join us! ■

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Budget...

(continued from page 1)

why. The "voodoo economics" of the Reagan years financed a massive *bipartisan* military buildup aimed at cracking the Soviet Union.

This was paid for by borrowing from Wall Street and Tokyo. The upshot of over a decade of massive borrowing is that federal government interest payments have quadrupled, from $50 billion in 1980 to $200 billion last year. Today interest on the debt takes third place in the budget, after Social Security and the military, dwarfing aid to education, welfare, public health and everything else. And since "Reaganomics" poured all of the available economic surplus into the Pentagon or squandered it in speculation by Wall Street freewheelers like Michael Milken, there's been precious little productive investment.

The second half of the '80s saw increasing attacks on Reaganomics by spokesmen for big business. Under the pressure of Wall Street, there was an attempt at bipartisan deficit-cutting in late 1990. However, the Republican right—who believe in representation for the rich without taxation—rebelled. And Bush was unwilling to sell a tax hike with the kind of "soak the rich" rhetoric the Democrats occasionally indulge in.

Clinton: Ross Perot with K-Y Jelly

Then came the 1992 election campaign, which was dominated by the economy. Sinister multimillionaire Ross Perot was quite open and aboveboard about demanding "sacrifices" from the American people to restore the financial health of the capitalist state. Perot got good grades from business leaders and the media for laying it on the line. Clinton, too, claimed he would reduce the federal deficit, but without raising taxes on the "middle class"—a term now used to embrace everyone between the Rockefellers and the homeless.

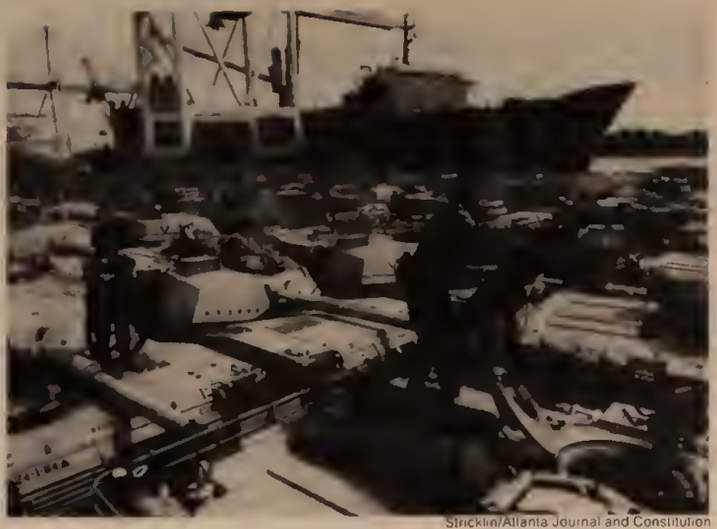
Basically Reagan and Bush have already cut the heart out of every social program except for so-called entitlements like Social Security and Medicare. In 1987 Peter G. Peterson, a former Nixon commerce secretary turned Wall Street big shot, wrote an influential article in the *Atlantic Monthly* arguing that the U.S. should shift resources from keeping old people alive to more "productive" uses. Significantly, Peterson was one of many business executives who supported Clinton.

So while vilifying Dr. Kevorkian for assisting suicides by terminally ill people, the bourgeoisie proposes euthanasia through cost-cutting. Of course, Social Security doesn't just affect the old people who get it. Most people aren't about to dump their aged parents in a homeless shelter or refuse to pay for an urgent operation when Medicare won't cover it all. So cuts in Medicare and increased taxes on Social Security benefits are in effect a broad-based attack on the living standards of all working people.

No "Peace Dividend," No Peace

A few years ago there was much talk, especially among liberal Democrats and the reformist left, about the "peace dividend" which would become available through big cuts in the military budget following the collapse of the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state. Yet Clinton's proposed cuts of an additional $60 billion over the next four years amount to barely a couple of percentage points in total military spending. The "savings" will be more than eaten up by rising interest payments to the loan sharks of Wall Street, Tokyo and Frankfurt who financed the war drive.

But mainly there is no "peace dividend" because there is no peace. The American ruling class waged a cold—and sometimes hot—war against the Soviet Union not only to restore capitalism to the land of the October Revolution, but also because Soviet military/political power obstructed U.S. subjugation of the rest of the world, notwithstanding the Kremlin Stalinists' reactionary-utopian



Stricklin/Atlanta Journal and Constitution

While liberals prattle about "peace dividend," miles of M-1 tanks are lined up for shipment to Persian Gulf as U.S. imperialism plays cop of the world.

pursuit of "peaceful coexistence." Without Soviet backing, the Cubans could not have liberated their country from the clutches of the sugar companies and the Mafia, nor could the Vietnamese workers and peasants have driven out the U.S. imperialist army.

As the Kremlin bureaucracy was visibly collapsing during the last months of the Gorbachev regime, in early 1991 Bush declared a "New World Order" as he terror-bombed Iraq, a former Soviet client state. In his last weeks in office, Bush, with Clinton's support, invaded the East African country of Somalia, using the "humanitarian" pretext of preventing starvation. Now Clinton is making noises about intervening in Bosnia, wracked by bloody communalist warfare set off by the breakup of the Yugoslav deformed workers state.

Washington's drive to be cops of the world is not just big-power machismo but is designed to maintain and expand capitalist spheres of exploitation and markets. While America's rulers have in recent years invested precious little within the boundaries of the U.S., they have hundreds of billions tied up in loans to Third World despots as well as factories, oil fields, mines, etc. from South Korea to South America. They need a big military machine to protect this wealth, not only from popular uprisings, but also from their imperialist rivals, Japan, Inc. and the German Fourth Reich.

Clinton's tax-and-cut budget is designed to balance the books of the debt-ridden American rulers by immiserating the rest of us. As we wrote on the eve of the presidential elections (*WV* No. 561, 16 October 1992):

> "There will be no end to the politics of misery unless the working class and poor rise up and seize the country's productive wealth from the directors of the Fortune 500 corporations and the Wall Street financiers. Only a globally planned socialist economy can rebuild America's decaying industrial base, provide homes for the homeless and a decent life for all working people and their children. Break with the two parties of capitalist misery—For a workers party to fight for a workers government!" ■

Coal Strike...

(continued from page 12)

lights to videotape and harass pickets outside this mine in the heart of UMW District 17. Inside Harris No. 1, management scabs are running the longwall equipment as Eastern Associated threw down the gauntlet to keep the coal coming.

The big business press is also full of unsolicited advice to the UMW on how to be "peaceful, legal," but miners know from their own history that strikes are won on the picket line by stopping the scabs. Unfortunately, the UMW ranks are saddled with a leadership loyal to the capitalist Democratic Party and eager to play by the bosses' rules.

On February 19 scab coal began moving out of the Rocklick prep plant on a CSX rail line. Union brothers who work the CSX trains should be mobilized in a fight to stop scab coal! Instead, Trumka's people say it's OK to run coal out of struck mines. The UMW tops, sounding like a bunch of company lawyers, claim it's OK to haul coal mined and stockpiled before the strike. They argue that since it's coal company management scabs who bring the coal out of the preparation plant, the rail workers who haul it aren't "really" scabbing. We say, no union man should handle scab goods under any circumstances!

As we go to press, Eastern and the UMW announced that 300 miners would return to work at contract and small "punch" mines that supply the Rocklick and Sundial prep plants. But when the trucks loaded with coal got to the Rocklick plant on February 22 they were met with UMW pickets who turned them around.

If the whole UMW came out, the miners would have tremendous clout in approaching the rail unions to join their fight. UMW-mined coal may only be 27 percent of the total, but that still packs a whopping economic impact. With the rail unions and Teamsters on their side, the UMW could stop 100 percent of the nation's coal from going anywhere. But it was precisely in order to outlaw such militant union action that the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin anti-labor laws were passed. To wage such a class-struggle fight means a clean break from Trumka's Democratic Party "friends" like Clinton, and a fight for a workers party. The Mineworkers and the CIO weren't built by obeying injunctions and begging Congress or the state legislature in Charleston for an end to "permanent replacement workers."

Miners shouldn't forget the stab in the back that Trumka handed Pittston strikers during their ten-month-long strike in 1989-90. During the summer of 1989, 50,000 miners wildcatted in solidarity with the Pittston strikers, but Trumka ordered them back to work. He followed that betrayal with another one, by stopping the powerful occupation of the Moss No. 3 processing plant in southwest Virginia that September. Not once during the Pittston strike did the UMW call on rail workers to "hot cargo" scab coal. Pittston miners took thousands of arrests following Trumka's "civil disobedience" strategy, but it was the wildcat and occupation of Moss No. 3 that made the coal bosses sweat.

The mine workers are engaged in a class battle, but the UMW officialdom in Washington, D.C. wants to be a group of "responsible, reasonable" negotiating partners with the coal companies. Violence-baiting against the miners from the cops, the courts and the coal barons who own the courts, politicians and newspapers is sheer lying hypocrisy. As one Local 6608 member at Montcoal said, pointing to the "Eastern Associated" sign at his mine, "I'll tell you the people responsible for the violence. It's the people over there on that sign and the government and the courts." *Stopping the scabs* is simple self-defense. And real "solidarity" with the miners strike means mobilizing the natural allies of the UMW in the rail, steel, longshore and power workers unions to *stop the scab coal.*

West Virginia miners know about the 19-month-long strike at Ravenswood Aluminum Corporation by the United Steelworkers. Many miners joined USW picket lines last year and donated to the strike fund. The gutsy Ravenswood steel workers prevented the company from carrying out its union-busting scheme, but the rank and file of USWA Local 5668 were stuck with an agreement that allowed scabs to stay in the plant and *in the union.* The settlement of the Ravenswood strike also left a brave union man, Robert Buck, to twist in the wind after the courts made an example of him. Buck was railroaded to prison for 33 months on charges of possessing an explosive device. He was really jailed because he wouldn't wear a wire and spy on his union for the feds.

As our reporters visited union halls and picket lines, they distributed information and appeals to the miners about Robert Buck and the campaign to free him. Picket shanties throughout the West Virginia hollows carry posters demanding his freedom. So while the *Charleston Gazette* and the phony socialist SWP's *Militant* praise the Ravenswood strike as a model for the miners—i.e., pursuing a strategy of boycotts and "corporate campaign" negative publicity—*Workers Vanguard* told the truth: the bowing and scraping of the union tops before capitalist "law and order" cost the courageous Ravenswood workers 20 hard months and Bob Buck's job.

At the meeting of the top officers of AFL-CIO unions in Bal Harbour, Florida (while Peabody was moving scab coal out of its pits from Indiana to West Virginia), Trumka and AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland announced that the "Strategic Approaches Committee" which masterminded the Ravenswood strike is becoming involved in the UMW strike. In Bal Harbour the same AFL-CIO chieftains who have ruined strikes from PATCO to Caterpillar were busy fawning over Clinton's new secretary of labor, Robert Reich, who wants a "partnership" between labor and the capitalist government—i.e., no embarrassing strikes during Clinton's honeymoon.

The time is now for the UMW to reclaim the coal fields. To organize the unorganized it will take a solid strike that wins. Fight for an industry-wide contract! No contract, no work! The key is leadership. PR ploys, boycotts and demonstrating outside the home of the chairman of the board of Peabody will not win a strike. You need a class-struggle leadership prepared to take on the Taft-Hartley "slave labor" law, court injunctions and the cops, as well as the capitalist politicians from plutocrat Democrat Jay Rockefeller to "right to work" Clinton, in order to run the scabs out of the coal fields and out of the country. ■

L.A. On The Edge...

(continued from page 12)

weapons aimed through the sunroofs of police cruisers. Now the paramilitary forces of the LAPD, dressed in grey camouflage khakis, combat boots and black T-shirts with the logo "civil disorder," are being trained in the parking lot of Dodger Stadium for "unusual occurrence" preparation. As the *Los Angeles Times* (3 February) noted, these exercises are "a high-profile, not-so-thinly veiled warning to would-be rioters as the federal trial begins for four policemen accused of brutalizing Rodney G. King."

In the face of a possible teachers strike—which could link the seething resentment and anger in the ghettos and barrios to the power of organized labor—the LAPD is preparing to establish an emergency operations control center in the basement of City Hall, which houses the most powerful, state-of-the-art police communications center in the world. The teachers were set to hit the bricks on February 22, against the school district's "final" contract offer of a *12 percent* pay cut! While the *Los Angeles Times* (12 February) fretted over the "prospect of picket line confrontations and 650 campuses with thousands of students and little supervision," the LAPD had mobilized to put an additional 1,000 cops on duty this week. But Willie Brown and the leadership of the United Teachers-Los Angeles (UTLA) are serving as the advance cops, policing against a strike.

Last weekend the UTLA misleaders voted to postpone the strike deadline until March 1 in order to have the membership vote on Brown's settlement package which calls for the teachers' pay cut to be "reduced" to... *10 percent!* Hypocritically proclaiming the union leadership "would never recommend a pay cut," UTLA president Helen Bernstein said, "it is a decision teachers should make on their own." This is an utterly cynical attempt to wear down and demoralize the ranks of the union, who have already expressed overwhelming opposition to *any* pay cut. L.A. teachers: Vote it down! Strike to win!

Widespread Sympathy for L.A. Teachers

The 1989 Los Angeles teachers strike was enormously popular. Black, Latino and white students swelled the picket lines. Throughout, working-class and minority communities and parents saw the teachers' battle as their own fight for a future for their kids against a school system which condemns them to overcrowded classrooms, prison-like conditions and ignorance. A recent poll showed that 69 percent of the city's population "strongly believe" that a teachers strike would be justified.

WV Photo

Striking teachers rally during May 1989 strike. Students joined the picket lines during that popular strike.

Once hailed as the "education state," California now ranks *48th* among the 50 states in per capita expenditure on public education. This is the legacy of the 1978 Proposition 13 "tax revolt," a white middle-class backlash against government programs viewed as benefiting blacks and Latinos. In L.A., where this "movement" was spawned, it was linked up with BUSSTOP—a racist mobilization that squashed even the most minimal attempts at school integration.

The same forces are now represented by San Fernando Valley Democrat David Roberti, who is pushing for a Valley breakaway from the mammoth L.A. school district. This is rightly seen by blacks, Latinos and other minorities and working people as a move to further ghettoize their children in decrepit schools. As Diane Watson, who was the only black member of the L.A. school board in the 1970s and is now a Democratic state senator, noted, "It's going to be a battle of class and a battle of race." But California's black Democrats are desperately trying to keep the lid on any such battle.

A militant teachers strike could galvanize widespread solidarity among working people and minorities to deliver a powerful blow against wage-slashing rulers whose cutbacks have devastated education, health and welfare. At the time of the multiracial uprising last year, the Partisan Defense Committee and the Spartacist League demanded that the powerful L.A.-area unions such as longshore, aerospace and city workers organize work stoppages and mass mobilizations in defense of the besieged black and Hispanic masses. A UTLA strike could serve as the spark to mobilize the multiracial labor movement. This would give the racist L.A. cops—who lord it over this "open shop" city like the military in a "banana republic" dictatorship—a long overdue lesson in justice.

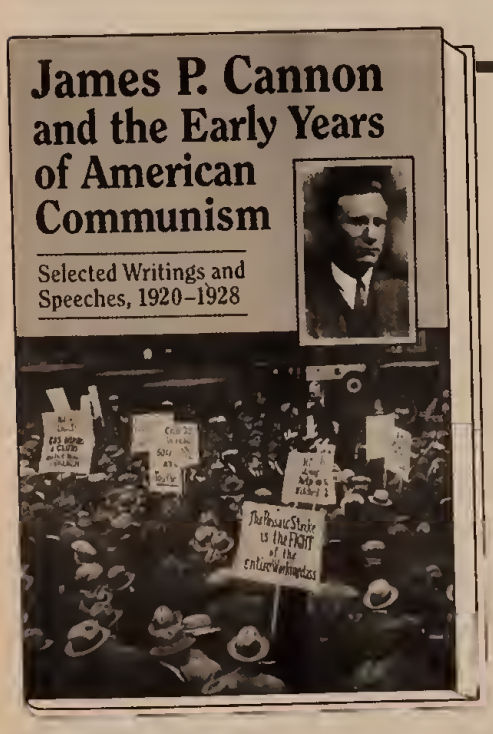
As we wrote in "L.A. Upheaval Shakes America" (*WV* No. 551, 15 May 1992):

> "The mass eruption in Los Angeles represents a dramatic breakdown of capitalist 'law and order.' Thus on the one hand it poses the danger of a much harsher bonapartist regime marked especially by the police-state repression of any black unrest. At the same time, it can open the road to revolutionary social struggle uniting the working class, whose conditions have been driven down over the past two decades, and the desperate minority poor in the ghettos and barrios."

A revolutionary workers party is desperately needed to lead a fighting, multiracial workers movement that champions the cause of the oppressed, rather than acting as the labor cops for the capitalists, holding down and dividing the ranks as the sellout labor officialdom does today. ■

WV Photo

Spartacists join outraged protesters at L.A.'s Parker Center hours after racist acquittal of cop beaters of Rodney King.



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WORKERS VANGUARD

Cops, Troops Gear Up Against Blacks, Labor

L.A. On The Edge

LOS ANGELES, February 21—The "City of Angels" is a seething volcano just waiting to explode. Jury selection continues for the federal trial of the racist LAPD thugs who savagely beat Rodney King. The trial of the "L.A. Four," black youths who are charged with the vicious assault on white truck driver Reginald Denny during the multiracial upheaval which swept Los Angeles last April, is scheduled to begin on March 15. Meanwhile, black Democrat Willie Brown, Speaker of the California State Assembly, and union bureaucrats are desperately trying to stop L.A.'s 28,000 teachers from going on strike.

The racist rulers are nervous as hell that Los Angeles will erupt again, and their fingers are on the trigger. On February 17, 600 National Guardsmen descended on L.A. "to test their ability to control a civil insurrection." Code-named "Operation Angel Guard," the exercise was kicked off by a "practice alert" call from the office of California governor Pete Wilson. Troops were deployed to armories in the area. A colonel for the National Guard told the press that emergency ammunition has also been "'strategically located' throughout the state to facilitate a rapid response."

The LAPD is being armed with new weapons for "dealing with the public," like the plastic bullets that were fired on a rally last December in defense of the "L.A. Four" at the corner of Florence and Normandie—the flash point of last April's conflagration. Over 350 cops laid siege to the area for 18 hours, beating residents and terrorizing the streets with automatic

continued on page 11

Carey/L.A. Times

Los Angeles, February 17—"Operation Angel Guard," California National Guard "practices" crowd control, El Salvador-style.

Pull Out the Whole UMW with Peabody Strikers!

For Real Solidarity—Hot Cargo Scab Coal!

MADISON, West Virginia—Picket lines representing more than 5,000 members of the United Mine Workers (UMW) went up at Peabody Coal/Eastern Associated Coal mines in West Virginia, Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois on the first of the month. The strike against Peabody, which mines 10 percent of all U.S. coal, is the first major labor battle of the Clinton administration. UMW president Richard Trumka called the "selective strike" against Peabody after he arranged a 60-day contract extension with a four-company group of "Independents," and Peabody is the only member of the coal barons' BCOA group to be struck.

This past weekend, one coal industry analyst said that "the company is ready for all-out war." On the heels of this threat, three UMW pickets at the Squaw Creek mine in Indiana were run down by a bus full of scabs. One striker was hospitalized with back injuries. Another striker at the nearby Lynnville mine was hit by a delivery truck.

Last week *Workers Vanguard* teams traveled through the coal fields of southern West Virginia and southern Illinois, visiting picket lines and union halls. Miners on picket duty up and down Route 85 and Route 3 in West Virginia told *WV* that the selective strike is "no damn good—we all have to be out." At one picket line, miners were angry that an A.T. Massey subsidiary, Omar, had just settled while they're still out on strike. Massey became infamous during a 1984-85 strike for its South African-style union-busting tactics. With Trumka at the helm, the Massey selective strike was the beginning of the end of national strikes. Not only did Trumka's team abandon the industrywide contract in the bitter defeat at Massey, but five Kentucky miners railroaded in the bosses' courts for defending their picket line have been left to rot in prison by the UMW bureaucracy.

Report from the Coal Fields

WV Photo

Strikers picket outside Montcoal, West Virginia mine and preparation plant, February 19.

The 60,000 members of the UMW are at a crossroads. In 1974 the UMW had over 60,000 members in West Virginia alone! Twenty years ago 70 percent of the coal industry was organized by the UMW. Today, however, UMW-mined coal is down to less than one-third of the total produced in the U.S. The limited strike against Peabody betrays the whole union, which used to be known for its militant application of the trade-union principles of "no contract, no work" and "picket lines mean you better not cross." Worse yet, even the ongoing strike at Peabody and Eastern Associated is being selectively applied—Peabody operations in Montana, Wyoming, Colorado and Arizona were exempted by Trumka.

At the Harris No. 1 mine in Bald Knob, the notorious union-busting Vance Security goons who were used against miners during the A.T. Massey and Pittston strikes are again plying their dirty scabherding trade. *WV* witnessed Vance using a truck towing powerful halogen

continued on page 10

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 571 | 12 March 1993

South Africa "Power Sharing" Swindle

Smash Neo-Apartheid! For a Black-Centered Workers Republic!

Financial Times

Protesting taxi drivers in Johannesburg defy apartheid riot police last month.

MARCH 6—After holding secret meetings (so-called *bosberaads*, or "bush retreats") with the apartheid rulers, and following terms dictated by Washington, the African National Congress announced late last month its agreement to a coalition government with the white-supremacist regime. After a ten-month breakdown of negotiations, a multiparty conference in Johannesburg this weekend agreed to hold substantive talks by early April on a transitional deal. While their leaders were talking, ten supporters of the ANC were mowed down by gunmen in Natal.

The projected "government of national unity," in which the ANC led by Nelson Mandela will jointly administer the country together with F.W. De Klerk and his National Party (NP) in the interests of the mine bosses and the Jo'burg stock exchange, is no sudden development. This is the culmination of a scheme to preserve South African capitalism which was put in motion with the release of Mandela and legalization of the ANC three years ago. The deal was conditioned by the agreement of the ANC not only to toss out its demand for nationalization of the mines, whose fabulous wealth is a product of black workers' toil, but even to abandon its program of majority rule for the 30-million-strong black population.

If the agreement holds, elections to be held by April 1994 will create a 400-seat assembly in which all parties receiving over 5 percent of the vote get seats proportional to their electoral support. The assembly would write a new constitution and serve as an interim parliament for five years. The president would be chosen from the most successful party. Any party that won at least 5 percent of the seats would be entitled to a place in the cabinet. The catch is that cabinet approval will be required on major questions and two-thirds approval on "certain issues." Thus the Nats and the Democratic Party, the leading white capitalist parties, together with their bantustan puppets, including Inkatha leader Buthelezi, and their collaborator parties in the present "tricameral" segregated legislature, would have effective veto power over all major decisions.

To get around the ANC's longstanding position of "one person, one vote," various plans for white veto power over a black "government" were bandied about. Proposals for a bicameral legislature with an upper house to "safeguard minority rights" were dropped as too obvious, and instead the coalition "unity government" with its "two-thirds" ratification requirement will serve the same end. Meanwhile, the Nats and their toady Buthelezi are insisting on "strong regional powers" as another choke on any ANC coalition, cementing conservative strongholds such as the Orange Free State, bastion of the right-wing Conservative Party and outright fascists such as the Nazi AWB (Afrikaner Resistance Movement), and preserving the bantustan fiefdoms.

Make no mistake, the "power-sharing" deal will leave power in the hands of the apartheid masters, spelling continued enslavement of the vast non-white majority of South Africa. The blood-drenched army and security apparatus will remain intact, along with the rest of the racist capitalist state. This pact marks a historic betrayal of the aspirations of the black toilers of South Africa, who for generations have struggled, endured prison and died by the thousands to win their freedom. Now even the ANC's Freedom Charter, which (despite the claims by various leftist cheerleaders) does not go beyond simple bourgeois democracy, is revealed as an empty piece of paper.

Under this cruel "compromise," the "new" "post-apartheid" South Africa will look very much like the old. What will change for the millions crammed into squatter camps on the edges of modern cities built with their sweat? For black women forced to live in backyards and back bedrooms in wealthy white suburbs, taking care of other people's children? For rural blacks pushed off their land into barren bantustan wastelands? And the terror spread by shadowy gangs financed and instigated by the apartheid masters will go on.

As we Trotskyists have repeatedly stressed, there can be no democracy for the exploited and oppressed under South African capitalism, which is based on the superexploitation of black labor, and therefore on the denial of the most basic rights for the black majority. Anyone who stands for the liberation of the black, "coloured" and Indian masses of South Africa, including whites who don't want to spend the rest of their lives in a permanent garrison state, must reject this grotesque "deal." Urgently needed is the formation of a Bolshevik party to lead the mobilization of the black proletariat in the fight for workers revolution. The International Communist League calls to: Smash the collaborationist pact! Those who toil must rule!

SACP Brokers Neo-Apartheid Pact

The current bargaining was preceded by internal fights on both sides, by the NP against the diehard apartheid right, and the ANC against militant nationalists within its own ranks, and outside. De Klerk accomplished this by the racist referendum last May, in which 68 percent of the whites voted for his negotiation strategy. The ANC demonstrated its support among blacks in a massive two-day general strike in August which paralyzed Johannesburg and surrounded the capital buildings in Pretoria. Yet this mobilization was cynically geared to pressure the regime back to the bargaining table. After the bloody massacres in Boipatong township and Bisho in the Ciskei, the ANC had called off negotiations to prevent revolt from below as township youth demanded arms.

The deal was also preceded by a campaign within the 50,000-strong South African Communist Party, launched by

continued on page 4

YELTSIN WHITEWASHES REAGAN'S SPY MISSION

SEE PAGE SIX

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Racist Death Penalty Frame-Up Exposed

On March 2, after spending five years on death row, Walter McMillian walked out of a Bay Minette, Alabama courtroom a free man. After turning down four prior appeals, the Alabama Court of Criminal Appeals threw out McMillian's conviction last month, leading to the hearing at which the district attorney's office finally withdrew the charges. Monroe County D.A. Chapman acknowledged that McMillian's conviction was obtained using perjured testimony and concealing evidence of his innocence.

Set in Munroeville, Alabama, the backdrop for Harper Lee's novel "To Kill a Mockingbird" about a similar racist frame-up, the McMillian case followed a script that's been passed down for over a century, complete with a hanging judge named for a Confederate general, an infamous Southern prison housing countless frame-up victims, and the mix of race and sex that for generations has condemned black men to the lynch rope and the electric chair.

In the morning hours of 1 November 1986, Ronda Morrison, a young white woman, was murdered in a Monroeville dry cleaning shop. Unable to solve the Morrison murder for eight months, the cops decided to get McMillian, a black pulpwood worker known around town for dating a white woman. They picked up professional criminal Ralph Meyers in connection with another killing and threatened him with a capital murder charge unless he fingered McMillian. Meyers gave in. McMillian was arrested. And to make it clear that he was presumed guilty, McMillian was thrown onto death row *before the trial began.*

Though 12 witnesses testified that McMillian had been home at a fish fry at the time of the murder, he was convicted and sentenced by the jury to life imprisonment. However, Judge Robert E. Lee Key, Jr. tossed out the jury's sentence and condemned McMillian to death, citing the "vicious and brutal killing of a young lady in the first full flower of adulthood"—an eerie echo of classic KKK appeals to defend "Southern womanhood."

McMillian's appeals discredited every piece of prosecution evidence. The state's three witnesses recanted. Meyers revealed how cops pressured him into fingering McMillian. Meyers' numerous statements absolving McMillian were concealed from the defense. Today Alabama Assistant Attorney General Ken Nunnelley calls the McMillian frame-up "a totally aberrant occurrence." Tell it to Clarence Brandley, Randall Dale Adams, Darby Tillis and James Richardson, just a few of those who have proved their innocence and been freed from prison after many years on death row. Racist frame-ups and "legal" lynchings are integral to the American injustice system, together with the extralegal terror of the KKK and summary executions by killer cops on city streets across the country. Just across the state line in Mississippi, 23 black men have been found dead in their cells in the past three years.

McMillian's attorney, Bryan Stevenson of the Montgomery Capital Representation Resource Center, told reporters, "It was too easy for the state to convict someone for that crime and then have him sentenced to death. And it was too hard in light of the evidence of his innocence to show this court that he should never have been here in the first place." Led by "Justice Death" Rehnquist, the U.S. Supreme Court is on a crusade to make sure that it's not just "too hard" but virtually impossible to overturn a death sentence.

Weiner/NY Times

Walter McMillian spent five years on death row, victim of racist frame-up.

In January the High Court racists baldly declared in the case of Mexican American Leonel Herrera that evidence of innocence is not constitutional grounds for overturning a death sentence (see "Supreme Court Executioners," *WV* No. 569, 12 February). To the bloody rulers of this country, innocence doesn't matter when the victim of state murder is poor, black or Hispanic, like most of the more than 2,500 men and women on death row.

Anyone holding their breath for Clinton and the Democrats to turn this around better exhale before asphyxiating. The Democratic Party has joined its Republican partners in supporting efforts to gut federal *habeas corpus* challenges to state court death sentences. Clinton took his own oath of loyalty to the racist death penalty when he left the campaign trail to oversee the execution of brain-damaged black prisoner Rickey Ray Rector. Rector was so out of it that he saved part of the dessert from his last meal for after the execution. As he watched TV just hours before his

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TROTSKY

Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution

March 8 is International Women's Day, a traditional socialist working-class holiday. In opposition to bourgeois feminism, Clara Zetkin, founding leader of the German socialist women's movement who later rallied to the Bolshevik Revolution and the Communist International, explained the centrality of Marxism and the class struggle to the emancipation of women.

LENIN

The old superstition that the position of women in the family and in society was forever unchangeable because it was created on moral precepts or by divine revelation was smashed. Marx revealed that the family, like all other institutions and forms of existence, is subjected to a constant process of ebb and flow which changes with the economic conditions and the property relationships which result from them. It is the development of the productive forces of the economy which push this transformation by changing the mode of production and by coming into conflict with the prevailing economic and property system. On the basis of the revolutionized economic conditions, human thought is revolutionized and it becomes the endeavor of people to adjust their societal superstructure to the changes that have taken place in the economic substructure. Petrified forms of property and personal relationships must then be removed. These changes are wrought by means of the class struggle....

The women's movement, however, owes much more to Marx than just the fact that he, as no other person before him, shed bright light upon the painful path of the development that leads the female sex from social servitude to freedom and from atrophy to a strong, harmonious existence. By his profound, penetrating analysis of the class contradictions in today's society and its roots, he opened up our eyes to the differences of interest that separate the women of the different classes. In the atmosphere of the materialist concept of history, the "love drivel" about a "sisterhood" which supposedly wraps a unifying ribbon around bourgeois ladies and female proletarians, burst like so many scintillating soap bubbles. Marx has forged and taught us to use the sword which has severed the connection between the proletarian and the bourgeois women's movement. But he has also forged the chain of discernment by which the former is inextricably tied to the Socialist labor movement and the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat.

—Clara Zetkin, "What the Women Owe to Karl Marx" (March 1903)

Ernest Mandel Says He Will Debate Spartacists

We're Waiting

Kicking off a series of high-priced "seminars," United Secretariat (USec) leader Ernest Mandel gave a $10-a-head talk in New York last month on "The Crisis of Neo-Liberalism." It would more appropriately have been titled, "The Crisis of the USec's Neo-Kautskyism." Some 50 Solidarity and Socialist Action longtimers and a handful of others heard Mandel's now-standard polemic against "labels": "socialists, communists, it doesn't make any difference."

It certainly doesn't matter to this centrist for all seasons. For Mandel the "three tasks" of Marxists today were a string of banal liberal clichés: defending "all the demands of the masses that correspond to their real needs, *as they see them*"; for "total identification with human rights," with "radical feminism, the environment"; for the "reunification of socialism and freedom"—as if they were counterposed!

Obviously, class struggle, socialist revolution and a Trotskyist party aren't trendy enough for Mandel. It's not surprising that he managed only one reference in his lecture to the counterrevolution which has ravaged East Europe and the former Soviet Union, tersely noting that "unemployment is rising for the first time in the bureaucratic post-capitalist societies."

The USec has good reason to be tight-lipped on this question, having hailed every counterrevolutionary force in the former deformed and degenerated workers states, from Polish Solidarność to the Estonian Nazi Forest Brothers, right up to Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary ascendancy in August 1991. Now they lamely deny that capitalist counterrevolution has taken place throughout the former Soviet bloc.

When a Spartacist spokesman took the floor to point out the USec's political responsibility for Yeltsin counterrevolution, the glib "Marxist" professor blew a fuse, interrupting our comrade to demand "proof." Mandel may be too busy on the lecture circuit to read his own organization's publications, but he was immediately presented with a quote from a 29 August 1991 *Inprecor* article by leading USec cadre Catherine Verla, arguing for the need "to fight at Yeltsin's side."

When a second Spartacist speaker was cut off by the chair after one sentence, despite objection from a third of the audience, it capped a descent into pandemonium which saw the chair and the speaker talking at once, amid appeals from the audience that Mandel should limit his remarks. A few carefully modulated heckles about James P. Cannon's record on workers democracy added to the comic opera quality, as the disunited American USec supporters (who prefer to act like the SL doesn't exist) squirmed.

Mandel spent the majority of two very lengthy "replies to questions"

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Sam Marcy and the "Red"-Brown Coalition

Workers World Discovers Anpilov

Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP) is still clinging to its anachronistic niche as American sycophants for Stalinist bureaucracies. The problem for the Marcyites is that this niche is shrinking rapidly. Besides North Korean "Great Leader" Kim Il Sung, photo ops with "great leaders" to impress the WWP ranks are almost nil. We expect to see posters soon in New York's Union Square: "Desperately Seeking Stalinists—Sam Marcy Wants YOU!"

Recently, however, the Marcyites were scrounging around in Moscow and dug up a Stalinist leftover to laud. In their first issue of the new year, *Workers World* printed an interview with Victor Anpilov, editor of the Russian Communist Workers Party (RKRP) newspaper *Molniya* (Lightning), billing him as a leader of a group "in the forefront of the struggle against the Yeltsin regime." The article, complete with bombastic title ("Workers World interviews Russian communist—'We are fighting to restore Soviet power'"), is pure wishful thinking by an organization whose whole self-conception is to be slavish tailists for a "progressive camp" in the "global class war," if only they can find it.

Worse than Anpilov's ridiculous boasts about the size and power of the RKRP, taken at face value by the Marcyites, is Anpilov's fraudulent posturing as a longtime, granite-hard opponent of capitalist counterrevolution. In reality, the RKRP demonstrates jointly with all manner of fascists from Pamyat to supporters of the rabidly anti-Semitic nut case Vladimir Zhirinovsky (who calls himself "the Almighty" and promises to "follow in Hitler's footsteps"). These scum, the poisonous by-products of capitalist counterrevolution, must be swept away by the multinational Soviet proletariat in its fight for power. But the RKRP provides a left flank for the infamous "red"-brown coalition.

Anpilov & Co. bloc with these reactionary pro-capitalist elements because their so-called "opposition" to Yeltsin is purely nationalistic. The occasional left noises emanating from the RKRP against privatization are regularly contradicted by their acceptance of capitalist property forms. Meanwhile, the RKRP's press calls on its readers to subscribe to the Pamyat-loving chauvinist rag *Dien*, and prints filth from fascists like General Alexander Sterligov, who denounces communism as "hostile to the old national traditions of Russia." Whatever socialist-sounding phraseology peacefully coexists with Great Russian chauvinism in the Anpilov/RKRP milieu is purely cynical, but useful for roping in those like WWP who have been practicing class collaboration for decades—people that their erstwhile Soviet Stalinist friends used to call "useful idiots."

The Marcyites are actually months behind the American Communist Party—Gus Hall's CPUSA came out last March in favor of the social-fascist bloc of the RKRP with groups like Pamyat and Zhirinovsky's scum! The *People's Weekly World* ran glowing reports about Anpilov et al. from their Moscow correspondent Michael Davidow.

Fighting against these Stalinist nationalists and their Black Hundreds cohorts, our comrades in the ex-USSR have called to return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky, to build a section of a reforged Fourth International on the Bolshevik program of world socialist revolution. We advanced a program for independent working-class struggle against capitalist restoration and sharply opposed resurgent anti-Semitism and Great Russian chauvinism. Now the latest *Biulleten Spartakovtsev* supplement is out, with our article "Stalinism—Gravedigger of the Revolution: How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled."

With the collapse of the Kremlin Stalinist bureaucracy and with the Chinese bureaucrats extolling the virtues of free markets, the Marcyites are reduced to their trademark cheerleading for Democratic Party popular fronts, from the "All-Peoples Congress" to LBJ's attorney general Ramsey Clark. And does Bill Clinton need a screwball Stalinoid outfit for that? ■

Tomasz Tomaszewski

Bucharest street sweeper in front of Ceausescu's palace.

Capitalism Is So Bad, Romanians Say Life Was Better Under Ceausescu

On February 15, several thousand electronics workers marched through the Romanian capital of Bucharest protesting against economic decline and increasing unemployment.

"It was better under Communism" is a refrain one hears from eastern Germany to Mongolia. And now, it is reported, even in Romania. According to a poll last year, a majority (over 60 percent) of Romanians feel their life is no better or is even worse than it was under Nicolae Ceausescu. This was the astounding figure cited by *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Report* (17 November 1992), a mouthpiece for Washington Cold Warriors. Worse than under Ceausescu—that's really saying something.

For years, under Washington's favorite Stalinist despot in East Europe, life in Romania was truly horrible. He starved, froze and terrorized the population to make Romania free of debt to Western bankers. Abortions were outlawed, and orphanages were full because families could not afford to raise unwanted children. Homes, factories and offices went unheated in the dead of winter. Each apartment was allowed only one 40-watt light bulb. Every typewriter had to be registered, and a former head of the political police claimed that 10,000 microphonic bugs were hidden in Romania's walls, TV sets and ashtrays. In the end, the only meat available was chicken feet and repulsive grey sausage.

In late 1989, a popular uprising—the only one during the collapse of Stalinism in East Europe—toppled the hated despot and his clan. Ceausescu and wife were hastily executed and replaced by former Stalinist apparatchiks who renounced "Communism" and pledged to introduce Western-style "democracy" and a market economy. Now capitalist restoration has so immiserated the people of Romania that 40 percent say they were better off under a ruler who was an amalgam of Stalin and Dracula. The ghost of the man who called himself the "Great Conductor" and the "Genius of the Carpathians" may be enjoying it. The working people of Romania aren't. ■

WNBC's Anti-Gay Witchhunt

Defend NAMBLA!

In an outrageous witchhunting attack, WNBC-TV Channel 4 in New York City has targeted members of a gay group, setting them up for vicious harassment at their jobs and in their neighborhoods. On March 2, 3 and 5, the nighttime edition of Channel 4 News ran a series of "reports" which purported to disclose the results of an "investigation" into the North American Man-Boy Love Association (NAMBLA), which advocates the repeal of reactionary "age of consent" laws.

The station used a format similar to "consumer protection" spots popular with local TV news programs, but the broadcasts were hatchet jobs that smeared NAMBLA as a secretive, criminal conspiracy and were explicitly aimed at getting its targets *fired from their jobs*. "Undercover cops" are quoted as saying that the group advocates child molestation. One segment was introduced by news anchor Sue Simmons, who stated that the group "advocates the sexual molestation of young boys"—a bald-faced lie.

It's not the first time that NAMBLA has had to defend itself against attempts to criminalize it with false charges. The NBC witchhunt mirrors a similar media blast last year in San Francisco by KRON-TV, in which the SFPD's lying accusations of "child molestation" were retailed. Fascist skinheads were mobilized to bust up a NAMBLA press conference held to refute the vicious KRON provocation (see "Hysterical Liberals Join S.F. Anti-Gay Witchhunt—Defend NAMBLA!" *WV* No. 544, 7 February 1992).

In the second installment of the WNBC series, several NAMBLA members were individually ambushed on the streets near their homes and workplaces. They were set upon by a WNBC camera crew, as "investigative reporter" John Miller thrust a microphone in their faces and peppered them with questions like, "Do you think that your role in NAMBLA would be upsetting to the people you work with?" The men shown in the broadcasts, including a schoolteacher and a school librarian, were named, as were their places of employment. Schoolchildren, parents and administrators were interviewed and given the names of school employees identified by Channel 4 as NAMBLA members and were urged by the WNBC reporter to take action against the individuals.

A NAMBLA press release protesting the series noted that "Ordinary activities such as going to the post office or meeting in a restaurant are presented as threatening and ominous." Yet as the press release pointed out: "NAMBLA, which is 15 years old, operates openly. Our publication, the NAMBLA Bulletin, is available in bookstores around the country, and it is in the collection of the New York Public Library." Clearly, WNBC is stoking anti-gay hysteria in the Big Apple, where NYC schools chancellor Joseph Fernandez was ousted amid a backlash over the liberal "Rainbow Curriculum." The higots are up in arms over the distribution of condoms in the schools and, led by Cardinal O'Connor, they are excluding gays from the St. Patrick's Day Parade.

Playing for ratings in "Sweeps Week," NBC has been on a sensationalist yellow-journalist kick heavy on sex and sin. *New York* magazine (15 February) reported that WNBC's newsroom revolted over what was dubbed the "Fag Alert" series, including a planned segment titled "Warning Signs: How to Tell If Your Child Is Gay." Anchorwoman Carol Jenkins reportedly refused to work on the piece. "Are we going to report that if your kid can't throw a ball straight, you better watch out?" asked one WNBC staffer.

Instead, WNBC opted for a cruel attack against a vulnerable group, one which is ostracized even by most self-proclaimed radical homosexual activists. Channel 4 is NBC's flagship station and they should be a bit embarrassed these days, particularly after the network was caught out (and its "news" division chief resigned under fire) for staging a phony truck crash and burn for a special on unsafe GM trucks. And don't forget the smelly fish story: in one eco-piece, NBC purported to show "dead" fish which turned out to have only been stunned by scientists for test purposes.

WNBC's concern for children is entirely hypocritical. "Age of consent"

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South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

SACP chairman Joe Slovo, to put majority rule on hold and accept the "power-sharing compromise" with De Klerk. Slovo opened the "debate" with an article in the *African Communist* last fall calling for an interim government with a protracted "sunset clause" for the white capitalist rulers and their state apparatus, including an amnesty for the apartheid butchers and guaranteed employment for the military and civil bureaucracy. Slovo allied with Mandela in pushing the deal through the ANC leadership circles.

Financial Times

U.S. imperialist chief-to-be Clinton confers with ANC leader Nelson Mandela at the UN, July 1992.

This provoked unrest in both the ANC and SACP ranks. Black youth in the townships, fed up with Mandela's collaboration, hope for an alternative in Chris Hani, SACP national secretary and former head of the ANC's guerrilla army, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). Hani, Harry Gwala, the SACP hardline Stalinist leader in Natal, and Winnie Mandela have been positioning themselves as the pseudo-radical opposition to a future Mandela government. They denounced the deal as a sellout of the fight for majority rule. And Hani has threatened to lead a breakaway "socialist alliance" that might compete with the ANC in elections. But all wings of the ANC/SACP have fundamental agreement with the negotiations strategy, differing only on timing and formulations.

Joe Selale

Peters/Sipa

David Sillitoe

From left: Winnie Mandela, Natal ANC/SACP leader Harry Gwala and SACP general secretary Chris Hani.

Although she has been widely discredited, even Winnie Mandela's biggest detractors say she struck a chord in saying "the leadership of the ANC is getting into bed with the National Party to enjoy this newfound luxury." The ANC Youth League issued a statement on February 22 opposing a coalition government "after the adoption of the new constitution" (but not before?). Hani/Mandela are expressing the frustrations of the lumpen-plebeian supporters of the ANC, who unlike the black would-be yuppies around ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa and Thabo Mbeki would gain no benefits from the "power sharing" deal. But in their own way, such elements are just as alien from the black proletariat as those pushing the pact.

Moreover, the various critics are key players in making sure the deal goes down. Thus at the ANC National Executive Committee meeting February 16-18 the vote was unanimous to ratify the power-sharing deal. Hani and Gwala were conveniently absent when the vote was taken, thus ensuring there was no real fight. Their criticism concerns only the length of the "sunset clause." Five years is too much, says Hani, a "unity" government wouldn't last more than nine months!

The ANC needs both to be in the government and to be in opposition to it. If Mandela is president, then Hani will be the "militant opposition" waiting in the wings. Hani spoke frankly in a London *Sunday Times* (31 January) interview saying, "I want the freedom to criticise from outside, to lead marches, to organise strikes, to pressurise the new government into doing the right things." The *Times* added, "Hani stressed that he saw no alternative to a temporary power-sharing deal, and confirmed that the communists would remain partners with the ANC for the first election."

In the classic reformist Stalinist tradition of "two-stage revolution," Hani told the London *Guardian* (15 February) that while his long-term goal is socialism, "For the moment we are struggling for the Freedom Charter" as "the first step." But they won't even get that! The SACP leader tells journalists "nationalisation is not necessarily the answer" and calls for a pact between big business and the unions for better housing and education. Grotesquely, Hani calls for the army to be "controlled" during the transition, through the incorporation of MK fighters into the apartheid army! Hani used the *Guardian* interview to assure the nervous rulers that when the Communists are in the government, there will be no campaign to bring the apartheid butchers to justice, saying:

> "We're not planning any Nuremberg trials, although they locked up our leaders, tried to eliminate so many of us in the cross-border operations. Look at Comrade Slovo; he sits there talking to the men who killed his wife."

How grotesque! Slovo's wife, Ruth First, a Communist leader, journalist and anti-apartheid activist, was assassinated by a letter bomb in 1982.

Arm in Arm with Clinton and Capital

In the current multiparty talks, the ANC and the Nats have taken a united stand to push through their "government of national unity." The negotiations are the sequel to the CODESA ("Convention for a Democratic South Africa") talks in December 1991 and May 1992, where bantustan chiefs, tricameral quislings, apartheid rulers and anti-apartheid activists sat down at the table together. Amid much talk of reconciliation, the "lambs lay down with the lions"...until these confabs were drowned in the blood of black people in Boipatong and Bisho, cut down by the same racist forces who were "talking" to their leaders.

Leaving for Washington to attend Bill Clinton's inaugural, Mandela said power-sharing would take some time: "How long it is going to take us to inspire foreign investors with confidence to invest in our country is something only a prophet can predict" (*New York Times*, 18 January). To win the confidence of capital, the ANC/SACP will police the black proletariat, politically and otherwise if necessary. Black labor emerged in the mid-'80s as the motor force of the anti-apartheid struggle. But as the power of black unions has grown, it has been straitjacketed by the popular-front politics of the ANC/SACP/COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions) alliance. Now a web of "national reconstruction" pacts, arbitration schemes and agreements preventing miners from striking on "political" issues bind the proletariat and drain its self-confidence.

Currently ANC economic advisers have been meeting in Europe and Washington with the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and De Klerk's finance minister Derek Keys, former chairman of Gencor, the country's second largest mining concern, to arrange conditions for big loans to the putative coalition government. Drawing the unions into the National Economic Forum "codetermination" talks with the government and the bosses is one means of control. COSATU head Jay Naidoo says, "The romantic notion of dictatorship of the proletariat is way off the mark" (*Weekly Mail*, 8 January). Meanwhile, the ANC recites the mantra that "elections are the new mass action," international confabs are held to lift sanctions and turn the investment spigot back on, money is funneled through British Labour and Swedish Social Democrats to "train electoral officials," UN "foreign monitors" are in place.

While Mandela & Co. engage in semantic acrobatics explaining how this isn't "power sharing" (they're right in a way, the Randlords aren't sharing diddly), we greet Cosmos Desmond's blunt words, which so annoyed the ANC, when he wrote in the *New Nation* (11 December 1992):

> "The NP/ANC proposal for a government of national unity is a guarantee of continued white rule, not only until 1994 but for the foreseeable future....
>
> "The ANC appears to have acted on the principle, 'If you can't beat them, join them'.... If the losers of the election are to share in the exercise of power, why bother about having an election in the first place? It will simply be a sop to people who have never had the right to vote.... Blacks can have the titles and the gold braid, but FW de Klerk's hand will still be firmly on the tiller.
>
> "It is surely pathetic when a liberation movement is reduced to scrabbling for some crumbs of power with one hand, while clinging to the shirt tails of the oppressor with the other....
>
> "Apartheid, which had served whites well for many years, no longer served its purpose; other means had, therefore, to be found to achieve the same end. He [De Klerk] finally opted for the means which, had it not been the tactic of the hated British, the Afrikaners might have chosen in the first place; co-opt the colonised."

ANC Sellout—"Patriotic Front" No Alternative

In addition to the ferment in the SACP/ANC ranks, criticism of the power-sharing deal is coming from other black nationalist and leftist groups as well. But behind the more militant verbiage are similar opportunist politics. The Pan Africanist Congress said that the ANC and the National Party "are going to get married and give birth to a baby called neo-colonialism." Yet at the March 5-6 conference at the Johannesburg World Trade Center, there was the PAC sitting down at the table with De Klerk, Andries Treurnicht's Conservatives and the split-off Afrikaner Volksunie. And while it engages in indiscriminate terrorism against whites, PAC holds its own *bosberaads* with the apartheid regime in Botswana—they simply want a bigger piece of the deal.

The Mandela cheerleaders of the American Socialist Workers Party report (*Militant*, 12 March) that the ANC is "reaching out" to bring PAC and the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) into the popular-front fold. Speaking on a special broadcast of New York radio station WBAI's "Africa Report" (March 2), AZAPO spokesman Pandelane Nepholovodwe denounced the scheme, saying that "to AZAPO, true democracy can only be obtained through majority rule, and not through power-sharing." Nepholovodwe then called for the formation of a "patriotic front" as the alternative to the ANC plan.

AZAPO, which comes out of the

JUST OUT!

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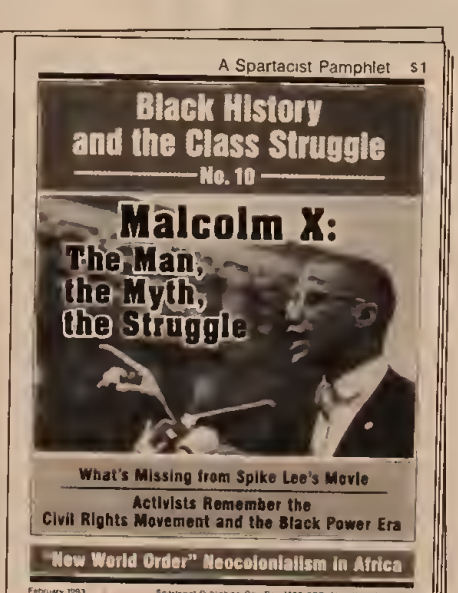

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1970s Black Consciousness Movement, has been internally torn over the negotiations. Acting as a pressure group on PAC, in late 1991 it was sucked into the ANC/PAC "Patriotic Front," only walking out when the short-lived PF refused to oust the apartheid collaborators of the "tricameral" parties. With its nationalist politics based on a purely democratic program, AZAPO's call for a "patriotic" popular front is based on "unity" with aspiring *bourgeois* forces. A revolutionary struggle against apartheid to free the black masses from racial oppression and brutal wage slavery requires a *working-class* fight for power, directed as well against those who would become the new capitalist rulers.

PAC and AZAPO would like to see some kind of black nationalist bonapartist regime, such as Nkrumah's Ghana, Nyerere's Tanzania and Kenyatta's Kenya. In particular they look to the example of Zimbabwe, where after a protracted independence struggle against the former British colony of Rhodesia, in 1980 Robert Mugabe's ZANU won elections and formed a Patriotic Front government including Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU (which was later driven into opposition). While Mugabe's cabinet didn't include representatives of the white settlers, and he is often referred to in the Western imperialist press as a Marxist, the Zimbabwe black government has from the beginning acted to protect white capital. A British-drafted constitution guaranteed 20 seats in the 100-member parliament for the nation's 100,000 whites, thus giving the white minority the right to block whatever changes the majority wants. The "Lancaster House Agreement" also included a clause outlawing for ten years any takeover of land and other property without fair compensation.

While the "reserved" white seats were abolished in 1987, Mugabe's regime has refused to expropriate the white capitalist farmers. The Patriotic Front government has broken strikes, arrested union leaders and brutally repressed student demonstrations as it imposes IMF starvation policies in the name of the "free market." In Zimbabwe this black (capitalist) government has grabbed the spoils of office, allowing a thin layer of white ranchers to sip sundowners on their verandas while warding off squatters by brandishing their R4s. But in South Africa, where the white population is proportionately five times as large, where there is a powerful state apparatus, armed to the teeth, and fabulously rich corporations, the capitalist exploiters are not about to fade into the sunset when Joe Slovo's "sunset clause" expires.

Der Spiegel

Superexploited black gold miners produce the wealth on which apartheid capitalism depends. "Power sharing" deal will leave Randlords' power intact.

Forge a Trotskyist Party!

Speaking on the same WBAI "Africa Report," Neville Alexander of the Workers Organisation for a Socialist Africa (WOSA) denounced the negotiations process "initiated by the regime in order to gain time and to gain a lease on life for the racial capitalist system." But Alexander's demand was for the creation of a "national united front of all those forces who are opposed to the negotiations process." Such a front would be based on "full commitment to a democratically elected constituent assembly on the basis of one person, one vote." There's nothing socialist about this program at all—it's nothing but the ANC's bourgeois-democratic "Freedom Charter" resuscitated.

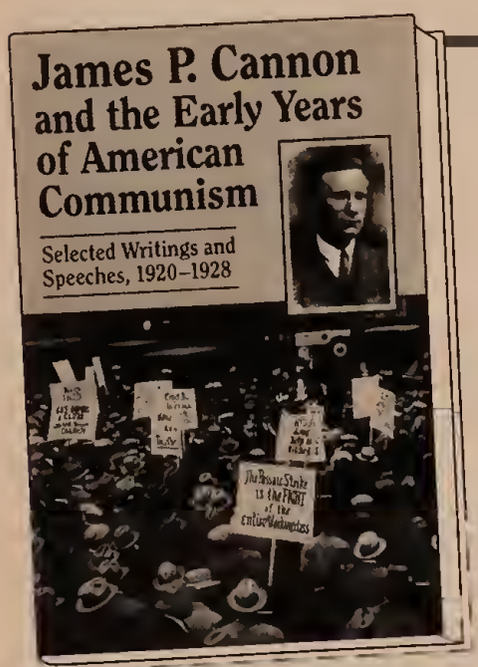
While South African supporters of the ostensibly Trotskyist British Workers International League write in *Qina Msebenzi* (December 1992/January 1993) of the need for a workers party, their model is not Lenin's Bolsheviks but Lula's social-democratic PT in Brazil. Moreover, in the absence of a workers party, *Qina Msebenzi* calls for a "critical vote for the ANC." They go on:

> "We say to ANC worker and youth supporters that we will help them to put the faith they have in the ANC to the test. We call on them to fight within ANC structures and the Congress milieu as a whole...."

So the masses of blacks should continue to fight within the ANC, rather than *break* with the aspiring rulers of a "post-apartheid" *capitalist* South Africa. So in the 1920s should the Chinese workers and peasants have fought "within KMT structures and the Kuomintang milieu," as Stalin instructed them to? This led straight to the Shanghai massacre of March 1927, where Chiang Kai-shek murdered thousands of Chinese communists who had disarmed and joined the KMT. Trotsky denounced this criminal policy, calling on the Chinese Communists to fight in their own name for a workers and peasants government.

The New Unity Movement is at least refreshing in its spirit of non-collaboration. At its November 1992 conference, an NUM leader scored the "heavily-financed CODESA trail...devised by de Klerk and stage-managed for him from the house of Anglo-American." He denounced the pact "between exploiters and ambitious paid clients of Imperialism who have abandoned the freedom struggle for a mess of pottage." Or, in the case of former NUM leader and now ANC honcho Ramaphosa, for a house next door to former Anglo magnate Harry Oppenheimer. But NUM's answer is a "Ten-Point Programme of Minimum Demands" for democracy.

Leon Trotsky pointed out in his theses on permanent revolution that in the imperialist epoch even the basic democratic tasks require the conquest of power by the proletariat, under the leadership of a communist party, proceeding forward to socialist tasks. The Randlords of South Africa and their state cannot be phased out with a "sunset clause," they must be overthrown, their power smashed, their state dismantled, their property expropriated, if the black population is to be emancipated and *begin* the construction of an egalitarian society. The people of Soweto and Sharpeville cannot be free so long as Anglo American holds sway. ■



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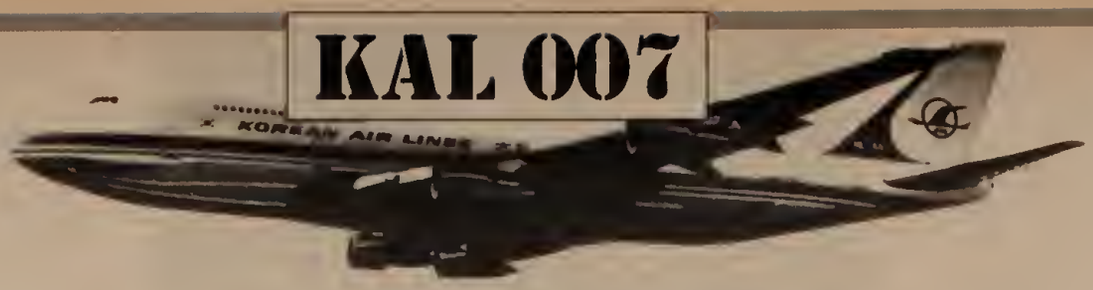

YELTSIN WHITEWASHES REAGAN'S SPY MISSION

Last September Russian president Boris Yeltsin titillated the world's news media with the announcement that he had "materials" relating to the long-missing "black box" flight recorders from Korean Air Lines Flight 007, the jetliner which was shot down by Soviet fighter planes after penetrating deep into Soviet airspace in 1983. He claimed to have a "transcript" of the cockpit voice recorder tape, among other documents allegedly hidden away in KGB archives.

On 14 October 1992, Yeltsin made a show of meeting in Moscow with representatives of the association of families of KAL 007 victims, along with South Korean officials. He gave the American families nine documents and a large multicolored map purporting to show the flight path of KAL 007. Yeltsin claimed Soviet leaders "knew about this for ten years" but "hid it," and he pontificated about "our sacred duty to explain the whole truth." Yeltsin's "*desinformatiya*" is in the service of a decade-long campaign by U.S. imperialism to crucify the former Soviet Union as a heartless "evil empire," murderers of innocent civilians.

Ronald Reagan seized on the downing of KAL 007 as a bloodthirsty rallying cry in the imperialists' Cold War. The morning after the shootdown, Secretary of State George Shultz went on TV to accuse Soviet leaders of knowingly shooting down a civilian airliner. The drumbeat of lies and cover-up has continued to this day. But we immediately nailed it as a Cold War provocation, headlining our front-page article, "Reagan's Story Stinks!" (*WV* No. 337, 9 September 1983). We also issued a Spartacist pamphlet compiling our early coverage. Before long, even the *New York Times* (7 October 1983) felt compelled to admit that U.S. "intelligence experts...found no indication that Soviet air defense personnel knew before the attack that the target was a commercial plane."

AFP

Yeltsin presents KAL 007 "black boxes" to South Korean regime. Ten days later Seoul says flight data recorder tape was "missing," voice recorder contained only a "poor reproduction."

Over the years, the U.S. government and their kept media have trotted out one "expert" after another, concocting a host of conflicting accounts to explain what a "civilian" plane was doing flying hundreds of miles inside Soviet airspace, over some of the most sensitive military installations in the Soviet Far East. While most of the left stayed mum for fear of bucking the anti-Soviet crusade, the Spartacist League debunked the imperialist lies in article after article. Our aggressive campaign of exposure of Reagan's spy mission flowed from the Trotskyist program of unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state. Our findings were vindicated by a number of independent investigations over the years by air navigation specialists.

TASS

Press conference by Soviet Chief of General Staff Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov, September 1983. While imperialists concoct one fraud after another, all reported electronic fixes of KAL 007 position are in accord with Ogarkov map.

"Straight Lines" and Crooked Journalism

Now Boris Yeltsin has re-ignited the imperialist propaganda campaign with his KAL 007 "materials." In case anyone missed the political message, he simultaneously released alleged KGB files on the 1940 Katyn Forest mass killing of Polish bourgeois army officers, implicating Stalin himself. The U.S. capitalist media eagerly seized upon Yeltsin's "revelations": "Russia Releases Secret Files on 2 Mass Killings," announced the *San Francisco Chronicle* (15 October 1992).

Curiously, the day after Yeltsin made his Octoher 14 handover of KAL documents, American CIA chief Robert Gates made an unprecedented three-day visit to Moscow, where he met not only with Yeltsin, but also with Yevgeny Primakov, head of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, and Lt. Gen. Fyodor Ladygin of Russian military intelligence. Press releases hinted that "U.S. and Russia May Share Intelligence Services" (*New York Times*, 19 Octoher 1992), but the purpose of Gates' visit was a secret—no *glasnost* here. The counterrevolutionary heirs of the former KGB are now in the pay of Yeltsin and his newfound friends in Washington.

The capitalist press—now joined by the former Soviet government organ *Izvestia*—played up parts of the alleged "transcript" which appeared to record the dramatic scene on KAL 007 moments after it was struck by a Soviet missile. *Izvestia* had earlier run a 17-part "investigation" of KAL 007, explicitly carried out at the suggestion of U.S. Senators Sam Nunn and Edward Kennedy. Democrats Nunn and Kennedy for years rejected liberal pleas for a Senate inquiry into the Reagan/Bush connection to KAL 007, but they were more than willing to see more mud thrown at the Soviet military by the Moscow paper.

Now *Izvestia* proclaims that Yeltsin's documents "convincingly substantiate our newspaper's version of events," and they dutifully published the full texts last October 15-16. Perhaps as a sop to still-powerful military officers, the paper's editor. Oleg Golembiovsky, tried to add "balance" to the reportage by insisting on American TV that "it was no accident that the plane was off course. It was intentionally following an erroneous path" (NBC *Today*, 15 October 1992).

Meanwhile, the *New York Times* (16 October 1992) headlined "Tape Displays the Anguish on Jet the Soviets Downed," conjuring up "shouts" of terror from a tape they never heard. As if on cue, U.S. apologists who have been pushing the claim that KAL 007 was on an "innocent flight" rushed into print to proclaim Washington's innocence and denounce Communist "evil."

James Oberg, a so-called aerospace "expert" who seems to have become the unofficial U.S. government cover-up artist on the affair (the State Department won't comment when questioned on the subject, but they will suggest you speak to Oberg), had a four-column op-ed piece in the *Wall Street Journal* (21 October 1992), which gloated "Shooting Down the Myths of KAL Flight." "The flight data recorder showed a straight-line path all along its route," Oberg declared. "The implication is clear: An innocent navigation error led to the tragic loss of 269 lives."

As he has in the past. Oberg virtually smeared all "spy flight" theorists as Soviet dupes or worse, in particular going after the liberal Washington-based Fund for Constitutional Government. And he seems ohsessed with trying to refute the technical analysis by retired flight engineer Robert Allardyce and writer James Gollin which was reported in the *New York Times* (20 February 1992). This showed that the plane must have changed course several times during its flight, thereby demonstrating conscious intervention by the pilots (see "KAL 007 Was on Deadly Spy Mission," *WV* No. 547, 20 March 1992).

Oberg says the plane's path was a "straight line," and the crude map puhlished by *Izvestia* tries to give that impression too. For almost a decade Washington's minions have tried to erase all evidence of curves, turns, zigzags, or deviations from the mythical "straight line" course of the "innocent" KAL pilots who presumably fell asleep in the cockpit for nearly five and a half hours.

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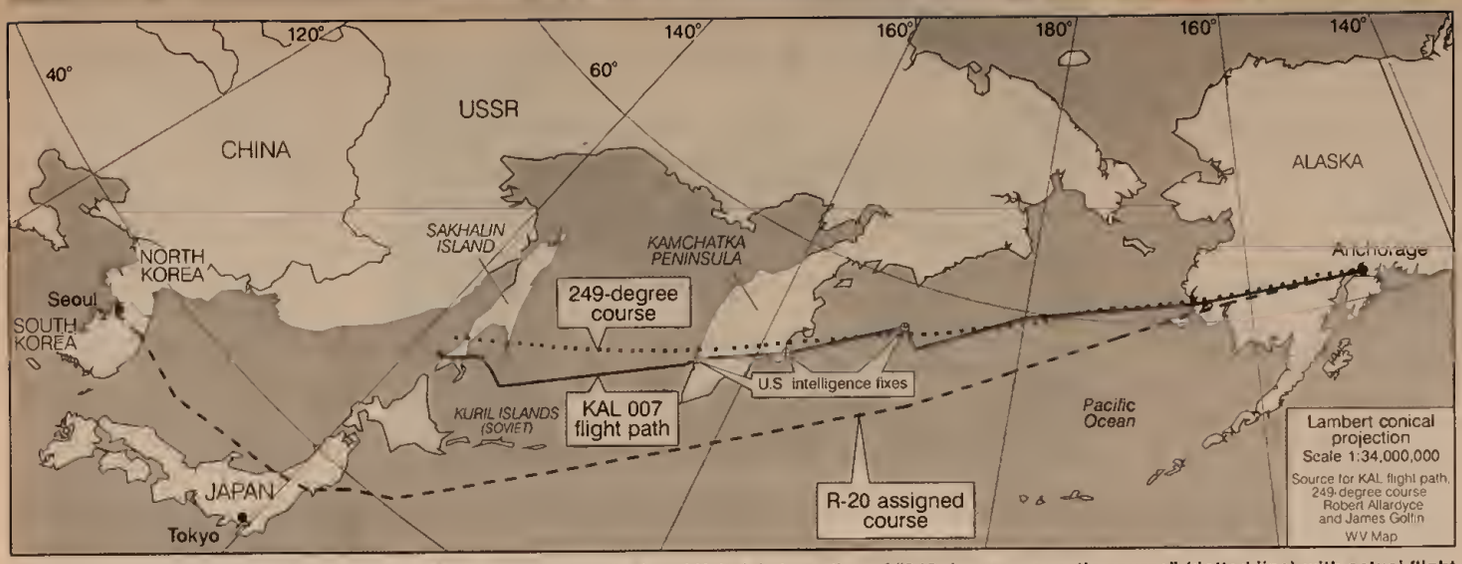

***Workers Vanguard* map compares scheduled flight plan (broken line) and Yeltsin's invention of "249-degree magnetic course" (dotted line) with actual flight path of KAL 007 (solid line). Repeated changes of course give lie to claim that penetration of Soviet air space over sensitive military targets was accidental.**

Ten Questions for Izvestia

1. According to the USSR Defense Ministry/KGB "findings" on the flight data recorder, dated 28 November 1983 and signed by Lt. Gen. of Aviation Makarov and other members of the group of experts (published in *Izvestia* on 16 October 1992), KAL 007 was flying on autopilot with a "constant magnetic course [*kursovy*] of 249 degrees, without the inertial systems being switched into the automatic pilot." Also, "for more than five hours of flight, the crew did not intervene in the steering of the aircraft."

The 1983 "findings" tell the reader to "see map": is the map published by *Izvestia* the original 1983 map referred to? The *Izvestia* map does not agree with the text. It does show a straight line "gradually deviating" from the plane's assigned route, as the "findings" call for, but then there is a sudden change of course in the Sea of Okhotsk, suggesting conscious intervention by the pilots, in contradiction with the "findings." Does the data recorder show such a sharp change in course? How can this be explained?

The *Izvestia* map appears to be a Lambert conical projection, on which a straight line is a Great Circle course, and a constant magnetic course would be a *curved* line. Yet the *Izvestia* map shows a straight line from Alaska to the Sea of Okhotsk, one which does not appear to be even close to 249 degrees. Did the original "findings" include a map with such gross errors? If this is not the original map, where is it?

2. In navigation there is an important distinction between "heading" and "course." If the plane's autopilot was set to fly a constant magnetic *heading* (the direction in which the plane is pointed each moment) of 249 degrees, its eventual *course* would not be a straight line of 249 degrees because of variations in wind and variations in the earth's magnetic field (the magnetic variation can vary from as much as 24 degrees over Alaska to zero degrees near Kamchatka). Without intervention by the pilots, the plane's radar track *would not be a straight line*—if it was, that would be *prima facie* evidence that the pilots were constantly intervening to keep the plane on a constant magnetic course.* The "findings" seem to assert the plane flew a straight magnetic course, yet the pilots did not intervene. How can this be explained?

3. The available radar track of KAL 007 over Alaska, made by U.S. Air Force radars at King Salmon and Kenai, do not show a constant magnetic course of 249 degrees. Rather, the radar track reveals that the plane flew a Great Circle course over Alaska, *prima facie* evidence that the autopilot was switched into the Inertial Navigation System, since only the INS uses Great Circle segments to generate a course. This was noted years ago by Harold Ewing, an experienced pilot, who, in attempting to explain KAL 007's deviation from the assigned route as an "accident," had to concoct a scenario based on a "finger-error" entry into the INS systems. His scenario was incorporated into Seymour Hersh's book, "*The Target Is Destroyed*" (1986).

A more recent analysis by professional flight engineer Robert Allardyce and writer James Gollin ("Technical Analysis" dated November 1991 and reported on in the *New York Times* of 20 February 1992) calculates that "at 1304.26Z [about four minutes after takeoff], the plots stabilize on a heading of 243 degrees, indicating that the pilot...had switched control of the 747 to the autopilot in [magnetic] HDG mode. The aircraft continued on the 243-degree heading for not quite five minutes, until 1309.05Z. At this moment, the radar plots begin to trace a precise curving course, indicating that the pilot had switched his autopilot to INS mode." By 1312.11Z, the plot fully "captures" the Great Circle course which the plane followed "across Alaska."

Yet the USSR "findings" of 1983 published in *Izvestia* assert the plane's autopilot was *never* switched into the INS but rather was switched into magnetic heading mode four minutes after takeoff, *and remained so for the entire flight*. How can this be reconciled with the U.S. radar data?

4. On 9 September 1983 Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov held an international press conference to explain the Soviet position on KAL 007. Here he displayed a large map of the radar track of the "intruder" airplane, clearly showing a sharp deviation from a straight course as the plane turned right in the Sea of Okhotsk and then left over Sakhalin, demonstrating conscious intervention by the pilots. The map also suggests the "intruder" made a zigzag just before Kamchatka. How is this explained in the context of the black box "findings" of a "constant magnetic course"? Why do the "findings" make no mention or explanation of Ogarkov's map, which flatly contradicts the "findings" claiming that the data from the flight recorder "on the actual route coincide with our [Soviet] calculations"?

5. The "findings" of 1983 on the data recorder were evidently incomplete, as they admit "fourteen lines of recordings have not been identified" and "nine individual commands have not been identified." Were there any further analyses since 1983? Please provide the text. Where is the data recorder tape now? (The tape was reported missing from the box given to South Korea.) Was the tape given to the UN's International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) at the meetings in Moscow on December 8-10 as promised? What transpired at the ICAO meeting?

The box's manufacturer is Sundstrand Data Control, Inc., Redmond, Washington, USA. Have they been contacted to get assistance to decipher the rest?

6. The cockpit voice recorder (CVR), by its nature, records conversations and noises in the cockpit in the previous 30 minutes. Yet the ostensible transcript contains only one minor conversation, the rest being recordings of radio exchanges. This is especially strange: supposedly in the last few minutes of the doomed flight, when they are apparently experiencing explosive decompression and losing altitude, the pilots don't say anything to each other! Nor do they issue a mayday: the copilot initially makes only a routine call to Tokyo. How can this be explained?

At a 21 November conference on KAL 007 held at the University of Washington in Seattle, leading investigators pointed out many strange problems with the CVR transcript published in *Izvestia*. In a letter to U.S. Senator Boren, investigator John Keppel (a 20-year employee of the State Department, now retired) states flatly that the transcript of the CVR "is a forgery." He lists 12 oddities about the transcript, such as the fact that "it contains virtually none of the normal chatter which would be recorded on the voice recorder" and "it fails to include parts of KE 007 transmissions recorded by Tokyo, which would have to have been recorded on the CVR." Keppel also notes that "the transcript contains none of the remarks by the cockpit crew which would have been associated with the airliner's climb from FL 330 [flight level 33,000 feet] to FL 350 [35,000]," including the obligatory reading of a Climb Check List.

French investigator Michel Brun (in a document of 16 October) also notes that the transcript "is but a long list of radio communications and does not contain *any* cockpit conversation, except for one or two trivial comments. As a matter of fact, it is a transcript of *51 radio communications* and *only one* cockpit conversation." He notes with astonishment that after the supposed time when the missile hit the plane, the captain "issued *no orders, command, no comment* at all." Can you explain this?

7. The CVR transcript records passenger cabin announcements (breakfast at 0300, normally announced by the flight attendants in the cabin, and later an automated "emergency descent" message). Also, engine noise is noted. But pilots know these sounds would not be heard in a 747 cockpit, and thus would not be recorded on the CVR. How can this be explained?

In addition, at one point the transcript alleges that radiotelegraphy signals are heard on the CVR tape. But as Brun notes (in a document of 8 November), "Radiotelegraphy signals are NEVER heard on the voice channels of Aviation radiotelephony." Therefore this tape "CANNOT" have been made by a CVR, but must have been made by a device which had many different channels available to it, such as an electronic listening post on the earth.

Keppel notes discrepancies between the CVR transcript and the Tokyo air traffic control tape, in which transmissions from Tokyo are confused with transmissions from KAL 007. This could not happen if the transcript were taken from the CVR, but such a "misreading might be expected if the text had been taken from a radio intercept." Can these contradictions be explained in any other way?

8. The veracity of the CVR transcript can be checked by comparing the text, sequence and timing of events against other tapes of KAL 007 transmissions, particularly the tape of radio exchanges with Tokyo air traffic control. John Keppel notes in his letter to Senator Boren, "the time intervals between transmissions by KE 007 and KE 015, on the one hand, and Tokyo on the other are not, repeat not, the same on the alleged CVR transcript and on the Tokyo tape. The difference between the two series varies from a low of 1 minute 27 seconds to a high of 4 minutes 19 seconds." Mr. Keppel believes this is "*prima facie* evidence of fraud." Please comment.

9. The integrity of the CVR transcript published by *Izvestia* is marred by the fact that it is interspersed by editor's commentary on what he hears, implying that the tape was played for *Izvestia*. Why wasn't the tape played for the international press, so everyone can hear the original? Does the Russian government still have a copy of the CVR tape, or do the South Koreans have the only tape? Was a copy given to the ICAO? Can investigators hear and record it, or get a copy?

10. *Izvestia*'s 1991 series on the KAL 007 affair reported that the wreckage of the plane was found near Moneron island, just west of Sakhalin. But if the plane's autopilot was set for a constant magnetic heading of 249 degrees, as the "findings" assert, calculations show it would not pass anywhere near this location but would be well to the north. How can this be explained?

Also in the 1991 series, *Izvestia* reported various descriptions of the "black boxes" given by so-called eyewitnesses; the reporter admitted these did not match reality. Even the chief of the Soviet dive team could not confirm finding the black boxes. But the two boxes have an unmistakable appearance: they are high-visibility yellow with known rectangular measurements. Why is it that the "eyewitnesses" did not report such boxes? Also, as the *Izvestia* reporter noted last year, the serial numbers of the missing black boxes are listed in the report of the ICAO. Do these numbers match those on the boxes released by Yeltsin?

Mark Kellerman
Workers Vanguard correspondent
20 December 1992

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* We are grateful to Robert Allardyce and James Gollin for pointing this out.

KAL 007...

(continued from page 6)

But the "innocent flight" theory still won't fly. In fact, the Yeltsin story quickly began to fall apart in spite of the compliant media.

Play the Tape!

Yeltsin never released to the public the *actual tapes* contained in the two alleged "black boxes." To this day the media has taken his "transcript" as good coin without a second glance, without even hearing the voice tape. But even the corrupt, CIA-riddled South Korean government felt compelled to quietly complain that the information was "incomplete." Since Seoul was considering resumption of $3 billion in aid to Russia, Yeltsin moved to placate them with a surprise presentation of two "black boxes" when he visited Seoul on November 19. The media published pictures of Yeltsin holding a suitcase containing two boxes, without even bothering to ask if the serial numbers on the boxes matched those on the missing recorders. Yeltsin got his money.

But ten days later the Koreans announced that the flight data recorder tape was "missing" from its box, and the voice recorder "contained only a poor reproduction"! If such a stunt had been pulled by a Kremlin leader ten years ago, the imperialist press would have screamed "Commies Disappear KAL Tapes." But now the capitalist media is oh-so-understanding of their crude counterrevolutionary Russian crony that the incident was buried on the inside pages as a forgivable "mix-up."

The new story was that Yeltsin intended to hand the tapes over to the UN's International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) at a conference in Moscow on December 8. That date came and went, and still no tapes. The missing tapes were finally (reportedly) handed over to the ICAO in Paris in early January. They were to be analyzed in the next weeks and a flight simulation undertaken "in late February," according to *Aviation Week*. Now again there is silence. The word on the grapevine is that due to mysterious "difficulties" in reading the tapes, the final report won't be out until April.

One would think that if the ICAO were having difficulty reading the tapes, they would call on the manufacturers of the boxes for help (and to verify that the tapes are originals). But no. When *Workers Vanguard* called Sundstrand Data Control in early March, we were told that the ICAO contacted them for advice about how to *play back* the tape, but *not* for aid in analyzing it. Are they worried about others seeing the tapes?

If the ICAO is run like the rest of the UN these days, you can be sure nothing will be revealed which conflicts with Washington's line. Perhaps the tape will be pronounced "unreadable," so they can all sigh with relief—as did former deputy CIA director Ray Cline's newsletter in a report on the Yeltsin revelations: "We may never learn how the Korean pilot came to be so far off-course for so long" (*Foreign Intelligence Literary Scene*, Vol. 11, No. 5, 1992).

They wish. As we have said all along, the KAL flight was a U.S. war provocation on a scale with the World War I *Lusitania* incident, and like the latter, the truth will eventually be known to all. In any event, the Yeltsin material can be shown today to be utter nonsense which flatly contradicts the known, hard evidence about the flight of KAL 007.

Der Spiegel

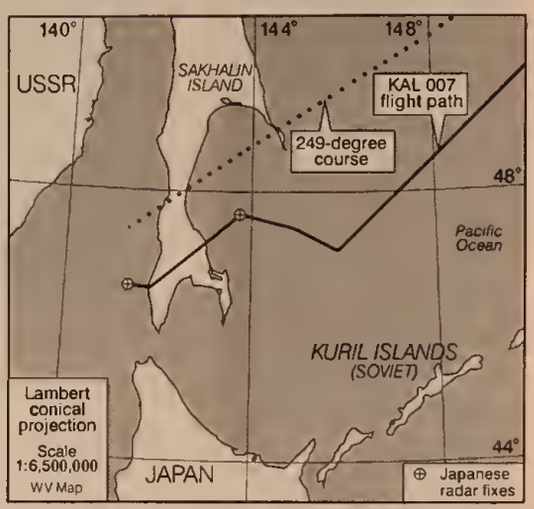
Anchorage, Alaska air controllers saw KAL 007 heading for Soviet airspace but did nothing. Flight was a deliberate Cold War provocation.

Dubious KAL "Transcript"

Let's look. The KAL Boeing 747 was equipped with two standard "black boxes" made by separate manufacturers: the cockpit voice recorder (CVR), which records the last 30 minutes of cockpit conversations, noises and radio communications; and the digital flight data recorder (DFDR), which records various flight parameters (air speed, altitude, etc.) for the last 25 hours in thousands of bits of data, including direct feeds from the Inertial Navigation System (INS) on the plane's latitude/longitude direction of motion. With special equipment, technicians can analyze the DFDR tape and produce irrefutable proof of the plane's flight path.

Yeltsin's material purportedly included not only an alleged "transcript" of the CVR tape, but also various analyses/reports on the DFDR tape, allegedly made by Soviet military, KGB and aviation "experts" in 1983. But there is a problem with this material: hardly any of it matches reality. And there are some curious aspects of the "transcript" Yeltsin produced. For example, the KAL 007 pilots are overheard asking the pilots supposedly of KAL Flight 015 about wind conditions at a waypoint *ahead* of 007. Yet the second plane was supposed to be on the same R-20 international course minutes *behind* KAL 007.

It's not as if nothing is known about KAL 007's flight. Much of the plane's radar track, for instance, is publicly available, though there are some significant pieces missing, largely because of the secretiveness of the U.S. and Japanese governments. (The U.S. Air Force allegedly "routinely" erased some key radar tapes shortly after the incident.) Among the available information there is the FAA-certified radar track of KAL 007's flight across Alaska; there is Japanese radar data on the plane's overflight of Sakhalin; and, more recently, U.S. intelligence sources declassified three "fixes" on the plane's flight across Kamchatka (obtained by Allardyce/Gollin).



The end of flight KAL 007. Yeltsin's fabrication of "249-degree magnetic course" puts flight over 50 miles to the north of its actual path over Sakhalin Island (solid line), conflicting entirely with Japanese radar fixes.

And, of course, there is Soviet Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov's map of the flight path based on Soviet radar tracking, presented to the press on 9 September 1983. All these various sources can be used to crosscheck each other, as well as to crosscheck the veracity of Yeltsin's DFDR "analyses." As we shall show, the latter prove to be sheer fantasy. As for the alleged CVR "transcript," this can be compared with the Tokyo air traffic control tape of radio exchanges with KAL 007. And guess what? They don't match.

In the weeks following Yeltsin's October 14 announcement, *Workers Vanguard* conducted an investigation into all this material, talking to knowledgeable people who have investigated the subject over the years. We finally arrived at ten questions (see "Ten Questions for *Izvestia*") signaling the contradictions between the Yeltsin documents and the known facts. Last December we presented these questions to a key *Izvestia* reporter on KAL 007, who had earlier professed interest. But no longer.

Yeltsin's Screwy Map

Now, what about the large (six-foot) multicolored technically detailed map Yeltsin gave the U.S. families in Moscow, which purported to be the last word on 007's flight path. (The map published in *Izvestia* appears to be only a grossly oversimplified derivative of this one.) Allardyce/Gollin recently produced a technical analysis of this map, as well as the Yeltsin "transcript" and other documents.

As we and others did, they note the "clocking discrepancies" when comparing the CVR "transcript" with the Tokyo radio tape, and remark how strange it is that "missing from the transcript documents is the flight crew's own follow-up response to its terrible emergency situation." Thus there are no "damage assessments one would expect from copilot and flight engineer," and there is "no Mayday call." One Air Lines Pilot Association representative bluntly reported to his organization that "the transcript is a fake." But the really devastating part of the Allardyce/Gollin report is their analysis of Yeltsin's map.

They note that it "seems not to be a single map but a composite" of maps based on different projections and with different scales. Moreover, the map presents two *different* flight paths: one supposedly representing the flight data recorder's version; and a second parallel track *20 to 30 nautical miles to the south*, which is alleged to be the Soviet air defense radar track of KAL 007. It should be noted that this alleged Soviet radar track of KAL 007 is *completely different* from Ogarkov's 1983 Soviet map—in particular, his display of the plane's sharp turn toward Sakhalin has been eliminated. No explanation is given for this; Ogarkov's famous press conference is now a "blank space" in Yeltsinite history.

Allardyce/Gollin decided to compare this map with the technical analysis in

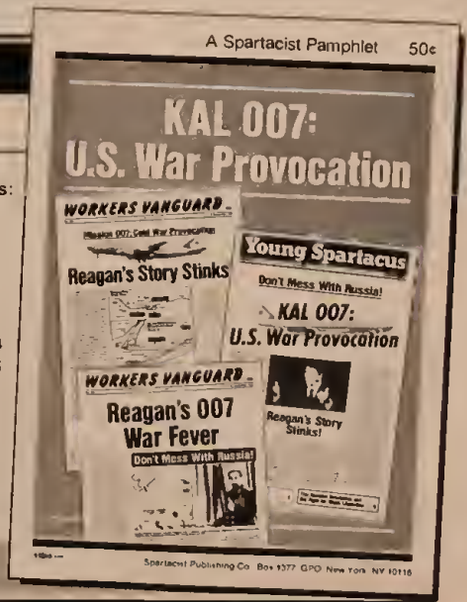
You Read It Here First

Pamphlet contains first articles published in the U.S. that told the truth about Reagan's spy plane (September 1983). 50¢ (24 pages)

In addition to the articles contained in the Spartacist pamphlet *KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation*, *WV* has published the following articles:

- "Reagan's KAL 007 Plot Unravels," *WV* No. 350, 16 March 1984
- "Yes, KAL 007 Was on U.S. Spy Mission," *WV* No. 357, 22 June 1984
- "KAL 007 Spy Mission: Footprints Lead to the White House," *WV* No. 362, 14 September 1984
- "*Guardian* Shot Down Over KAL 007: Dirty Stalinoid Confessions," *WV* No. 363, 28 September 1984
- "*Nation* Liberals Hit KAL 007 Cover-Up," *WV* No. 369, 21 December 1984
- "Rose Mary Woods and the KAL 007 Tapes," *WV* No. 375, 22 March 1985
- "*The New York* (Kept) *Review of Books*—KAL 007 Was U.S. Spy Plane," *WV* No. 379, 17 May 1985
- "Skeletons in the White House Basement," *WV* No. 394, 3 January 1986
- "The Spectre of KAL 007," *WV* No. 415, 7 November 1986
- "KAL Pilots Knew," *WV* No. 419, 9 January 1987
- "The KAL Tapes" and "We Accuse Reagan!" *WV* No. 437, 2 October 1987
- "KAL 007 Was on Deadly Spy Mission," *WV* No. 547, 20 March 1992

For copies of these articles and the KAL pamphlet, send $3 to Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.



Waco...

(continued from page 12)

of the bugaboo of the decade, child abuse. Add to that Koresh's polygamy, and the fact that he considers himself god, or Jesus, or King David, and you have a socially marginal group which makes a real good target. So an authoritarian religious commune is not how most of us would choose to live. But who's to prescribe how people live?

In a letter of protest addressed to Clinton the Partisan Defense Committee demanded "that all troops, tanks, police and federal agents be removed from the area." As the PDC letter noted, "The 'Branch Davidians' are a threat to no one. Your army of agents is a threat to one and all.... We think you would do well to take the advice of the newly elected President Lincoln, who when asked what he proposed to do about the polygamous Mormons replied, 'I propose to let them alone.' We demand hands off the 'Branch Davidians'!"

The government assault is designed to create an atmosphere in which dissidents can be mowed down with impunity. Even the *New York Times* (7 March) noted the many parallels between the Waco siege and the 1985 Philadelphia MOVE massacre, in which eleven black people, including five children, were murdered during a massive assault by hundreds of cops and the FBI. In that case, after raking the house with 10,000 rounds for 90 minutes, the cops dropped a homb on it, producing a firestorm that leveled 62 homes. There is one big difference, though: the MOVE commune members were black and lived in the urban ghetto, so the government didn't even bother "negotiating" before wiping them out.

While the overwhelming sentiment in Texas is that anyone would blow away anybody who tried to hreak down their door, the media are busily trying to demonize the Davidians. The principle was summed up in a *Times* "Editorial Notebook" as "My religion is a denomination, yours is a sect and theirs a cult." The Texas flatlands are teeming with cults, of various sizes, which has earned Waco the nickname of "Jerusalem on the Brazos." On top of the heap are the Southern Baptists, with Baylor University, the biggest Baptist college in the world, located in Waco. With Southern Baptists in both the U.S. presidency and vice presidency, they must be feeling their oats. Catholics better watch out.

Waco is also Klan country: Simon Tisdall reports in the London *Guardian* (6 March) that in the 1920s a KKK picnic in Waco drew 15,000. "Nationally, the town became notorious for its public lynchings of blacks." In the '60s, the Klan grew in opposition to court-ordered school desegregation. Today the Austin, Texas *Hot Blast* (Winter 1993) reports that KKK Grand Dragon Michael Lowe of Waco brags, "I would build the biggest Klan there ever was." Lowe, who was a Ross Perot campaign worker, says the Klan is tripling its number of recruitment rallies in Texas this year.

Charges of "child abuse" are the witchhunters' current all-purpose favorite, used for everything from closing down day-care centers to going after film directors. But social workers who have talked with the children that have emerged from the compound say they are happy, well-adjusted, smart, they know their math, and just want to he reunited with their family. So in today's Big Brother psychobabble, child psychiatrists worry about ensuring the kids have "positive images" of the compound...since the state is never going to let them see their parents again.

The raid was supposed to be a cakewalk to justify the continuing existence of the embattled BATF—they didn't even arrange for any medical personnel to be present. Even before the Waco debacle, this anachronistic military arm of the U.S. Treasury Department, that originated in the "Whiskey Rebellion" of 1791, was under fire from rival agencies. The BATF is currently under investigation for sexual harassment of female agents, and black BATF agents recently refiled an enlarged lawsuit against the agency's racist practices. After the fiasco a BATF spokesman whined, "I don't believe we were outmaneuvered or outplanned. The problem is we were outgunned." Not even the FBI buys that, and federal authorities investigating the World Trade Center bombing in New York are complaining about BATF agents tampering with evidence in order to claim credit.

The ostensible purpose of the raid, which involved over 100 BATF agents, National Guard and state police, was to arrest Koresh on illegal weapons charges and to search the farm for "military-style assault rifles" and "machine guns," even though the county sheriff had previously assured the church that none of their weapons were illegal. The BATF frequently raids the homes of licensed gun owners, destroying property and terrorizing the occupants. But the message of the Waco siege, carried out in a state with more guns per capita than any other in the nation, is that the U.S. government will go to any lengths to disarm the population—even if they have to kill 'em. Now these people near Waco are being killed for "resisting arrest" over a non-crime.

The government and media refer to the "gun-crazed cult" to whip up anti-gun hysteria. Macho Texas Democratic governor Ann Richards (a Baylor grad who likes to pose Annie Oakley-style with her pump action 12-gauge) is proposing a ban on "assault" guns. And of course the *New York Times* is leading the charge to justify this massive assault on Americans' constitutional right to "keep and bear arms." To the bloodthirsty bourgeoisie, the murder of innocent men, women and children by the freelancing, out-of-control gun-toting anti-gun freaks of the BATF is a useful tool for advancing the bipartisan "Brady bill." Naturally, despotic regimes prefer to rule over defenseless subjects; an armed people can fight back.

Back in the 1800s, the American ruling class could tolerate the Second Amendment: there wasn't much organized labor, blacks were enslaved, and "the people" consisted mainly of white freeholders. But in capitalism's death agony, with the economy on the skids and labor/black/Hispanic explosions threatening the "New World Order," they want to take guns away from the people. These days, the government has turned on the National Rifle Association, whose right-wing political and cop connections are of no avail against the capitalist consensus to push for civilian disarmament. Trying to sound more-law-and-order-than-thou, the NRA is pushing reactionary calls for "more prisons" and for abolishing the (already tenuous) right of *habeas corpus*.

The whole issue of gun control turns on the question: do you trust *this state* to have a monopoly of arms? The fact is, the biggest danger to hearth and home right now is this country's government. We remember well the role of the BATF in arming and training the Klan and Nazi murderers who in 1979 massacred five leftist civil rights workers and labor organizers in broad daylight in Greensboro, North Carolina. Marxists oppose racist gun control and defend the right of labor/black armed self-defense. As we wrote in our article "Revolution and the Right to Bear Arms" (*WV* No. 475, 14 April 1989): "Having guns is no magic talisman, but an unarmed population faces merciless slaughter at the hands of this vicious ruling class whose state is armed to the teeth." And this state has gone wacko in Waco. ■

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the Yeltsin documents—i.e., the alleged USSR defense ministry "findings" about the flight path. The key "finding," in a document dated 28 November 1983 and allegedly signed by Lt. Gen. of Aviation Makarov and other members of the group of experts (*Izvestia*, 16 October 1992), is that starting about four minutes after takeoff, KAL 007 was flying on a "constant magnetic course of 249 degrees, without the inertial systems being switched into the automatic pilot." Also, "for more than five hours of flight, the crew did not intervene in the steering of the aircraft."

In short, the autopilot was not switched into the Inertial Navigation System (INS) but was guided by magnetic compass. We pointed out the contradictions of this assertion in our questions to *Izvestia*. Allardyce/Gollin plotted the points for a course of 249 degrees constant magnetic heading (with winds and magnetic variation accounted for), and placed these on Yeltsin's map. Surprise—they don't match at all! In fact the 249-degree track bobs and weaves first north, then south, of Yeltsin's map line.

Even more devastating, both the 249-degree line and Yeltsin's line *come nowhere near the known positions of KAL 007* indicated by publicly available radar information (see our maps). For instance, on KAL 007's approach to Sakhalin island, the 249-degree track is *54.9 nautical miles to the north* of the first radar fix made by several radars of the Japan Self-Defense Forces. And comparing the FAA-certified radar track of KAL 007 across Alaska, Allardyce/Gollin show that the 249-degree track deviates to the north by as much as 7.8 nautical miles. Moreover, at every point beyond Alaska where there is an electronic fix from non-Soviet sources on the position of KAL Flight 007, these correspond roughly and sometimes exactly to the course shown by General Ogarkov's map in 1983—and they are nowhere near either the 249-degree line or the Yeltsin map!

The Allardyce/Gollin report diplomatically concludes that if these documents fairly represent what is on the alleged tapes, "then the authenticity of the tapes themselves must be considered open to question." We would be more blunt: Yeltsin's KAL 007 documents add up to a *frand*. And this fraud is in the service of a capitalist counterrevolution which has destroyed the first workers state in history, eliminating the Soviet military/industrial powerhouse which stood as an obstacle to U.S. imperialism's rape of the world's peoples. As we wrote back in 1983:

> "What Ronald Reagan is looking for is the ideological banner for World War III. For Teddy Roosevelt it was 'Remember the *Maine*,' even though the evidence indicates the Spanish didn't blow up that U.S. ship in Havana harbor. Woodrow Wilson dragged the U.S. into World War I using the excuse of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, even though it was later proved to be carrying munitions to the British and the German government warned Americans not to sail on this British ship. Lyndon Johnson used the trumped-up 'Tonkin Gulf incident' to get the Vietnam War approved by Congress.... Today, Reagan's rallying cry is 'Remember the Korean Air Lines massacre' as he escalates his anti-Soviet war drive in the Far East, the Near East and Central America."
>
> —"Reagan's 007 War Fever," *WV* No. 338, 23 September 1983

Where the imperialists and their counterrevolutionary henchmen lie to defend their decrepit order, we have told the truth about KAL 007 because we are guided by a revolutionary program. Only when socialist revolution sweeps away the blood-drenched American ruling class and the rest of the imperialists will the danger of nuclear war be eliminated. ■

NAMBLA...

(continued from page 3)

laws are not aimed at protecting children but at imposing abstinence and guilt on youth who wish to have sex. Such laws differ from state to state, but adjudge anyone below a certain age—in New York the age is 17—incapable of consenting to have sex with anyone older. Such a sweeping and arbitrary presumption is patently unjustified and oppressive. Attempts to portray sex between older and younger people as equivalent to child molestation are aimed at enforcing social conformity and reactionary sexual mores, and are in no way related to protecting the interests of youth.

NAMBLA is an easy target for WNBC's retailing of crude slanders and self-serving statements from police agents involved in failed police sting operations. The repressive climate produced by such media witchhunting actually fosters teen suicide, as young people discovering their homosexuality are oppressed by officially promoted guilt. As we wrote in response to the KRON/SFPD witchhunt in San Francisco: "The guiding principle for sexual relations should be that of effective consent, nothing more than mutual agreement and understanding as opposed to coercion—the state has no business interfering." Stop the witchhunt against NAMBLA! ■

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Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

Trumka Knifes Peabody Coal Strike

One month after more than 5,000 miners struck Peabody and Eastern Associated mines, United Mine Workers union tops have ordered them back to work under a 60-day "extension" of the coal contract. A picket at Eastern's Harris No. 1 mine in Bald Knob, West Virginia, told *WV* that miners "don't like it a bit." Throughout the coal fields, there is deep anger at the regime of UMW president Richard Trumka for its policy of "selective strikes." A fraction of the UMW at Peabody was left to go it alone, while the rest of the union remained working for the other bosses of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association.

It is no coincidence that Trumka scuttled the strike after he returned from the beach at Bal Harbour, Florida, where the AFL-CIO Executive Council met with Clinton's labor secretary. The Peabody strike, if expanded into a national coal strike, would have been the first major labor confrontation of the new administration. By appealing to longshoremen, rail and barge workers not to handle scab coal, a coal strike would have sent shock waves through the labor movement. But Trumka was well-schooled by the bosses' government when he apprenticed 20 years ago as a staff rep for UMW "reformer" Arnold Miller and his Labor Department-installed regime.

In a cynical stunt, Trumka "expanded" the Peabody strike for *one day* at a handful of Consol, Arch and Freeman Energy mines in West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Illinois, knowing full well that he was going to scuttle it the next day. On March 2, miners were told to immediately take down their picket lines and "go home and listen to TV to find out when to report to work."

Like the UAW tops when they folded at Caterpillar last year, the UMW bureaucracy is ludicrously claiming a "victory." District 17 president Bob Phalen blustered, "By God, we won the battle. We got everything we wanted," referring to the union's demand for information on the ownership of coal reserves and non-union subsidiaries by Peabody and the other big coal producers. This is echoed by the reformist Communist Party's *People's Weekly World* (6 March), which headlined

WV Photo

Scab coal being moved out of Rocklick prep plant in West Virginia. Peabody strike was sabotaged by UMW tops.

"Coal Miners Win First Round." But miners aren't buying, as they expect to be right back out in 60 days.

Trumka credited the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service for helping to "craft" the agreement, and reportedly had a line open to Harvard boy Labor Secretary Robert Reich. The UMW tops are taking their orders from Clinton, and hope the 60 days will let them grease the skids for more givebacks in health care, work rules and non-union operations. These are the disastrous results of previous "selective strikes" at A.T. Massey and Pittston.

Trumka wants to keep the miners working underground even as the historic gains of the UMW in the coal fields are dismantled. Union miners now dig only one-third of the coal produced in the U.S. And with the proliferation of non-union mines, hundreds of workers are paying for the betrayals of the union tops with their lives. In only five weeks during December and January, 18 workers were killed and many more injured in a series of deadly mine accidents.

It is a straight line from the pro-Labor Department "reformer" Miller 20 years ago to Trumka's bowing to the bosses' courts and their "strike training" edicts today. A striker from Local 9177 at the Rocklick preparation plant told *WV* that UMW officials have sunk so low they sent union miners at small, non-striking "contract mines" to work at the Hardhat portal—across the picket lines of Peabody/Eastern strikers! This scab-herding continued when the bureaucrats ordered pickets to let coal trucks through to the prep plant as well.

Working in deathtraps, miner set against miner—this is the future of the UMW if the pro-capitalist bureaucracy isn't ousted by a class-struggle leadership. But that means above all a fight for the political independence of the workers movement from the capitalist state and the bosses' parties through the construction of a workers party.

no credit

Strikers occupy Nova Scotia food processing plant last June as bosses and scabs flee by helicopter.

Workers Revolt Sweeps Nova Scotia

TORONTO—For eight months now, a wave of bitter labor struggle has swept the island of Cape Breton in Canada's eastern maritime province of Nova Scotia. Militant fishery, auto and other workers throughout the island have fought back against scabherding and threatened plant closures by reviving the powerful tactic of factory seizures. Facing yet more economic devastation in an area where official unemployment is already 26 percent, angry workers have pushed through police lines, driven scabs and management from the plants, defied court injunctions and held millions of dollars worth of equipment for ransom until their demands were met.

On February 1, management at the Premium Automotive Tanks plant in Port Hawkesbury announced the factory was to close, effective immediately, and a convoy of trucks began removing completed gas tanks and assembly equipment to a warehouse in New Hampshire. But the next day 50 furious workers, members of the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW), stormed and took over the plant. While the bosses cowered behind barricades, unionists set up a round-the-clock vigil to guard the remaining equipment, demanding that either the plant be reopened or the company cough up the three months' severance pay legally due each of the 80 workers. Within days the company capitulated, agreeing to the full $300,000 severance package.

The same week another 30 CAW members at a North Sydney fish processing plant began their own 24-hour-a-day blockade. In an article titled "Worker Revolt: Angry Nova Scotians Fighting for Their Lives," the Toronto *Globe and Mail* (15 February) described how "in the bone-chilling cold of a Cape Breton winter" unionists stood guard outside the National Sea Products factory, preventing the company from removing equipment and eliminating their jobs. Local union chairman Archie MacKinnon vowed the fishery workers would "stay here as long as it takes."

The plant occupations began last June, when 600 striking fishery workers and their supporters seized the Clearwater Fine Foods lobster processing plant in the town of Arichat. Marching past police lines to the plant entrance, strikers from CAW Local 1970 demanded that company security guards leave the premises and take the scabs who were in the plant with them. When the company cops refused, strikers tore down barricades, occupied the factory and forced scabs and goons alike to flee. The *Halifax Daily News* wrote: "In a scene reminiscent of the fall of Saigon, a company-hired helicopter plucked replacement workers from the roof...after angry strikers stormed the building." The scabs never returned.

The same month, workers at North Sydney's Scotia Rope factory began a six-month-long plant blockade, preventing nearly $1 million worth of rope-making equipment from being moved out after the owners announced the factory would be closed and the equipment sold off. Defying a provincial Supreme Court injunction, they stood guard outside the plant for week after week. Finally in late November the Nova Scotia government agreed to buy the equipment and the jobs were saved. "They had court orders and the law on their side," said rope worker Earl Murrin, "but we defied them.... We've said enough is enough."

Canada's worst depression since the 1930s has brought devastation to working people coast to coast, with the highest rate of unemployment among the "Group of Seven" industrial powers. A *quarter* of all manufacturing jobs have been eliminated in the Southern Ontario industrial heartland, and for the already dirt-poor Atlantic provinces the consequences have been nothing less than catastrophic. Overfishing by profit-mad conglomerates like National Sea Products has virtually eliminated fish stocks, throwing tens of thousands of fishermen and shore workers on the scrap heap.

Those who have managed to hold their jobs are forced to work in ever more desperate conditions. In early February five Nova Scotia fishermen on the scallop dragger Cape Aspy were killed when the ship sank after being sent out in a major winter storm. Ten days later, 50 fishermen in Lunenburg were threatened with dismissal when they defied a company order to go onto the high seas in the face of another brewing storm. Last year, 26 miners in Pictou County were killed in an explosion at the Westray coal mine, a notorious deathtrap which had regularly been cited by inspectors for serious safety violations.

In the face of capitalist economic disaster, union bureaucrats like the national leaders of the CAW have signed away hundreds of thousands of jobs in auto, airlines and other industries, pushing round after round of concessions and givebacks. In Cape Breton, the Clearwater lobster strikers were eventually forced to swallow a rotten settlement after the CAW national office threatened to cut off strike funds. Meanwhile Audrey McLaughlin, leader of the social-democratic New Democratic Party, came to the worker-occupied Premium automotive plant in early February to grandstand about "solidarity." But the same NDP has launched its own strikebreaking attacks on labor and the poor from the provincial government benches in Ontario, British Columbia and elsewhere, all in the name of capitalist austerity and the sacred need for profit.

Cape Breton has a long history of worker militancy, going back to the early years of the century when District 26 of the United Mine Workers waged battle after battle against the coal bosses and their government allies. In 1922, miners and their families stood firm against thousands of soldiers and even Royal Navy warships that were called out to try to break their strike. The kind of class-struggle tactics which are today being revived on the island—factory seizures, mass pickets, defiance of the bosses' court injunctions—can galvanize workers facing a jobs massacre throughout the continent and help to turn back the bosses' anti-labor offensive. But stopping the greedy capitalist profiteers and winning jobs for all will take more than this. From Cape Breton to California, we need a revolutionary workers party to lead a fight against the entire bankrupt capitalist system and win workers power! ■

Haitian Protest...

(continued from page 12)

even if the ban is rescinded, it wouldn't necessarily apply to the Haitian refugees imprisoned at Guantánamo since they have not yet made it to the U.S. An INS official expressed the vicious racism of the U.S. rulers, declaring: "They are going to die anyway."

The cruel cynicism of Clinton toward Haitian refugees epitomizes the racism of the U.S. ruling class. During the presidential campaign, Clinton denounced Bush's policy of forcibly repatriating all Haitian refugees picked up on the high seas as "cruel," "wrong" and "illegal." Yet, in mid-January, as inauguration day approached and many Haitians prepared to flee the island, Clinton announced that he would maintain Bush's policy, and the Coast Guard (with Clinton's approval) dispatched a flotilla of over 20 ships and a dozen aircraft to lock up Haiti in an airtight blockade.

Last week Justice Department lawyers went before the Supreme Court to defend the very policy which the Democratic Party candidate had so fulsomely denounced! The case was brought last October by the Bush administration after a federal appeals court ruled against forcibly repatriating Haitian refugees. Candidate Clinton had hailed this court ruling as "the right decision." But now President Clinton says pulling Haitian refugees off their boats and forcing them back to face the bloody military and Tontons Macoutes is "saving lives."

Racism, AIDS and Concentration Camps

The torment being inflicted on the Haitian refugees at Guantánamo is truly barbarous. Inmates suffering from acute tuberculosis are returned to the camp after a quick visit to the hospital (in handcuffs!) and are left to live miserably in the open air among the other Haitians, whose run-down condition makes them vulnerable to contagion. Even the eleven refugees who are seriously ill with AIDS have been refused "humanitarian paroles" in order to be treated in hospitals in the U.S. Refugees cannot even trust what they are told about their own condition—the military admitted that some diagnoses of HIV-positive were mistaken—and many are refusing medication.

reuters

Ferry boat crowded with impoverished Haitians later sank in storm off Haiti's southern peninsula, killing more than 1,000 passengers.

When refugees at Guantánamo organized a demonstration last July to protest the dreadful conditions, thousands of soldiers surrounded the camp as MPs kicked and beat the refugees with clubs and shouted racial epithets. At a protest meeting in Brooklyn on February 10, Haitian refugee Siliese Success' described how the U.S. soldiers then "handcuffed people hand and foot and laid them out in the sun. They spat in our faces. They kicked us out of the camps. We slept in the rain." Her three-month-old baby caught pneumonia as a result of this hideous mistreatment and died, murdered by the racist U.S. rulers.

Another speaker, Donovan Cole, a former U.S. soldier stationed at Guantánamo, recounted how he was arrested and discharged for "dereliction of duty" for refusing to draw his gun in response to the "Haitian migrants' rioting." Cole declared: "I was told if I talked to them nice or if I gave them cool water or just treated them more like human beings, that I made them too comfortable. They don't care about these people. They don't care whether they live or die."

The Haitian refugees languishing at Guantánamo have endured inhuman suffering, first from the murderous Haitian army and Tontons Macoutes and now from the racist rulers in Washington. Not a few of the Congressmen and administration officials who declaim against "illegal aliens" themselves have Haitian maids. While anti-Communist Cuban *gusano* scum are automatically granted residency, Haitians fleeing one of the bloodiest dictatorships in the hemisphere are locked up in a U.S. base occupying Cuban territory! We demand that all those who have been seized by the Coast Guard be granted immediate asylum and provided proper medical treatment in the U.S.!

But the Haitian masses will not be liberated through exodus to the north. The Spartacist League, section of the International Communist League, has long championed the cause of the Haitian working people, hundreds of thousands of whom are congregated in urban centers along the East Coast of North America. In Haitian demonstrations in New York last year, SL spokesmen repeatedly warned against illusions in the capitalist Democratic Party. The ICL also calls upon workers in the Dominican Republic to defend the thousands of Haitians reduced to slavery in the Dominican sugar cane fields, and to organize together with them to overthrow the capitalist dictatorships which dominate the island by keeping the masses divided.

We have insisted that the liberation of Haiti, where Toussaint L'Ouverture led the first successful slave revolt in history in conjunction with the French Revolution, will come about not by appealing to the "democratic" pretensions of the imperialists in Washington and the UN, but through hard class struggle. The "masters of the universe" shiver as they gaze down from their Wall Street offices to see the streets filled with tens of thousands of militant Haitian demonstrators. What is needed is a Trotskyist party uniting the North American proletariat with its Caribbean brothers and sisters in struggle for socialist revolution.

Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers! Asylum for Haitian refugees! For people's tribunals to bring the Macoute criminals to justice—For a workers and peasants government in Haiti! Defend Cuba—U.S. out of Guantánamo! Down with Yankee imperialism—Workers to power! ■

PDC Notes...

(continued from page 2)

execution, Rector announced that despite Clinton's troubles over the Gennifer Flowers affair he was voting for him anyway.

Mumia Abu-Jamal: The Scottsboro Case of Today

Countless black frame-up victims before McMillian inhabited the notorious prison at Holman-Atmore, including Scottsboro defendant Haywood Patterson. In the Scottsboro case of the early 1930s, nine black youths were framed on charges of rape and sentenced to die. The Scottsboro case defined for a generation the cruelty and injustice of the Jim Crow South. It took an international campaign of protest, led by the Communist-affiliated International Labor Defense, to save their lives and finally win their freedom.

The struggle to save death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal has become known as the Scottsboro case of today. Jamal is on death row because he has fought for the oppressed for 25 years. A former Black Panther Party spokesman and award-winning journalist who became known as the "voice of the voiceless" for his searing critiques of American racism, Jamal was framed in 1982 on charges of killing a cop. Jamal's case expresses the barbarity of the racist death penalty.

Jamal's attorneys, led by Leonard Weinglass, are preparing a legal challenge in the Pennsylvania courts to expose the frame-up. Weinglass has recently prepared a six-page summary of the frame-up, "The Trial of Mumia Abu-Jamal," which is available from the Partisan Defense Committee. Weinglass has also set up the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal to raise funds for the legal defense. Send your contributions, payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.

The PDC has played a leading role in the campaign to save Jamal's life—organizing protests in cities around the world, distributing tens of thousands of pieces of literature against the racist death penalty. A PDC video, "From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal," has been shown in union halls, campuses and community organizations around the country. Mumia Abu-Jamal will not be saved by courtroom battles alone. Like the Scottsboro case, it will take an international campaign of publicity and protest to save Jamal from the executioner. Contact the PDC to join the campaign now. Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

* * *

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013. ■

Mandel...

(continued from page 2)

polemicizing against us directly (including on questions our speaker had never raised in his intervention), during the course of which he repeatedly insisted that if we organized a meeting he would debate us. When an SL comrade interjected, "Is that true—we will have a debate?", Mandel replied, "Yes, yes." The exchange continued:

SL: "You will debate us? You agree?"

Mandel: "Yes, absolutely. Organize your meeting."

SL: "Thirty minutes either side, OK?"

Mandel: "I repeat: if you organize a meeting, you give me 30 minutes, I will speak in your meeting."

Well, we'll see. Three days later Mandel was presented with a hand-delivered debate challenge from the International Communist League, reprinted below. "You will certainly get a reply," said Mandel after reading the letter, "but I am a disciplined comrade, so you will have to wait. I cannot do this on my own."

It's been a long time since we've heard anybody in the notoriously disunited USec invoke "discipline." But we are waiting, comrade Mandel.

24 February 1993

Ernest Mandel

Dear Comrade Mandel,

At the Marxist School forum on Sunday, 21 February, you repeatedly affirmed that you would debate a representative of our organization if we invited you to a meeting organized by the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

We accept this offer, and invite you to attend a public meeting at a date of mutual convenience. We suggest a debate on the topic "The Russian Question and the Collapse of Stalinism." Our preferred venue would be Berlin, but we would be open to other suggestions (for example London or Paris).

We also accept the 30 minutes per speaker format you suggested. Of course, we would also want time for those in attendance to have an opportunity to speak and suggest a timed round, followed by summaries for yourself and our representative.

Naturally we would be prepared to discuss any modifications you might propose.

Yours fraternally,
Alastair Green
for the International
Communist League
(Fourth Internationalist)

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Haitian Hunger Strikers Protest Racist Exclusion

Let Them In!

MARCH 7—For almost *six weeks*, over 200 desperate Haitian refugees quarantined at the U.S. naval base in Guantánamo, Cuba have been on a hunger strike, demanding to leave the camp where many have been imprisoned for almost a year and a half. They were initially cleared for entry into the U.S. by immigration officials, although thousands of others—about three-quarters of the *40,000* people who have been plucked out of their boats by the U.S. Coast Guard as they fled the bloody military regime—were forcibly sent back to Haiti.

However, when 221 refugees reportedly tested sero-positive for the HIV virus which causes AIDS, they were summarily refused entry into the U.S. Unable to return to Haiti and barred from the U.S., they and their families—a total of 265 people—were locked up in a concentration camp called Camp Bulkeley, isolated in a remote, desert-like corner of the naval base and surrounded by chain link fences, concertina wire and armed guards. Desperate to escape this living hell, the hunger strikers have vowed: "It's leave or death."

Meanwhile, deposed Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide is counting on President Clinton, with whom he is scheduled to meet on March 16, to pressure the Haitian military into letting him return to office. Aristide called on Haitians not to take to boats to escape their tormentors, but he has pointedly refrained from criticizing the U.S. policy of patrolling the high seas and repatriating Haitian refugees. As Aristide's overthrow by the military in September 1991 graphically demonstrated, the fact that this radical priest occupied the presidential palace was only a façade, allowing the official terror to continue.

A recent report in the *New York Times* (1 March) reflects the explosive sentiment of revolt building among the Haitian people. Reporter Howard French noted that "for the first time" large numbers of ordinary citizens "have begun to warn that they will take matters into their own hands." Following a mass in the town of Jérémie for hundreds of victims who died when an overloaded ferry sank late last month, mourners demanding the return of Aristide were brutally beaten and arrested. The terror by the blood-crazed army continues under the gaze of a team of UN observers, who are supposedly negotiating a "return to democracy."

President Clinton vs. Candidate Clinton

President Bill Clinton and his band of callous yuppies are acting as if they would be just as happy to see the doubly unfortunate refugees in Guantánamo perish. Clinton promised during the electoral campaign to rescind Bush's policy of banning those infected with HIV from entering the U.S., but now the new administration says there is "no timetable" for this. And as racist Congressmen scream about the cost of medical care if HIV-infected refugees are let into the country, it is being suggested that

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Haitian refugees at Guantánamo detention center protest deportation back to murderous military junta.

Keating/Newsday

Murderous Fed Assault on Christian Sect

Shootout Near Waco

Smith/Saba

It was supposed to be a lightning-fast raid by heavily armed federal agents on a little-known religious group's farm east of Waco, Texas, prepared months in advance by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) with the help of agents who had infiltrated the compound. But the feds didn't reckon on a Good Samaritan's tip-off which alerted the nearly 100 members of the "Branch Davidians," a split-off from the Seventh Day Adventists, to the cops' murderous plan. So when the massive strike force made their move on the morning of February 28, approaching the compound in three teams, one of which broke in through a window, the well-prepared residents opened fire through the walls, stopping the assault cold.

When the dust settled, four feds lay dead and 16 wounded, the worst losses taken by the BATF since the days of Prohibition. Several injured agents had to flee ignominiously, clinging to the hood and bumper of a local TV station's car. Inside the compound, an unknown number of church members, including a 2-year-old girl, were killed by the feds, and many, including the sect's leader David Koresh, were wounded. A cease-fire was hastily called, and the FBI was brought in for negotiations with Koresh, which are still continuing. While the government has dropped its claim that the Davidians have a .50-calibre machine gun, the feds have moved in armored vehicles mounted with cannons. Huey helicopters hover over grazing cattle and grain silos.

The BATF hypocritically claimed that a full-scale invasion was needed just to arrest one man. Koresh, because they were afraid of a mass suicide like the 1978 Jonestown cult massacre in Guyana. In other words, they had to kill them to keep them from killing themselves! Shades of Vietnam, where U.S. commanders vowed they had to destroy cities in order to "save" them (from Communism). In case the weapons charge wasn't enough, the feds also accused the sect

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 572

26 March 1993

Dogfight in Moscow

MARCH 23—The ongoing feud between Russian president Boris Yeltsin and the Russian Congress headed by Ruslan Khasbulatov has now erupted in the sharpest political crisis to confront the counterrevolutionary regime since Yeltsin seized the helm in August 1991. On March 20, Yeltsin proclaimed direct presidential rule—bonapartist dictatorship—and called for an April 25 plebiscite to back him. Yeltsin's move has created a wide split among the rulers of the rudimentary capitalist state. Notwithstanding fatuous boasts by Yeltsin's imperialist braintrusters that Russia could smoothly proceed to full-fledged capitalism in 500 days, the weak counterrevolutionary regime is at an impasse.

"Yeltsin's Big Gamble," as *Time* (29 March) termed it, could be his undoing. Vice president and longtime opponent Aleksandr Rutskoi, an Air Force general with his own bonapartist ambitions, denounced the move for threatening a "split in state and society." Yeltsin's justice minister resigned in protest. Head of the Constitutional Court Valery Zorkin and the prosecutor-general also came out against Yeltsin. The ministers of defense and internal security reportedly signed Yeltsin's decree—which, mysteriously, has yet to be published—but the chief of his Security Council refused. And in Russia's outlying regions and autonomous republics, there is precious little support for the would-be autocrat.

While Yeltsin's decree amounted to declaring a coup d'état, both president and "parliament" have held back from attempting a show of force—precisely because a direct clash would only demonstrate their weakness. Yeltsin has not called on the military or police to move against his opponents, and if he did, it is not at all clear which way they would move. The heads of the army and security services have vowed to remain neutral in the political confrontation. For its part, the Supreme Soviet has gone slow, rejecting calls to immediately impeach Yeltsin. The main parliamentary group, the Civic Union of Rutskoi and industrialist power broker Arkady Volsky, is pushing for a compromise, perhaps keeping Yeltsin as a figurehead favored by the imperialists while easing Rutskoi into power.

As we go to press, it is not at all clear how the stand-off in Moscow will resolve itself. Given all the wild cards in play, including widespread disgust with Yeltsin among junior military officers, anything is possible, including civil war. There is talk of dual power, with comparisons to 1917 between February and October. But this is not a struggle between counterposed class forces, the proletariat vs. the bourgeoisie. *Behind the confusion and incessant maneuvering is the fact that this is a faction fight between different wings of the capitalist counterrevolution.* Both Yeltsin and the opposition are treading warily for fear of unleashing "chaos" on the streets. *The working class must oppose moves from any corner to place its neck in the yoke of a bonapartist dictatorship.*

Vassily Korneyev

Anti-Yeltsin army officer addresses rally outside Russian parliament. Only road forward out of counterrevolutionary chaos is a working-class fight for power.

Yeltsin, uncritically echoed by much of the U.S. press, has depicted his parliamentary opposition as a hotbed of unreconstructed Communists. "Russia cannot stand another October Revolution," he railed, posing the battle as one "between the people and the former Bolshevist anti-national system." Khasbulatov, a former ally who backed Yeltsin (as did Rutskoi) in the August 1991 countercoup, dismissed this crude attempt to play the "Communist card." The underlying differences are between those who would tear down Russian industry and reduce the country to a raw materials

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Russia's New Exploiters

Capitalism Without Capital

The American press has painted the standoff between Russian president Yeltsin and the Russian Congress as a battle between capitalist "free marketeers" and recalcitrant "Communists." In fact, both the Yeltsinites and their opponents denounce each other for "Bolshevism." Yeltsin press secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov railed that the Congress' decisions in early March signaled a "slide back to Soviet communist power," while parliamentary leader Ruslan Khasbulatov attacks Yeltsin's "pathological" desire to eliminate the parliament as a "genetic link with Bolshevism." More importantly, both sides are for a capitalist market economy, which means utter impoverishment for the working people of the former Soviet Union.

The restoration of capitalist rule has put the very existence of the Soviet proletariat at stake. If the Yeltsinites have their way, it will lead to a shutdown of vast sections of industry. Following dictates of the IMF, government plans call for privatizing over 5,000 medium and large-scale enterprises, employing seven million workers, in 1993 alone. Part of the purpose is to cut these plants off from state credits, which would mean that most would go under (unless they can get foreign financing). The industrial managers grouped around Arkady Volsky (allied with Russian vice president Aleksandr Rutskoi) denounce the Yeltsinites' plans for "Kuwaitization" of the economy, in which Russia would only produce raw materials like oil for export to the West.

Marc Garanger

Moscow stock exchange, where yuppie entrepreneurs dream of becoming junior partners of Wall Street, Frankfurt bankers and Japan Inc.

The Volskyites demagogically appeal to workers' legitimate concern for their livelihoods. Marxists fight to defend the industrial base of the country, and thus oppose the wholesale "privatization"—meaning shutdown—of productive capacity. We are outraged at the tearing down of a modern industrial economy and military powerhouse built up through decades of sacrifice by the multinational Soviet working people. Despite the warping influence of Stalinist bureaucratic arbitrariness, in many areas Soviet technology and science—especially in basic research and military-related fields—is as good as or better than anything in the West. The MIG-29, for instance, is superior to the *planned* next-generation European fighter jet. Today major scientific institutions are being dismantled and sold off for a song to Western firms.

But the national-"patriotic" forces around Volsky/Rutskoi are no less committed to capitalist restoration than are the Yeltsinite "democrats." They too are subordinate to the laws of the capitalist world market, and they (along with the yuppie "entrepreneurs") are massively looting state property in cahoots with Western imperialists. *All* the contending factions derived from the disintegrated Stalinist bureaucracy are the *enemies*

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NYC St. Patrick's Day
Cops Bust 230 Gay Rights Supporters

The Wearin' o' the Blue

March 17 was a green-letter day for anti-gay bigotry. From the steps of St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York City's arch-reactionary Cardinal John O'Connor blessed the parade as Police Commissioner Raymond Kelly led contingents of bagpiping cops up Fifth Avenue. Earlier, Kelly's cops arrested 230 members and supporters of the Irish Lesbian and Gay Organization (ILGO), who were banned from even holding a separate protest march against their exclusion from the parade, which the organizers claimed was a Catholic religious procession. So zealously vindictive were parade marshals that they physically kicked out the dissident Division Seven of the Hibernians, who in 1991 had invited ILGO to march with them.

The cardinal bragged at that morning's mass, "Neither respectability nor political correctness is worth one comma of the Apostles' Creed.... What others may call bigotry, Irish Catholics call principle." Leaving aside whether O'Connor (whom *Newsday* dubbed a "celestial ward boss") speaks for all Irish Catholics, his "principle" was to use the state to keep homosexuals off Fifth Avenue. Stalin once asked, how many divisions does the Pope have? Well, in New York City, the cardinal evidently has the NYPD. From arresting abortion clinic defenders (including four members of the Spartacist League) last summer to the persecution of ILGO, O'Connor thinks he can run New York City like Vatican City.

WV Photo

New York City Irish lesbians and gays excluded from St. Patrick's Day parade.

Facing phalanxes of police (3,800 cops altogether), some 1,000 defiant protesters marched anyway, carrying signs reading "We're Here, We're Queer, and So Was Cardinal Spellman!" "Separation of Homophobic Sexist Church & State!" and "First Amendment Menace: David Dinkins," and chanting, "2, 4, 6, 8—How do you know St. Pat was straight?" Four people were arrested for painting "Bigotry Is a Cardinal Sin" on the sidewalk opposite St. Patrick's Cathedral. After filling up two city buses with protesters, the cops left them handcuffed for up to six hours, not even allowing them to use the john. We say: Down with anti-homosexual bigotry! If Irish gays want to march, let them!

Unlike in Ireland, where contingents of gay organizations have marched uneventfully, New York's St. Patrick's Day parade has become a referendum on the question of gay rights. The Ancient Order of Hibernians and O'Connor sought to exclude ILGO, while the latter has looked to the courts for redress. Mayor Dinkins has tried to play both sides. In 1991 he marched with ILGO as they were pelted with beer bottles, and this year he went to court to award the parade to another Hibernian group (headed by former City Council president Paul O'Dwyer) who would allow gays to march. But when the reactionaries threatened to pull out and a federal court overturned the ruling, Dinkins caved in and got an injunction against ILGO's pre-parade protest march. While Dinkins and Governor Cuomo stayed home, several mayoral candidates, including Rudolph Giuliani and Herman Badillo, made their bid for the bigot vote (and a blessing from His Eminence) by marching.

It's disgusting for people to be banned because of their sexual orientation. But it is dangerous to appeal to the racist, reactionary capitalist courts to rule on who gets to march. This state is not a neutral arbiter of disputes, but an enemy of the oppressed. And as Dinkins proved with his anti-gay injunction, so is the Democratic Party. A revolutionary workers party, which fights for the rights of all oppressed people, will separate the church and state for good. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the cardinal can officiate over religious ceremonies, but the streets (and the Church's multibillion-dollar real estate holdings) will belong to the people. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

John Reed on the Russian Revolution

Decades of Stalinist misrule atomized and paralyzed the Soviet proletariat, destroying the revolutionary and internationalist consciousness which prevailed in the period after the October Revolution of 1917. To smash the capitalist counterrevolution which has inundated the former Soviet Union, the workers will have to reappropriate their Bolshevik legacy. In a recently published manuscript from March 1918, American Communist John Reed, author of the compelling eyewitness account of the Russian Revolution, Ten Days That Shook the World, *described the sentiments which animated the revolutionary workers of Russia.*

It is difficult for the bourgeoisie—and especially so for the foreign bourgeoisie—to understand the ideas that move the Russian masses. It is all very easy to say that they have no sense of Patriotism, Duty, Honor; that they do not submit to Discipline, or appreciate the Privileges of Democracy; that in short they are Incapable of Self-Government. But in Russia all these attributes of the bourgeois democratic state have been replaced by a new ideology. There *is* patriotism—but it is allegiance to the international brotherhood of the working-class; there *is* duty, and men die cheerfully for it—but it is duty to the revolutionary cause; there *is* honor, but [it] is a new kind of honor, based on the dignity of human life and happiness rather than on what a fantastic aristocracy of blood [and] of wealth has decreed is fitting for 'gentlemen'; there *is* discipline—revolutionary discipline, as I hope to show in these pages; and the Russian masses are showing themselves not only capable of self-government, but of inventing a whole new form of civilization.

Standing alone, as it does, the only live thing in the universe, there is a strong probability that the Russian Revolution will not be able to defy the deadly enmity of the entire world. But whether it survive or perish, whether it be altered unrecognizably by the pressure of circumstance, it will have shown that dreams can come true, that the race may be to the strong, that the toiling masses can not only conquer, but build.

—John Reed and the Russian Revolution: Uncollected Articles, Letters and Speeches on Russia, 1917-1920 (1992)

Sundiata Acoli Must Be Free!

On February 22, former Black Panther Party member Sundiata Acoli made his first appearance before the Parole Board at Leavenworth federal penitentiary. Acoli has spent 20 years in prison hell for surviving a murderous cop assault on 22 May 1973 which left one of his comrades dead and another, Assata Shakur, severely wounded. In a classic example of racist capitalist "justice," the two black militants who survived were convicted on charges of killing one of the killer cops and their own comrade! Assata Shakur escaped from prison in 1979, and was given asylum in Cuba (see "Free Sundiata Acoli!" *WV* No. 569, 12 February).

Acoli faced the Parole Board without his attorney, Soffiyah Elijah, who officials outrageously barred from the proceedings. The hearing ended without the panel making a recommendation, and it is expected the Parole Board will rule within 90 days.

Five days after the hearing Sundiata wrote *WV* informing us that following our article "the response in support letters has been very good." It is desperately necessary to step up the fight to free Sundiata Acoli. Flood the Parole Board with letters *now*! It will take a massive outpouring of support to win Sundiata's freedom. We urge readers to send letters demanding Sundiata Acoli's release to: New Jersey State Parole Board, CN-862, Trenton, NJ 08625; fax (609) 984-2190. Send copies and write for more information to: Sundiata Acoli Freedom Campaign, P.O. Box 5538, Manhattanville Station, New York, NY 10027.

Corrections

In the article "Greece Rocked by Strike Wave" in *WV* No. 565 (11 December 1992) we incorrectly reported that the Greek Communist Party (KKE) had formed the Synaspismos alliance with the Eurocommunist KKE (Interior), whereas the alliance was with a split-off from the KKE Interior.

The scales of two maps illustrating the article "Yeltsin Whitewashes Reagan's Spy Mission" in *WV* No. 571 (12 March) were incorrectly cited in the key. In the map on page 7, the actual scale was 1:28,000,000, not 1:34,000,000; on page 8, the actual scale was 1:9,300,000 rather than 1:6,500,000.

In "South Africa 'Power Sharing' Swindle," *WV* No. 571 (12 March), there is unclarity in a paragraph which refers to two separate organizations, both known by the initials "NUM." At its November conference, a New Unity Movement (NUM) leader scored the stage-managed CODESA talks. The reference to "former NUM leader and ANC honcho Ramaphosa" is to the former head of the National Union of Mineworkers. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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After Twin Towers Blast

Feds, Media Whip Up Anti-Arab Scare

WV Photo

We haven't commented thus far on what happened at New York City's World Trade Center on February 26. We don't know what happened that day and we sure as hell don't have any trust in this government's pronouncements. What is known for sure is that the explosion that took place in a parking garage killed six workers in the Twin Towers, and injured hundreds more who struggled down the darkened, smoke-filled stairwells.

Hundreds of federal agents poured into New York City and announced they had "solved" the case in record time, "discovering" a virtual road map of clues that took the FBI straight to the door of Mohammed Salameh, a Palestinian immigrant in Jersey City. The "solution" gave them another opportunity, with plenty of help from an obedient press, to again crank up their anti-immigrant "terrorism" scare.

According to the feds, the whole thing was masterminded by an NYC cab driver, an Egyptian immigrant under the "spell" of a blind Muslim cleric presiding over a mosque in a third-story walkup in Jersey City. So they are out to deport Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman for failing to admit to immigration his polygamy and "crimes of moral turpitude"—allegedly writing bad checks in Egypt. The FBI, still bitter about the acquittal of El Sayyid Nosair, who was accused of the 1990 killing of Zionist terrorist Meir Kahane, ransacked the apartment of Nosair's cousin and then arrested him for "resisting arrest."

The press has been howling about "illegal aliens" and calling for even more draconian immigration laws, and for proscribing "undesirable organizations." But buried on the inside pages is the fact that the accused "terrorist ringleaders" have for years run a Brooklyn recruiting office for anti-Communist cutthroats to be sent to Afghanistan, where the CIA and their Saudi allies ran a bloody war against the Soviet-backed reform regime in Kabul. Washington's fundamentalist "freedom fighters" took aim at every manifestation of social progress, especially for women enslaved under the veil.

But the fact that this month's "ringleaders" are last year's CIA "assets" hasn't stopped the feds from embarking on a witchhunt against the Arab immigrant community and organizations. Tabloid headlines scream of "Terror Plots" and "Radical Muslim Seized as Bomber," and the Jersey City mosque was the target of a provocative Zionist demonstration and later rock-throwing vandals.

In recent years, anti-Arab and anti-Muslim hysteria has been a constant theme in the American government's search for scapegoats. Qaddafi, Khomeini and Saddam Hussein have become Washington's favorite bugbears. Arab Americans like the "L.A. Eight" are arrested on bogus terrorism charges. The anti-Arab scare today is akin to the perennial anti-Semitism of demagogues like the tsarist Black Hundreds and fascists, from the Nazis to the KKK, who labeled Jews the root of all evil. The bourgeois-aristocratic French ruling class at the turn of the century also labeled Jews as traitors. The German socialist August Bebel called anti-Semitism the "socialism of fools."

We're reminded of the movie *Ship of Fools*, when a German anti-Semite rants that "It is a historical fact that the Jews are the basis of our misfortune." A Jewish passenger ironically agrees. "Of course, the Jews and the bicycle riders." Perplexed, the anti-Semite asks, "Why the bicycle riders?" He is answered. "Why the Jews?" So why the Arabs?

Stop the racist witchhunt against the Arab community! ■

San Francisco Bay Area

Labor Black League Protests Racist Frame-Up

Calvert/Oakland Tribune

Demonstration calls for dropping charges against John Henry Owens, framed up after BART transit cop killed Jerrold Hall.

OAKLAND, March 16—Over 60 people demonstrated outside the Alameda County courthouse today in defense of John Henry Owens, a 20-year-old black youth. Owens is the victim of a racist frame-up because last November 15 he *survived* an assault by BART (Bay Area Rapid Transit) cop Fred Crabtree, who killed Owens' 19-year-old unarmed black friend Jerrold Hall with a shotgun blast to the back of the head. But in the typical fashion of twisted capitalist "justice," the D.A. exonerated the cop while Owens was charged as an "accomplice" in the "murder" of his friend, an obscene charge later changed to robbery.

The demonstration, initiated by the Labor Black League for Social Defense, demanded "Drop the charges against John Henry Owens!" Among the demonstrators were members of numerous Bay Area labor unions, including unionized BART workers. Demonstrators chanted "Racist killer cop Crabtree belongs behind bars!" After a brief court appearance, Owens' defense attorney Ed Xavier announced to the crowd that the trial had been scheduled to begin June 15.

"The only reason John Henry Owens is on trial is because Jerrold Hall was killed and they've got to have a scapegoat," said one union steward. BART workers told *WV* that they had fought to pass a motion for the unions to mobilize a labor-centered demonstration in front of the courthouse to defend Owens and call for racist killer-cop Crabtree to be brought to trial. While the motion was defeated, it received widespread support in the two labor unions representing the integrated BART workforce, especially among maintenance workers organized by the Service Employees International Union.

Outrageously, the BART cops are also affiliated with the SEIU. The cops, racist thugs and hired strikebreakers for the bosses, have no place in the labor movement!

The demonstration was a small example of the crucial and central role labor must play in the fight against racist terror. Included among the signs carried by demonstrators were: "For Labor/Minority Mobilizations Against Racist Terror!" "Rodney King, Patrick Mason, Jerrold Hall—Victims of Racist Cop Terror," "Break with the Dixiecrat Democratic Party—Build a Workers Party" and "Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!" Among the participants were the Spartacist League and a group of students from UC Berkeley brought out by the campus Spartacus Youth Club, as well as supporters of the Berkeley newspaper *Diatribe*. (The Revolutionary Trotskyist League and Revolutionary Workers League each sent two people, who eventually felt compelled to join the protest, though the Berkeley rad-lib "Copwatch" stayed on the sidelines.)

LBL spokesman Hursey Bush pointed to the acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King, which "put wind in the sails of the racist police terror and murder. The Labor Black League for Social Defense is for labor/black mobilizations for militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist suppression that is capitalist America." This strategy is counterposed to the pro-Democratic Party liberals and fake-lefts, who preach reliance on phony FBI investigations and impotent civilian review boards. The LBL spokesman concluded: "John Henry Owens faces six years in prison, his only crime being that he survived Crabtree's racist murderous assault.... What's needed is a workers revolution to smash capitalism, to smash the system of racist oppression."

For more information about the Labor Black League and its activities, write: Labor Black League for Social Defense, PO Box 751, Oakland, CA 94604, or call (510) 839-0851 ■

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Spartacists Always Said No to Mitterrand

French Elections: JCR and the Popular Front

On March 21, French voters went to the polls in the first round of a legislative election marking the eclipsing of Socialist Party (PS) dominance in French politics, and possibly the end of the PS itself. While "socialist" president François Mitterrand has two years to go in his seven-year term, the size of the vote for the conservative coalition victory means that after the second round of voting is held next week, a right-wing government will have the whip hand. Government policy will accelerate the anti-worker, anti-immigrant course already undertaken by the social democrats in office. Since coming to power a dozen years ago, Mitterrand's PS has loyally administered the affairs of the French bourgeoisie, imposing anti-worker policies every bit as reactionary as its predecessors. Under the tight-money policies of the current PS cabinet headed by Pierre Bérégovoy, a favorite of the international bankers, unemployment is back up to double digits, as it has been for much of the "socialist" reign in office.

Mitterrand presided over a "popular front" coalition uniting the mass reformist workers parties with marginal representatives of the bourgeoisie. In this way the proletariat was bound hand and foot to the capitalist order. Strike struggles were undercut and betrayed, including rail workers in 1986-87, nurses and Paris subway workers in 1988-89 and Renault auto workers in 1991. The Communist Party (PCF) hacked the Mitterrand regime to the hilt during 1981-83, when it had a few ministerial portfolios, and also later from outside the cabinet. When the Union of the Left won the 1981 vote, hundreds of thousands of Parisians thronged to Place de la Bastille singing "*La vie en rose*" (for the symbol of the PS) and hoping for "change." But 12 years later, there is pervasive disenchantment: anger among the working class, and desperate fury among youth condemned to unemployment and among "immigrants" (including millions of North Africans born in France) beset by racist repression.

Once again, as in the late 1930s and 1940s, the popular front has paved the way for reaction by dissipating a revolutionary forward thrust by the masses. Today, the French bourgeoisie thinks it has rid itself of the spectre of the 1968 youth upsurge and general strike. It hopes that the crumbling of Stalinism in East Europe and the former Soviet Union will spell the end of the PCF. And more than a decade in office, shoving brutal austerity policies down the workers' throats, could finish off the corruption- and scandal-ridden PS. But the capitalist parties are afraid that they could become the object of working-class unrest, as happened during the short-lived Chirac cabinet of 1986-88. The conservative Union for French Democracy (UDF) and Gaullist Rally for the Republic (RPR), running in tandem, vow to continue the PS's austerity policies plus selling off more nationalized industries and banks. Le Pen's fascist National Front (FN) increased its score over the last legislative elections, while the "mainstream" bourgeois parties take up its anti-immigrant program and fascist violence continues unabated.

A new element in the current balloting is the presence of ecologist/"Green" parties competing for the middle-class vote and acting as potential swing parties in a "center-right" cabinet. Mitterrand's former ecology minister Brice Lalonde has been offering his services to RPR leader Balladur. Former PS defense minister Chevènement—who split from Mitterrand out of nationalist pique over the subordination of the French army to the Americans in the Gulf War, and then led the Citizens Movement calling for a "no" vote against the Maastricht Treaty on European monetary union in a referendum last September—is calling for a "refoundation of the left." Meanwhile, former prime minister Michel Rocard is calling for the "recomposition" of the Socialist Party leading to the death of what was previously the largest party in France in a "big bang" following the electoral defeat of the left.

Rocard would like to see a "broad-based" coalition of the left and center, like the American Democratic Party, built on the ruins of the PS, including ex-CPers and the various eco-spinoffs of the Mitterrand coalition. But with the Socialist-led coalition expected to lose up to 200 of their 270 seats in the assembly, possibly including Rocard's, the "big bang" could turn out to be a big fizzle.

As a *fin de règne* (end of reign) atmosphere envelopes the splintering Socialists, the erstwhile "far left" is also wallowing in demoralization. Having bought the bourgeois lie of the "death of communism" crowned by the August 1991 collapse of the Stalinist regime in the USSR, they are viewing the March 1993 electoral debacle of the social democrats as the "death of socialism." Setting the trend is the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) of Alain Krivine, part of Ernest Mandel's pseudo-Trotskyist "United Secretariat" (USec). Having searched for years for a new/broad/mass "vanguard" to tail after, these one-time New Leftists are now seeking "new terrains" of struggle. At its congress last year, the LCR majority spoke of dissolving itself in order to become "an organized current in a broader party," and at a March 17 LCR electoral meeting in Nantes, Krivine declared "we do not claim to be Trotskyists."

Last winter Krivine & Co. helped cobble together an electoral platform for the March vote under the label, "Pledge to Change to the Left." Among the participants are Chevènementists such as Max Gallo, the "Socialist Left" of former LCR leader Julien Dray (associated with the perennial USec dissident Matti), and various former PCF dissidents including the "*refondateurs*" (refounders) of Charles Fiterman and the "*reconstructeurs*" (reconstructors) of Marcel Rigout (*Libération*, 4 December 1992). And don't forget the ex-PCF "*renovateurs*" (renovators) of Pierre Juquin, whom the LCR supported for president in 1988. From the would-be Democrats in the center to the reconstructed Guevarists of the now not-so-far left, they're just reshuffling the debris of the mass reformist parties. If Rocard wants to be the Bill Clinton of France, the "Change to the Left" coalition can only dream of being the fringe of a new popular front. The LCR's slogan: "reconstructing hope"!

In this context, last fall the LCR youth group, Jeunesses Communistes Révolutionnaires (JCR), was summarily cut off by their parent group. "It had become a dogmatic sect," said Alain Krivine. "They organized debates with the Spartacists.... We disagreed about everything" (*Libération*, 3 December 1992). Actually, after debating last September with the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), the JCR leaders have done all they could to keep away from the ICL. We wrote of the JCR in our article "The New Anti-Spartacists" (*WV* No. 562, 30 October 1992), in response to JCR leader Damien Elliott's diatribe Spartacist-baiting a left opposition in the USec's Algerian section. (Elliott's piece is available in English in No. 7 of our series, *Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League*, which reprints opponents' attacks on us.)

After being chucked out by Krivine, the JCR has been in considerable turmoil, with some locals seeking to crawl back to the LCR. In the March elections, some JCR members ran on the "Change to the Left" ticket, while in the 13th Arrondissement of Paris, the JCR presented Raymond Debord as a candidate on a "Workers Opposition Slate." In treating centrist groupings, it is necessary to respond to their often glaring contradictions. Thus in the leaflet which is translated below, our comrades of the LTF offered to give conditional critical support to the JCR candidate, *provided he unambiguously refuse to call for votes to any parties of a popular front.*

But on this key question the JCR has been deliberately ambiguous. When an LTF supporter asked during the closing electoral meeting of the JCR on March 13 whether the JCR would call for a vote to the PCF and/or PS on the second round of voting, the speaker, candidate Debord, refused to answer.

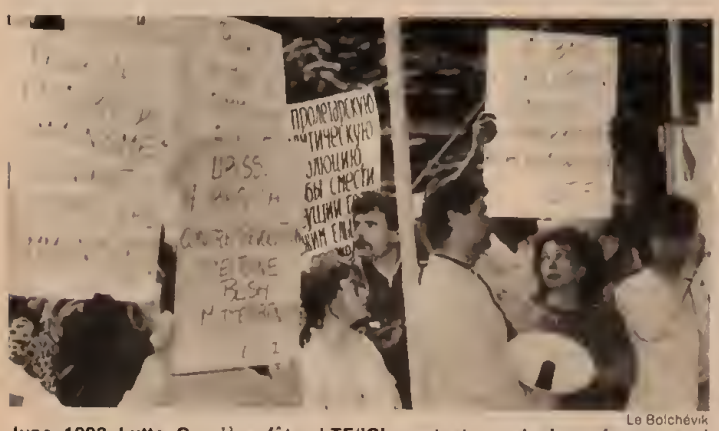
* * *

Mitterrand's candidates, totally discredited, are getting ready to undergo a crushing defeat in the March '93 legislative elections. The anti-worker popular front of class collaboration is dead, and its decomposing corpse poisons the organizations which claim to stand for

"No to NATO Popular Front!" proclaimed Ligue Trotskyste de France at time of Mitterrand's election in 1981.

Fake-Trotskyists of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire hailed "victory" of Mitterrand's "Union of the Left" coalition.

Der Spiegel



Le Bolchévik

June 1992 Lutte Ouvrière fête: LTF/ICL protests exclusion of gays and Trotskyists. LO buys the bourgeoisie's "death of communism" hype and capitulates to workerist backwardness.

the working class. After 12 years in office, Mitterrand has opened the road to the right wing just as Léon Blum did in his time (not to mention Allende in Chile).

The PCF, already on its knees because of its participation in Mitterrand's first government, is today hit smack in the face by the collapse of Stalinism and the triumph of the counterrevolution in the former USSR and Eastern Europe. The PCF has no other perspective except to start over and, like Sisyphus, push for a new Union of the Left popular front. On the so-called far left, the LCR, which actively supported Mitterrand's candidacy and proclaimed victory in 1981, pushed by the winds of the Cold War has congealed into a social-democratic organization and has run aground in the wreckage of PCF and PS "dissidents." The LCR too is trying to reconstitute a new version of the Union of the Left with its "Pledge to Change to the Left" electoral bloc.

"Twelve years is enough!" cries the JCR-*L'Egalité*. The former youth organization of the LCR, expelled last November by Krivine, is presenting a candidate in the 13th Arrondissement of Paris "under the banner of workers opposition" to the Mitterrand government and to its "anti-worker, anti-youth, anti-immigrant policies." But for 12 years the LCR persisted in giving its votes to the Mitterrand coalition, of which, in 1981, it bragged that it was the "fourth component"—actually the fifth wheel. Comrades, to offer to the working class a class alternative today, one has to have opposed the popular front from its inception in 1972. This is what the iSt/ICL has done, and its French section, the Ligue Trotskyste, is well known for having never called for a vote to Mitterrand.

In July 1992, at a JCR day school, its leader Damien Elliott even publicly praised us for our principled opposition to a vote for workers parties in a popular front, a *bourgeois* political formation. Nonetheless, he refused to take a position against a vote for Mitterrand in 1981. Many JCR members really want to oppose the popular front. To do this they must break forthrightly with the

Le Bolchévik

JCR leader Damien Elliott.

all-too-long history of the LCR's capitulations. They must break decisively not only with the "refoundation of the left," but also with the popular-frontist politics of the LCR-USec and all the housebroken "far left."

The JCR claims to offer a revolutionary alternative to young militants who have gone into opposition to the discredited USec, which supported Mitterrand and other popular fronts around the world and is complicit in the destruction of the workers states, on whose ruins the barbarity of imperialism's "New World Order" is taking shape. Their "workers opposition" slate says it is "in total opposition to advocates of unity with the bourgeoisie and the rich." A good formula, and we can only see it as a step in the right direction if this declared "total opposition" expresses itself in clear responses to the key questions. Were that the case, we would be led to consider critical support to the "Workers Opposition Slate." But clarity is precisely what is lacking in this platform, which crystallizes the centrist confusion of the JCR. Let's look at it more closely.

Le Bolchévik

Rouen, December 1981: Ligue Trotskyste de France initiated united-front protest against fascist terror. LTF banner reeds: "Popular Front Disarms the Working Class! Crush the Fascist Vermin! Workers Self-Defense!"

First of all, one notes that nothing is discussed "beyond the hexagon" [France], and even less on the question of questions for revolutionaries, the Russian question. Not a word on the historic defeat for the international proletariat represented by the disappearance of the USSR as a degenerated workers state with the consolidation of a capitalist-restorationist state under Yeltsin's rule. Why is this so, given that the international bourgeoisie trumpets the "death of communism," and many workers who saw the USSR as the "socialist homeland" are trying to orient themselves? It seems that the JCR spokesman is relieved, thinking that the Russian question is no longer on the agenda, since he decided that Yeltsin's coup d'état marked the end of the Soviet workers state. A Trotskyist candidate would take advantage of an electoral campaign to address these workers, explaining to them how Trotsky fought against Stalinism from the beginning and warned that it was undermining the gains of October.

This omission is no accident. At the time, the position of the JCR leadership was in fact veiled support to Yeltsin. As we wrote in an "Open Letter to the JCR-*L'Egalité*" regarding Damien Elliott's pamphlet, "From the Fall of Stalinism to the Formation of the CIS": "Elliott is quite categorical on the point that Yeltsin's coup unleashed the counterrevolution, but by equating the social forces represented by Yeltsin, the putschists and Gorbachev, and by implying that those few thousands actually on the Yeltsin barricades were 'winnable,' Elliot implies that it didn't matter if they supported Yeltsin.... He thinks that Yeltsin is a counterrevolutionary but he wants to 'fraternize' with his shock troops instead of smashing them!" (*Le Bolchévik* No. 120, September 1992). In contrast, the ICL distributed thousands of leaflets titled "Soviet Workers: Smash Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" across the USSR. If such a workers' mobilization had taken place, it would have constituted the beginning of proletarian political revolution to restore power to the workers in the workers state.

And what about the Gulf War? Many JCR militants have gone into opposition to the USec because they wanted to fight their own imperialism which massacred Iraqis (some of them even wore our slogan as a badge, "Sink Bush and Mitterrand in the Gulf!"). Today they can hear their candidate Debord call for "stopping the colonialist, racist and imperialist policies of France"—that is, a democratic capitalist France!? There can be no "halt to imperialist policies" without the *destruction* of imperialism, which is simply the highest stage of capitalism. Against the centrist Kautsky, who also asserted that imperialism was a policy, Lenin polemicized in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* that this means "[to counterpose] another bourgeois policy which, [Kautsky] alleges, is possible on this very same basis of finance capital.... The result is a slurring-over and a blunting of the most profound contradictions of the latest stage of capitalism, instead of an exposure of their depth; the result is bourgeois reformism instead of Marxism."

Reformism means support to one's national bourgeoisie, especially against its foreign rivals, right up to support in an interimperialist war. The JCR platform calls for a bourgeois protectionist program. What other interpretation is possible when, in the framework of "left politics" it calls for a "break with the logic of Maastricht and the diktats of the EEC," for a "state monopoly of foreign trade," for the "reorganization of trade with all countries"...in the context of capitalism? It's the same language that the PCF used in its "programs" for an "advanced democracy," which prepared the ground for signing the Common Program [of the popular-front Union of the Left] in 1972. And today we're seeing a chauvinist protectionist campaign at a time when trade war between the various imperialist brigands is accelerating.

It is in this hexagonal [French-centered] and protectionist framework that Raymond Debord puts forward his program, which comes down to reforming the bourgeois state and its institutions. In the JCR's electoral program, one can find one or two demands from Trotsky's Transitional Program, softened, isolated, separated from the perspective of mobilizing the proletariat to take power—and thus negating the function of such demands: "It is necessary to help the masses, in the process of the daily struggle, to find the bridge between present demands and the socialist program of the revolution" (Transitional Program). On the contrary, the JCR program asserts that one can satisfy the needs of the masses within the limits of capitalist property and the capitalist state: "Another policy aimed at the satisfaction of social needs and the defense of the most underprivileged would necessitate harsh measures which wouldn't stop at encroaching on the prerogatives of the possessing class." Even clearer, the *L'Egalité* supplement dated 6 February takes as its own the shopworn remedies of reformism, which the PCF and Lutte Ouvrière (LO) are so fond of, by calling to "make the rich pay and create jobs!"

The JCR correctly accuses the LCR of wanting "to restore the power of parliament in a framework that one supposes is that of the Fifth Republic," (*L'Egalité* No. 18, February 1993). But this is in order to propose a "really democratic" parliamentary democracy. The JCR leadership, in a style worthy of Lambert or Matti, calls for "the liquidation of the anti-democratic institutions of the Fifth Republic" in order to install a "single parliamentary assembly, elected proportionally," where—in a perversion of the revolutionary measure of the Paris Commune which *destroyed* the bourgeois state—elected representatives would be paid "the average salary of a worker." Sort of a democratic and cheap Fourth Republic!

Not that cheap, in reality. The JCR leadership, which (let's not forget) claims to be for working-class independence, in the same breath demands "public financing of parties under conditions of strict equality." No doubt Raymond Debord and his pals dream of replacing their subsidies from the LCR with the largesse of the bourgeois state, to plunge with glee into what Engels rightly called "bourgeois piggishness." Almost 80 years ago, Lenin exposed the material roots of opportunism: the buying off of the leaderships of workers organizations by the bourgeoisie, their integration into the capitalist state. It is the institutionalization of this corruption which the JCR leadership is demanding! After all,

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Cops, Klan Target Black Protests in Deep South

Down With the Confederate Flag and Monuments to Slavery!

Monuments, statues and flags glorifying white supremacy litter the Southern landscape today. A battle is on in states across the South between racist defenders of lynch mob rule and fighters for black rights. In Memphis, anti-racists have mounted protests against a statue honoring Nathan Bedford Forrest, the Confederate general who founded the Ku Klux Klan. Meanwhile in Mississippi, the tombstone portrait of James Earl Chaney was recently riddled with bullets, just as hearings began on the suspicious "suicides" of 24 young black males found hanging in Mississippi jail cells since 1990. (Chaney was a black civil rights activist who was murdered with his comrades Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner in 1964 by a lynch mob led by the local police.)

Focusing on a fight over the Georgia state flag, which combines the Confederate battle flag with the state seal, the "Sons of Confederate Veterans," with a membership list including Jesse Helms, Patrick Buchanan and William Westmoreland, are digging in to defend the symbol of *their* heritage of white ruling-class privilege. (Shelby Foote, the popular historian and commentator on the PBS mini-series "The Civil War," who harks back to a mythical genteel and benevolent slaveowning South, only recently resigned from this reactionary cabal.) Anti-racist fighters, especially black students, are mobilizing across the South in protests against them.

Four states of the old Confederacy (Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama and South Carolina) fly a version of the Confederate flag as their official state banners. The Confederate flag, above all other symbols, is a call to arms for resurgent racist terror, and has been taken up by race-haters from the Deep South to Howard Beach, New York to South Africa to Germany. In Georgia, students from the Atlanta University Center, including members of the Spartacus Youth Club, marched to the state capital on February 12 and sent the flag of slavery up in smoke. This student protest was met by a massive show of police force—phalanxes of cops were mobilized while police helicopters buzzed over the protesters' heads, a calculated move to terrorize the students and intimidate Atlanta's black population.

Bridges/Atlanta Journal and Constitution

Anderson/Times-Picayune

Left: Atlanta student protesters burn Georgia state flag of white supremacy in front of capitol. Above: Louisiana state representative Avery Alexander is attacked by New Orleans cops at protest against racist monument to Confederate officers.

Some state legislators, with an eye on the big money and the hundreds of black athletes expected to pour into Atlanta during the 1996 Olympic Games, moved to remove the Confederate flag as Georgia's official banner. In cities across Georgia, black officials eagerly took down the racist flag. Then the cracker contingent in the legislature mobilized in defense of their racist standard, including lobbying to cut off state funding to black Atlanta. Faced with losing the vote in the state legislature, the liberals caved in. The bill to change the state emblem was defeated.

Meanwhile, in Louisiana this month David ("Klan in a suit") Duke and his Confederate flag-waving followers gathered in New Orleans, to "rededicate" a monument celebrating a battle which signaled the destruction of Reconstruction and the re-establishment of white supremacy. The (anti-) "Liberty Monument" commemorates the 1874 Canal Street Battle in which the White League, a reactionary force led by ex-Confederate officers, defeated a black militia.

On March 7, "former" KKK Grand Wizard Duke and his ilk were protected by the racist police, who savagely attacked a group led by black legislator Avery Alexander that came out to protest Duke's rally. Alexander, an 82-year-old black civil rights movement veteran, was pushed and held in a choke hold by one white cop while another menaced him with a baton. Four other anti-fascist protesters were arrested. This brutal cop attack has outraged the black community. Backed by student groups and black legislators, Avery Alexander has vowed to maintain weekly protests at the site.

The local press railed against the black protesters and defended the monument on the grounds that (white) Louisianans took up arms against Reconstruction because of "vote stealing and bribery" under the "Yankee military occupation" (*Times-Picayune*, 9 March). This whitewashing of history and apology for white supremacy is typical of Southern white liberals who retail the racist myth of marauding Yankee "carpethaggers." Yet the corruption scandals surrounding Louisiana white Dixiecrat politicians are legendary. The platform of the 1870s White League was virulently racist: "our hereditary civilization and Christianity menaced by a stupid Africanization, we appeal to the men of our race...to re-establish a white man's government."

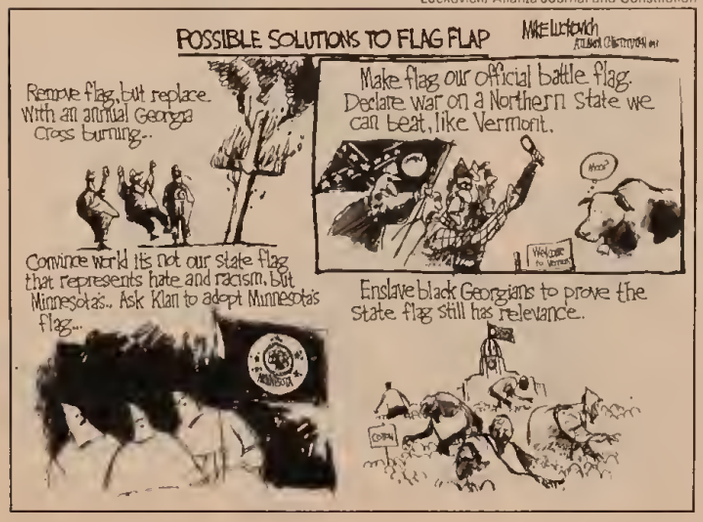
The monument to the White League's defeat of Reconstruction is a living rallying point for fascists precisely for its obscene celebration of the Confederacy, chattel slavery and the victory of Jim Crow. A statue of Martin Luther King Jr. was painted white in the pre-dawn hours of Sunday, March 20 by defenders of the racist Liberty Monument. We say that removal of the Liberty Monument is a necessary act of public sanitation!

You can't fight racist reaction by relying on the Democrats. Black elected officials, who are in fact the enforcers of racist capitalist oppression in urban centers throughout the South today, occasionally focus on symbols of the Confederacy in order to refurbish their credentials with their constituency. But the "New South" black Democrats, like Atlanta's mayor Maynard Jackson, are directly responsible for ordering heavy police attacks against black students—including beating and tear-gassing students back into their dorms when they protested the acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King last year.

Ever seeking to conciliate old Dixiecrat racists, the black pols are having a tough time finding any "middle ground" to stand on. Thus in Richmond, Virginia a black city councilman's proposal to place statues of civil rights movement heroes alongside statues of Confederate racists like Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson was shot down by a white councilman, who attacked the idea as akin to "putting a toilet in your living room."

Our 3,000-strong labor/black mobilization in Atlanta to stop the fascist Klan and Nazi skinheads in January 1989 showed the strategy and power necessary to bring down the flag of slavery for good. Against illusions in the Democrats, we in the Spartacus Youth Club fight to win students to ally with the power of the labor movement to fight racist terror and *finish the Civil War* through socialist revolution. Then the Confederate monuments will be truly "gone with the wind"! ■

Luckovich/ Atlanta Journal and Constitution



Defend Gay Rights

Letter

18 March 1993

Dear *Young Spartacus*,

The article "New York Curriculum Battle: Flashpoint for Anti-Gay Bigotry" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 568, 29 January) sparked debate in the New York Spartacus Youth Club, including discussion in its last two meetings. The article addressed the anti-gay backlash in New York City over the "Children of the Rainbow" multicultural public school curriculum championed by now-deposed schools chancellor Joseph Fernandez.

There were two points of criticism of the article. Some comrades felt that the article needed a sentence making clear that the fundamental root of anti-gay bigotry lies in the sex role norms of the patriarchal nuclear family, a bourgeois institution. The last paragraph of the article says that "key to defeating the anti-gay witchhunters" is a program for "an end to material want" and a "socialist future of equality and abundance." But the article does not address the central point that a workers revolution will lay the basis for ending anti-gay bigotry by providing the material means to replace the nuclear family (i.e., by socializing domestic labor) and permitting free personal relations to develop.

A second point of debate was over the means by which many black and Hispanic parents in Brooklyn and Queens have been mobilized for the anti-gay witchhunt. The article says, "New York's anti-gay bigots appeal to the economic resentments of struggling working-class and minority families by portraying gays as a privileged elite who already wield too much power," and this is said to be "akin to the anti-Semitic portrayal of Jews as 'privileged' money-lenders...." This analysis was disputed on the grounds that anti-gay bigotry is fueled in times of economic crisis not by demagogy about the economic status of gays, but by heightened demagogy about the indispensability of "traditional" families and related religious blather.

The youth club went back and reviewed our basic documents on the communist program to combat homosexual oppression, published at the time of the Spartacist League's fusion with the "gay liberationist-communist" Red Flag Union (see special fusion supplement in *WV* No. 172, 9 September 1977), and what we said and did during previous anti-gay witchhunts.

At the time of the 1979 trial of the right-wing killer of San Francisco mayor Moscone and popular gay Democratic supervisor Harvey Milk we also noted that bigotry in the working class was fueled by a perception of gays as a well-off community that was "gentrifying" working-class neighborhoods and supporting city administrations engaged in attacks on working-class livelihoods. And while gays and lesbians exist in all sectors of society, the visible "gay community" tends to have the petty-bourgeois character of those who can "afford" to come out.

These factors play a role in New York City where the liberal Dinkins administration, which has a visible gay constituency, gives the working class "doomsday" budgets—and under pressure from the right is now backtracking on gay rights. The recent battle over school curriculum was Round One of the 1994 mayoral elections, in which a right-wing bid is coalescing around Republican candidate Giuliani, with Puerto Rican school board member Ninfa Segarra mobilizing behind the arch-reactionary Cardinal O'Connor in the name of Catholic unity.

As we stated in 1979: "The alliance of lifestyle radicalism, reformism and the Democrats can provide only token reforms which enrage 'middle American' backwardness and touch off new waves of the same old backlash. The working class, armed with a vision of a truly free society, is the only social force which can defend all the oppressed and lay the basis for a new society through uprooting the material bases of social oppression" (*WV* No. 324, 22 June 1979).

Comradely,
Jon W.

Murder...

(continued from page 12)

link is the doctor." The assassination of David Gunn shows the workings of a right-wing terrorism campaign. And it is working.

Anti-abortion terror is the extralegal arm of a crusade that was orchestrated straight from the Reagan-Bush White House. They went after abortion rights in court, cut off funding to hospitals and clinics, and encouraged these domestic contras. The combined effect has been chillingly effective in its campaign to close down the clinics and cut off access to abortion for thousands of women. An article in the *SF Weekly* (17 March) notes that in 1993, *legal abortions are not available in 83 percent of the counties in America*. Medical schools are also intimidated: in 1985 some 22.6 percent of obstetrics programs in the U.S. trained doctors to perform abortions; by 1991 this was down to only 12.4 percent.

Many "pro-choice" supporters, particularly the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL), looked to the election of Democrat Bill Clinton as the key to defeating the anti-abortion bigots. On the other side, Randall Terry said, "Our worst political nightmare has come upon us. A pro-baby-killing, pro-Sodomite, pass-out-the-condoms-in-school, back-slidden President is headed for the White House." At least temporarily, the violence has escalated, as the clinic blockaders, after a decade-plus of support from the White House, feel abandoned at the top and have increased their night-riding terror.

Deadly "wanted poster" distributed by anti-abortion thugs of Operation Rescue targeted David Gunn. Poster listed Gunn's clinic schedule and phone numbers.

It is notable that bourgeois feminist groups who have fervently supported Clinton have been noticeably silent around the murder of David Gunn. Now the NOW/NARAL bourgeois feminists are pushing a "freedom of choice" bill in the Democratic Congress and enthusing over Clinton's female attorney general, asking former Florida prosecutor Reno to "crack down" on anti-abortion mobs and to come up with a federal law against blocking access to clinics. It is obvious that such "no blocking" laws will be used against strikers who try to shut down plants and keep out the scabs.

And while Clinton's campaign promise to respect "choice" for women helped him win the election, formal legality of abortion won't help poor, minority and working-class women get abortions if there's no doctors around to perform them, no clinics left to perform them in, and they don't have the money to afford them. That is why the Spartacist League fights for free abortion on demand, and calls on labor and all supporters of abortion rights to defend the clinics. As an SL spokesman said at a Columbia University speakout against the murder of Dr. Gunn:

> "Bill Clinton is not going to defend the clinics. Bill Clinton stands for the racist death penalty, he stands for 'workfare,' to force poor mothers on welfare to leave their children alone or starve. The Arkansas abortion law is one of the worst in the nation. The FBI is not going to defend abortion clinics! And we can't look to the bosses' parties to defend our rights. The Spartacist League stands for mobilizing the unions and all the intended victims to use their social power to defeat the bigots in the streets. Only working-class rule will ensure women's equality." ■

SYC Protests...

(continued from page 12)

quite a few students to stop and listen and buy *Workers Vanguard*.

The CCNY rally became a heated political debate between the revolutionary Trotskyist program of the Spartacists and the "state capitalists" of the League for a Revolutionary Party (LRP). Walter Daum, a spokesman for the LRP and an instructor at City College, asked and was given the right to speak at the SYC rally. Incensed at our placard reading, "Capitalist Counterrevolution Means Misery for Women! Defend Abortion Rights in ex-USSR, Poland, Germany!", Daum frothed: "Are women better off in China, in so-called 'socialist' China where abortion is imposed?"

Amid shouts of "Yes!" the rattled professor climbed down off the snowbank as SYC member Semeon Gregory explained:

> "In China, before the revolution women had their feet bound and were horribly oppressed. Counterrevolution in China would be a great setback. In Poland, abortion has recently been outlawed by Lech Walesa, leader of Solidarity, the only union Reagan ever loved, sponsored by the CIA and the Vatican—and supported by the LRP over here. Some people like the LRP who claim to fight for abortion rights actually were on the same side as clerical-nationalists like Sotidarnosć, and with Khomeini in Iran, with the *mujahedin* in Afghanistan, with Yeltsin. ."

Daum went apoplectic. The cops failed to shut down our rally and Daum failed to shout it down, eventually scurrying back to his office as protesters chanted: *"1, 2, 3, 4—Free abortion's what we're for! 5, 6, 7, 8—Separate church and state!"* ■

Spartacist Educational Conferences

New York City

3 p.m.

James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism

Speaker T Marlow, Spartacist League

7 p.m.

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

The Rise and Fall of the Black Panthers: A Revolutionary Marxist Analysis

Speaker Don Alexander, SL Central Committee, former Black Power militant

P.S. 41, 116 W. 11th St. (near 6th Ave.)

For more information, or to obtain readings, call (212) 267-1025

Saturday, April 10

Chicago

11 a.m.

James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism

Speaker Emily Turnbull, co-editor of *James P Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism*

Vancouver: Labor/Minority Mobilization Drives Off Skinheads!

An eyewitness account of the January 22 mobilization of 3,000 trade unionists, leftists, gays, minorities and youth that put the Nazis on the run.

3 p.m.

Nationalism and Counterrevolution

Speaker Y Rad, Trotskyist League of Canada/ Ligue Trotskyste du Canada

University of Illinois, Chicago
1007 W. Harrison
Behavioral Science Building (BSB) Room 145

For more information, or to obtain readings call
Chicago Spartacist League (312) 663-0715
Trotskyist League of Canada (416) 593-4138

Saturday, April 10

Russia's Exploiters...

(continued from page 1)

of the working people. The key to saving industry and the proletariat is a struggle for state power—socialist revolution to establish effective centralized planning in a reforged Soviet federation based on proletarian democracy and socialist internationalism.

Yeltsin's "Shock Therapy": Third World Immiseration

What is behind the political crisis in Russia is not a struggle between socialism and capitalism, nor between democracy and totalitarianism, but the utter failure of Yeltsin's economic policies and, more broadly, the dilemma of a counterrevolutionary regime seeking to impose capitalism without capital. Acquiescing to Washington's diktat in the futile hope of securing a massive infusion of Western aid and investment, the Yeltsinites imposed an economic "shock treatment" crafted by Harvard boy Jeffrey Sachs. Since Yeltsin's January 1992 decree "freeing" prices on basic commodities, the working masses have been plunged into unprecedented impoverishment.

Three months later, the government statistical agency reported that *90 percent* of workers in Russia were earning below the then subsistence wage of 1,500 rubles a month. Per capita income in real terms at the start of 1993 was *43 percent* of what it was two years ago, and even this figure disguises the Third World poverty facing millions of the most downtrodden. A handful of speculators have become overnight dollar millionaires (or ruble billionaires!), and certain sectors of the proletariat, like miners and transport workers, have been granted wage increases to keep up with the galloping inflation. But the average worker in Russia today receives two-thirds of the 6,000 rubles a month considered the bare survival minimum. Even *Time* magazine (22 March) concedes:

> "Yeltsin and his team of shock therapists have been at the task since the Soviet Union collapsed in December 1991, producing few successes and much turmoil, hardship and anxiety."

Today Russian workers can survive only by also engaging in petty trade and deal-making or, if they have a *dacha* (house in the country), by growing food crops in their backyard. An engineer recently quit his job at a Moscow nuclear power station in order to protect the potato crop on his *dacha* from thieves! An 84-year-old pensioner stands on the freezing streets to sell a carton of milk or a pack of cigarettes at a markup to people who don't want to wait two hours on line. The official unemployment rate is 1.5 percent, but many workers are sent home on "forced vacation" on as little as one-fifth of their normal wage.

Korneyev/AFP

Old-age pensioner begging in Red Square.

And the hardest hit have been women, who formerly made up 51 percent of the workforce. Yeltin's labor minister Melikyan declaims, "I seriously don't think women should work while men are doing nothing." Many women are being driven into prostitution to support themselves and their children. ABC News' *Prime Time Live* (18 March) reported on a doctor in Moscow who became a prostitute because it was the only way to provide for her seven-year-old son.

Yeltsin's opponents point to the widespread devastation his policies have wrought on the entire Russian economy, warning that this level of immiseration could set off a social explosion that would sweep away the fledgling "market economy." Inflation has climbed to nearly 50 percent a month, with the price of a standard basket of goods having increased almost a *hundredfold* in the past two years. Production dropped by 24 percent last year alone. Yeltsin's scheme to privatize the entire economy in one quick fix by distributing 10,000-ruble shareholding vouchers to the population has been a scam from start to finish. In February, angry protesters blocked the streets of Leningrad to demand their money back from fly-by-night con artists who ripped off at least 350,000 vouchers by promising an instant return on their "investment."

Swersey/NY Times

Workers at huge Vaz auto plant in Togliatti, where old Stalinist managers want to become new capitalist owners.

While the Yeltsinites' social base is in the new "robber baron" entrepreneurial elite, the opposition—centered on the Civic Union bloc of "industrialist" Volsky and militarist vice president Rutskoi—draws its support from the country's factory managers. Appealing to the old "military-industrial complex," Volsky & Co. vow to maintain a strong Russian state and demand the continued flow of government subsidies to the country's key heavy industries.

Last summer Volsky, who heads the Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs and was a former adviser to Gorbachev, declaimed that Yeltsin's "democrats have already shown they are unable to ensure a decent existence for the people 80 percent of whom today live below the poverty line" (Moscow *New Times*, July 1992). Vladimir Ovchinnikov, general director of the Aleksandrov Radio Factory, Russia's largest producer of TV sets, declared that "real power is in the hands of directors because the livelihoods of tens of millions of people depend on them, and their workers believe in them."

This was not mere demagogy. Many fearful workers now look to the managers—most of them derived from the former *nomenklatura* (Stalinist bureaucratic elite)—to restore a semblance of the "good old days" under Brezhnev, when Soviet enterprises provided their workforce with low-rent housing, inexpensive meals in the factory cafeteria as well as meat to take home, summer vacations on the Black Sea, etc. As one woman who now makes 3,000 rubles a month as a cook in a children's hospital said, "We worked hard, and now we have nothing. With pleasure, I would go back to the old days" (*Washington Post*, 27 January).

But the factory managers are no less intent than Yeltsin's yuppies on being the new exploiters of Russia's proletariat in collaboration with international capital. Where the Volskyites differ with Yeltsin is in *how* to develop Russian capitalism. They look to Deng's China as a model, where the bureaucracy maintains firm political control and continues to cultivate a strong heavy industry and military sector while gradually shifting vast chunks of the economy over to capitalism. But where China remains a deformed workers state, Russia has a (weak) capitalist state.

Volsky & Co. argue that, particularly in the absence of significant Western investment, it is necessary for the new state to directly oversee the development of a capitalist economy through a *corporatist* policy not dissimilar to that carried out by Mussolini in Italy in the 1920s and '30s. This policy was already advanced in the waning days of the Gorbachev era by "black colonel" Viktor Alksnis, who called for the introduction of capitalism through a Pinochet-style regime.

In *The Revolution Betrayed* (1937), Trotsky noted: "Stalinism and fascism, in spite of a deep difference in social foundations, are symmetrical phenomena. In many of their features they show a deadly similarity." In effect, the corporatist wing of the counterrevolution seeks to resurrect Stalin's heavy-handed bonapartist regime on capitalist social foundations, maintaining a streamlined state sector as a motor force for a new capitalist economy.

No less than the Yeltsinites, the corporatists see the need to use the whip of repression to discipline the proletariat in order to facilitate the primitive accumulation of capital. To make Russian industrial goods cheap enough to compete on world markets, such a regime would lay off millions of "redundant" workers, while those who remained on the assembly lines would be subjected to harsh speedup. The slashing of real wages brought about under the Yeltsin/Gaidar "shock treatment" would be maintained and likely intensified by police-state regimentation of the labor force. Trade unions would be permitted only as pliant tools of the corporatist state, and strikes would be suppressed as "unpatriotic." Notably, it was Rutskoi, Volsky's main political ally, who played hard cop in smashing the Russian air controllers strike last summer.

Gorbachev's Perestroika: First Stage of Descent into Chaos

The Soviet economy was integrated on an all-Union basis and enterprises were designed to take maximum advantage of economies of scale. In some cases, to be sure, the Stalinist technocrats indulged in industrial gigantism for its own sake, going beyond the limits of economic rationality. But whether economically optimal or not, in many industries just a few factories supplied vital inputs for scores of enterprises from eastern Siberia to the Baltic republics. For example, 70 percent of all the different types of machine tools made in the USSR were produced in one enterprise and in no other.

Clearly, such a system could work only under centralized direction where a given enterprise was ordered to supply other enterprises at a set price. Otherwise managers could ruthlessly exploit their monopoly position, selling to the highest bidder while enterprises which could not afford to pay would have to cut back their output. That is exactly what happened when Gorbachev scrapped centralized planning in January 1988 and decreed that all Soviet enterprises were to become self-financing on the basis of *khozraschet* (cost accounting). Consumer goods managers cut back shipments to state shops, where prices were still fixed, diverting output to private "cooperatives" where mafia-like entrepreneurs practiced price extortion. Producers of industrial and intermediate goods likewise jacked up their prices.

By 1990-91, as inflation was eroding the value of the ruble, the industrial supply system degenerated into crude barter deals negotiated on the basis of economic blackmail. For example, the managers of the Sverdlovsk transformer factory refused to deliver transformers to the huge Uralmash engineering complex unless the latter provided them with a list of items including piping, scrap metal, kitchen fittings, rest home passes and a telephone for the apartment of the doctor looking after the director's wife! Managers were no longer concerned about their enterprises' long-term development because they doubted whether they had a future themselves.

Growing nationalist disintegration added another element to the economic chaos, as factories dependent for parts and supplies upon warring republics like Armenia and Azerbaijan ground to a halt. National republics also imposed export restrictions on goods in short supply, especially if they could be sold on the world market for hard currency. Simultaneously, the new nationalist regimes, spearheaded by Yeltsin as president of the Russian republic, started refusing to turn over the central government's share of tax collections, causing the burgeoning inflation of the final Gorbachev period. *Less than 30 percent* of all taxes collected in the first nine months of 1991

went to the central government. To make up the shortfall of rubles, the Gorbachev regime ran the printing presses overtime.

In other words, Yeltsin *deliberately sahotaged* the Soviet economy and then exploited popular discontent over rising prices and shortages to push through the counterrevolution. By the summer of 1991, most working people were indifferent to the fate of the Gorbachev regime. Many believed *falsely* that things could not get worse. And some bought the line that only a rapid move to a full-fledged market system could restore the health of the economy.

IMF Orders Surgery Without Anesthesia...

The collapse of the industrial supply system, which began under Gorbachev, was greatly accelerated with the breakup of the USSR formalized in December 1991. A month later, Yeltsin lifted controls on consumer prices, implementing the IMF "shock therapy" under his economic "expert," the obscure academic Yegor Gaidar. A year after Yeltsin seized power in the August 1991 countercoup:

- Industrial production in Russia had fallen 27 percent.
- Investment in plant and equipment had fallen 55 percent.
- Prices had increased 1,560 percent.
- Real wages had fallen 32 percent.

While working people are struggling to survive in an increasingly ugly and violent society, the new entrepreneurs flaunt their wealth: "Representatives of the New Class can be seen waving their

Der Spiegel

Would-be Tsar Boris with Ruslan Khasbulatov, speaker of Russian parliament, a former Yeltsinite.

gold cards in Western-style grocery stores, dining at hard currency restaurants, and driving around town in Mercedes and BMWs" (*Washington Post*, 1 February).

The *New York Times* (2 August 1992) painted a glowing portrait of a typical new entrepreneur, Natalya Maloletneva, a manager of a Moscow clothing store who bought a controlling interest when the shop was privatized last spring. She claims she purchased her share for 60,000 rubles from personal "savings." The *Times*' glorification of Mrs. Maloletneva provoked a biting letter to the editor from an émigré Soviet academic, who pointed out that as a highly paid university professor he would have had to save every last kopek of his salary for ten years to amass 60,000 rubles. Clearly Maloletneva was skimming off the profits of the enterprise she was entrusted to manage on behalf of the Soviet working people. No wonder Russia's new capitalists are known as the mafia.

But the new "*biznez*" barons and "*hrokeri*" fear that the hatred of the masses will lead to a new regime that will confiscate their ill-gotten wealth. As a self-described "middleman" in Leningrad put it: "Everything we do is aimed at a quick profit. We buy, we sell, and we get out. Only a fool would invest his money in a long-term business in Russia" (*Washington Post*, 30 September 1992). Wall Street and Frankfurt bankers, German and Japanese industrialists, and Texas oilmen are not fools. And they aren't investing their money in Russia either.

AP photos

Women in Moscow (left) and La Paz, Bolivia protest desperate conditions on International Women's Day. Western imperialism seeks to reduce Russia to status of neocolonial Latin America.

On the contrary, there has been massive looting of the Russian economy in the past couple of years. One out of every three barrels of oil and one out of every two tons of nickel leaving Russia is smuggled out, while fully 80 percent of the raw materials ticketed for the Baltic port of Kaliningrad never arrives there. Marc Rich, the strikebreaking owner of Ravenswood Aluminum in the U.S. (currently living in Switzerland to evade tax and fraud charges), boasts trading revenues of $2.5 billion per year in natural resources from the former Soviet Union.

Everything in Russia is for sale for hard currency these days, from religious icons peddled by Orthodox priests to high-tech weaponry supplied by financially strapped arms factories. Iran is rumored to have acquired two Soviet-made nuclear warheads. Last year as much as $15 billion in hard currency was siphoned out of Russia into private bank accounts in the U.S. and West Europe. This is more than twice the $7 billion in net aid and credits which the Yeltsin regime got from Bush's America, Kohl's Germany and its other imperialist godfathers. Meanwhile, the scramble for dollars which can be safely stashed in foreign bank accounts continues to drive down the value of the ruble at Moscow's limited currency exchange. In the past six months, the exchange rate has gone from just over 200 rubles to the dollar to nearly 800, figures wildly out of kilter with the actual state of the Russian economy.

...But Refuses to Pay the Bill

Yeltsin, Gaidar & Co. expected to be rewarded with $24 billion in IMF aid as a first installment for torturing the working masses through economic shock treatment. But the IMF demanded as a condition for disbursing funds that Russia raise its internal price of oil to world-market levels while exporting more to repay its foreign debt. This would mean instant bankruptcy for most of Russia's industrial enterprises, which were geared to consuming energy for a small fraction of the cost extorted by the Seven Sisters cartel and the Arab oil sheiks.

The London *Economist* (24 October 1992), the house organ of international financiers, argued half seriously that "Russia would be economically better off if every Russian worker, except those in the country's mining, oil and transport industries (who would be needed to ship raw materials to the West) simply stopped working"! Western bankers are demanding that Yeltsin reduce the post-Soviet Russian economy to conditions *structurally more primitive* than that of tsarist Russia, where foreign capital promoted heavy industry.

The Kohl regime initially rewarded Gorbachev for selling out East Germany to the Deutsche Bank in early 1990 with $47 billion in "aid," promising more to come. The rulers of the Fourth Reich envisioned their own neocolonial empire in the former Soviet bloc, extending from Siberia to the Balkans. But with its vindictive destruction of the East German economy following capitalist reunification, the Bonn government went heavily into debt as millions of unemployed East Germans were put on the dole. Last spring Kohl announced, "we Germans have reached the limit of our capacity to help" Russia and the other former Soviet republics. Since then Germany has entered a deepening recession, widening its budget deficit and making large-scale aid to Russia even less likely.

As for Washington, Reagan/Bush transformed the U.S. into the world's largest debtor to pay for the massive military buildup against the Soviet Union. Now Clinton is pushing to subsidize high-tech industry while raising taxes and cutting social programs for the poor and elderly. Aside from a $1.5 billion *credit* to buy U.S. grain and other goods in 1992, what Washington has allocated to promoting capitalism in Russia is truly peanuts. Even a relatively modest shift of 10 percent of U.S. imperialism's Cold War military budget would mean some $35 billion a year in aid to Russia. But with the American rulers intent on maintaining their military hegemony at any expense, no less a White House crook than Richard Nixon today appears as about the only farsighted representative of this ruling class in arguing for aggressive aid to Russia.

Japan—the only major imperialist power with a large financial surplus—has not and will not give the Moscow regime any yen at all unless it gets back the Kuril Islands, which the Red Army took at the end of World War II. But for Yeltsin to sell Russian territory to an imperialist power and historic enemy would enormously intensify nationalist and popular opposition to him. In any case, while Tokyo might cough up $5 or $10 billion to grab the strategic Kurils, Japan Inc. is not presently interested in making Russia as such a subsidiary. Japan's empire-building ambitions remain focused on the Far East, above all the reconquest of China.

The bottom line is that Yeltsin did not get the deutschmarks, dollars and yen he was counting on.

Factory Managers Ignite Hyperinflation

Yevgeny Yasin, a prominent economist in the "industrialist" camp, described Russian society under Yeltsin as well as in Gorbachev's last years as a pyramid with the top broken off. Power descended to the next highest level, mainly made up of managers in big enterprises. The vice general director of the huge Vaz Auto Works in Togliatti—which produced 60 percent of all cars in the USSR—states: "Management, in a sense, has become the owner of Vaz... we run the company as if we owned it, although we don't really." But as Trotsky wrote in *The Revolution Betrayed* of the capitalist aspirations of sectors of the Stalinist managerial bureaucracy: "It is not enough to be the director of a trust: it is necessary to be a stockholder."

While many factory managers denounced Gaidar as the archenemy, bent on bankrupting their enterprises on orders from the IMF, the main beneficiaries of the "shock treatment" were in fact the managers in consumer goods and food processing. Since their prices were increasing 50 percent faster than the wages they paid, they were swimming in profits. Managers in heavy industry and munitions got around Gaidar's attempt at tight money by granting open-ended credit to one another. In the first five months of 1992, inter-enterprise debt increased from forty billion to *two trillion* rubles. The managers also wielded the threat of massive social unrest should a cutoff in industrial subsidies lead to widespread layoffs, arguing that only they could contain workers' anger. As Volsky put it, "they keep the people from taking to the streets."

So that the managers would keep on keeping the people from taking to the streets, Yeltsin abandoned any attempt to control the money supply. In April he offered an additional 200 billion rubles in enterprise credits. The following month three stalwarts of the "industrialist" party were appointed to key economic ministries. In June the managers placed their man, Viktor Gerashchenko, in charge of the central bank. Gerashchenko in turn extended 1.5 trillion rubles in credit to the managers, *an amount greater than the entire money supply generated by all Soviet governments over the previous 40 years*. The resulting hyperinflation has all but destroyed the ruble as a medium of exchange. Increasingly, Russians speak of two classes in their country: those

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Russia's Exploiters...

(continued from page 9)

who have access to dollars or other hard currencies, and those who earn rubles.

In the present conditions of counterrevolutionary chaos, curbing inflation means first of all slashing enterprise payrolls through mass layoffs. This is already beginning to happen. In Ivanovo, a textile center northeast of Moscow known as the "city of single women" for its predominantly female labor force, output has been cut in half by the shortage of cotton due to the breakdown in the transport system and the civil war in the Central Asian republic of Tadzhikistan. On paper 6,500 are still employed by the Frolov textile factory, but only 2,000 of them come to work. The other 4,500 are told to stay home, where they receive 1,035 rubles a month, about $1.50 at the rapidly depreciating exchange rate.

Only Socialist Revolution Can Save the Soviet Working Class

Such desperate conditions can easily and suddenly produce an angry explosion among the toiling masses. To prevent this, the capitalist-restorationist forces of *all contending factions* seek to erect a strnng state capable of crushing popular unrest before it gets out of hand. What exists today, in Russia as in the other former Soviet republics, is not a counterrevolutionary order but rather counterrevolutionary chaos. The restorationist forces—both the pro-Western "democrats" around Yeltsin and the nationalist-corporatist camp of Volsky/Rutskoi—are weak and internally strained. There is no cohered capitalist class. The armed forces are rife with discontent, and it is uncertain that they could be used effectively to suppress mass struggle.

The consolidation of the counterrevolution therefore depends on the continuing passivity, paralysis and misleadership of the working class. The Stalinist "patriots" join hands with outright fascists in a "red"-brown coalition, while giving a left cover to the Volsky/Rutskoi corporatists. This is expressed, for example, in their call for "workers' privatization." Thus Vladimir Isakov of the Russian Communist Workers Party demanded that parliament pass legislation "so that work collectives can become the owners of their workplace." Boris Kagarlitsky's Labor Party, a social-democratic outfit deliberately modeled on its British namesake, likewise calls for the "transfer of property to the work collectives"—which in the mouths of these "leftists" includes managers having a majority of the shares (see "Stalinist Has-Beens: Left Wing of Nationalist Counterrevolution," *WV* No. 561, 16 October 1992).

Der Spiegel photos

Arkady Volsky (above), head of the "party of managers," and Aleksandr Rutskoi, Russian vice president (right), leaders of nationalist-corporatist forces.

Alexander Zemlianichenko

Former acting prime minister Yegor Gaidar, architect of IMF-dictated "shock treatment," was sacked in December, signaling crisis of Yeltsin regime.

The main trade-union federation, the FNPR led by Brezhnev-era Stalinist hacks now reinforced by social democrats like Kagarlitsky, also supports the corporatist faction. Meanwhile, the CIA-sponsored "free" trade unions, embracing a section of the coal miners as well as air controllers and railway engineers, have supported Yeltsin under the illusion that capitalist restoration will lead to living standards comparable to those in the imperialist West of which they have an idealized picture. Strikes and threats of work stoppages by cnal and oil workers have in recent years focused on securing better selling conditions for "their" products. But while these workers are for the moment better off, the counterrevolution has already reduced Russia to conditions of neocolonial degradation comparable to, say, Mexico or Brazil.

With the collapse of Stalinist rule in the Soviet bloc, most of the left internationally has bought the bourgeois line that centralized planning is inherently inefficient and bureaucratic, and that a market system is the only viable way to organize an economy. In Latin America, petty-bourgeois nationalists out of pnwer, like the Nicaraguan Sandinistas, are now calling for worker participation in privatized factories and farms, i.e., the utopia of a "people's capitalism."

While historically associated with anarcho-syndicalism, calls for giving property rights to work collectives in Russia today are not merely utopian but are above all intended to give pseudo-populist legitimacy to a nationalist-corporatist regime. Volsky himself proposes "to encourage collective ownership by workers" (*Izvestia*, 30 September 1992), and the government even refers to this as a "fourth variant of privatization." In many large enterprises, such as the Vaz Auto Works, 25 percent or more of the stock has already been given to the work collectives under the Yeltsin/Gaidar regime in order to make privatization more palatable. This translates into zero influence on enterprise policy, which remains firmly in the hands of the old management. In any case, what would "workers' privatization" mean under conditions of hyperinflation, economic disarray, mass unemployment and nationalist fratricide?

We want a modern economy in place for the Soviet working people to take over when they regain power. But that economy will not he preserved through corporatist capitalism in the epoch of imperialism's decay. A few hard-fought strikes where the workers win something would do much to reverse the demoralization and atomization of the Soviet proletariat and provide an opening for revolutionary intervention. The situation cries out for a genuinely Bolshevik party, based on the principles of Lenin and Trotsky, to lead the multinational working class of Russia and the other former Soviet republics against the mafioso entrepreneurs, the managers who would he stockholders, and their imperialist godfathers.

Down with Yeltsin and the Russian parliament—For a workers government based on soviet democracy as in October 1917! For a planned, collectivized economy based on a reforged Soviet Union! ■

Dogfight...

(continued from page 1)

exporter (Yeltsin/Gaidar) and nationalist-corporatist elements (Rutskoi/Volsky) who want to maintain an industrial base for a strong state, but would be no less dependent upon imperialism.

Yeltsin's attempt to impose bonapartist rule has been endorsed, if not directly braintrusted, by Washington. The Russian president suffered a humiliating political defeat in December when the Congress forced him to sack acting prime minister and IMF "shock therapist" Yegor Gaidar. When Yeltsin revived his threats to emasculate or disband the parliament, Khasbulatov reconvened the Congress in early March to strip the president of his emergency decree powers. German Chancellor Kohl then "leaked" a request from Yeltsin for Western backing for an anti-Congress coup. Washington gave an immediate green light if the Russian president "suspends an anti-democratic Parliament." Moving to bolster Yeltsin's credentials, the Clinton administration hastily summoned the Russian president to an April "summit" in Vancouver.

Following Yeltsin's pronunciamento, White House spokesman George Stephanopoulos heamed, "President Yeltsin has proposed to break a political impasse by taking it to the people. That is appropriate in democracies." Plebiscites have certainly been the appropriate "democratic" fig leaf for every bonapartist dictator from Napoleon to Hitler to Pinochet. In this, as in other things, Yeltsin has borrowed a trick or two from the arsenal of the Stalinist bureaucracy he faithfully served for many years. Speaking of the 1936 Stalin Constitution, Leon Trotsky noted in *The Revolution Betrayed*: "The democratic ritual of Bonapartism is the *plebiscite*. From time to time, the question is presented to the citizens: *for* or *against* the leader."

Dotting the i's and crossing the t's, *Newsweek* (29 March) openly calls for "a Pinochet-type leader," and Henry Kissinger has been repeating the name of the bloody Chilean dictator he helped put in power as the model for a strongman regime in Russia. But Pinochet could rely on an army built on Prussian militarist traditions which had repeatedly been used to massacre the workers. Yeltsin certainly can't count on the fractured ex-Soviet army. And no one has yet *seized* power by plebiscite. The only reason Yeltsin could even contemplate it is because of the paralysis of the disputing bourgeois factions, which lack any significant social base, and the absence of the working class as a contender.

In good part because of Yeltsin's weakness, the Western imperialists are hedging their initially strong support to the Russian president. While the otherwise staid *New York Times* (22 March) issued a ringing editorial call "To the Barricades With Mr. Yeltsin," an op-ed piece by Sovietologist Abraham Brumberg was far less sanguine, fretting that Yeltsin's "illegal seizure of power may well plunge Russia into the abyss he says he wants to avoid." By his March 23 press conference Clinton had moved from exclusive support to Yeltsin to backing "all reformers throughout Russia."

What is evident from the past few days is that neither Yeltsin nor his bourgeois opponents have any active popular support—street demonstrations on either side have been limited to a few thousand hard-core supporters. Disaffection with Yeltsin is pervasive, with his base of support confined to a narrow layer of pro-Western intelligentsia and yuppie speculators. In his Saturday night speech, would-be Tsar Boris vowed to denationalize the land, hoping to recreate a smallholding peasantry as a bastion of conservatism. Yet this is vehemently opposed by millions of collective farmers. Meanwhile, the cities are starving.

Amid economic chaos and immiseration, skyrocketing crime and disintegration of the social fabric, there is widespread sentiment for a "strong hand" and order. Yet a capitalist-bonapartist dictatorship will not alleviate the suffering of the masses but nnly provide the whip of repression for further exploitation of the Soviet working people on behalf of international finance capital. The only order that promises a future for the working masses is a return to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, based on the rule of workers councils (soviets), as established by the Bolshevik power in 1917.

While the Western imperialists, grntesquely echoed by numerous fake-lefts, hailed Yeltsin's August 1991 countercoup as a "struggle for democracy," we called: "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevnlution!" We warned that in its drive to ride roughshod over the Soviet working people, the counterrevolution would necessarily have to take the road of bonapartist dictatorship. Last August we cited Leon Trotsky's warning in the late 1920s: "Is it actually likely that in the event of the defeat of the [proletarian] dictatorship, bourgeois democracy will replace it? No, that is the least likely of all possihle variants." The nascent bourgeoisie, wrote Trotsky, would have to go beyond a transitional regime to consolidate "a more serious, solid, and decisive kind—in all probability, a Bonapartist or, in modern terms, a fascist regime."

In the absence of proletarian struggle, Russia is barreling toward bonapartist dictatorship, one way or the other, whether under Yeltsin or Rutskoi or more extreme nationalist/fascist forces. The disarray and division among Russia's new would-be exploiters creates an opening for independent working-class action. Some hard-hitting strikes right now in defense of workers' livelihoods, against the "privatization" schemes aimed at shutting down "bankrupt" factories, could—in the context of a weak capitalist state—put the proletariat on the road of struggle against all the contending bourgeois factions. But the former official trade unions, backed by the various Stalinist fragments and their "red"-brown coalition, are lined up firmly behind the Volsky/Rutskoi corporatists, while CIA-sponsored "free" trade unions like the Kuzbass miners remain loyal to Yeltsin.

The urgent need is for an authentic Bolshevik leadership committed to the struggle against all wings of capitalist restoration. The greatest crime of the Stalinist usurpers was to atomize and demoralize the proletariat, sapping its consciousness and confidence in itself as a class, physically liquidating the cadres who formed the living link to the 1917 Octoher Revolution. Today the Soviet workers must reappropriate the revolutionary internationalist heritage and program of Lenin's Octoher, carried forward today in the International Communist League's struggle to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International. ■

French Elections...

(continued from page 5)

he who pays the piper calls the tune.

The JCR platform also demands a "purge and reorganization from top to hottom of the police"—the police of Bousquet and Papon [police chiefs under Pétain], who rounded up Jews for the Nazi death camps, who carried out the anti-Algerian pogrom of 17 October 1961, and who today carry out a racist reign of terror in the [heavily immigrant] suburbs! Reform of the police is a typical demand of reformists who create the criminal illusion that the bourgeois state can be reformed. Fortunately, many of the exploited and oppressed in this country understand better than the "Marxist" charlatans who lead the JCR that this bloody repressive machine is and will remain their implacable enemy. What authentic Marxists must teach them is how to put it definitively out of commission, by counterposing the power of the organized proletariat mobilized in struggle to install its own state power. In contrast to the Marchais, Krivines and Debords, we Trotskyists say, "Cops out of the suburban ghettos!" "Worker/immigrant mobilizations against racist terror!" "Defense squads to defend immigrant neighborhoods!"

A year and a half ago, the JCR took up in their "Action Program" the demand for "full citizenship rights for immigrants," and wrote that "to finish once and for all with the fascists, the self-defense of youth, workers, immigrants and their organizations is indispensable" (*L'Egalité* supplement, September 1991). Yes, but with the approach of the legislative elections, the leaders of the JCR have thrown out their off-and-on pretensions of anti-fascist struggle. In fact, the word "fascist" doesn't even appear in their electoral platform.

During the February 6 demonstration, the JCR distributed a special *L'Egalité* supplement published for the occasion entitled "French and Immigrants, Let's Not Let Ourselves Be Divided." No perspective for mobilizing advanced elements of the working class and youth in struggle against segregation and racist terror, but a hodgepodge of "pedagogical" arguments aimed at opening the eyes of "workers who let themselves be taken in by racist speeches." These backward workers could learn, for example, that "driving immigrants out of their jobs and out of France wouldn't be an answer to the problem of unemployment."

In this unsavory sermonizing, taken straight out of the usual arsenal of the PCF and LO reformists, there is no lack of denunciations of the "billionaire Le Pen." But by presenting Le Pen, not as the fascist that he is, but as a bourgeois politician like the others (distinguished only by his populist demagogy), the Marchais [PCF] and Laguillers [LO] justify their criminal passivity in the face of the fascists. However, a year ago *L'Egalité* stated that "only the working class and its nrganizations can stop the Natinnal Front, stop them by fighting on the basis of its own demands." To those militants in the JCR who want to fight against the National Front with more than words, we say that it is high time to counter fascist crimes with mass united-front worker/immigrant mobilizations, based on the unions, to crush these thugs before they crush us.

Raymond Debord tops off his program by calling for a "workers and people's government." Not long ago, the JCR press talked about a workers government. The slogan for a "workers government" is part of the fundamental political arsenal of communists, an evocative propagandistic description—and thus popular in the best sense of the term—of the dictatorship of the proletariat: a government based on organs of workers power born of the extraparliamentary mobilization of the proletariat which destroyed the bourgeois state. It is on the basis of this perspective that we try to mobilize the proletariat, as an independent class, against all the varieties of parliamentarist class-collaborationist traps which the Marchais, Krivines & Co. are actively trying to rebuild.

The Stalinists presented the "popular front" as an alliance between the workers and the petty bourgeoisie—the "popular classes"—to establish (bourgeois) parliamentary democracy "against reaction." In reality the popular front is a tool for subordinating the working class to the bourgeoisie, thus paving the way for reaction. The formulation "workers and people's government" also implies a bloc between the proletariat and a so-called "popular class." It tries to reconcile the irreconcilable: the dictatorship of the proletariat, and parliamentarism (which is a *form* of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie). Nothing is new under the pale sun of centrism. As long ago as 1918-19 the master of centrism, Kautsky, tried to reconcile the soviets with bourgeois parliamentary democracy, the catastrophic result of which is well known—the defeat of the German Revolution.

Let's come back to the JCR's claim to be "in total opposition to the advocates of unity with the bourgeoisie and the rich." What does this mean concretely? We must demand that the comrades of the JCR take a position. For revolutionaries to give critical support to a JCR candidacy, it must break clearly with the popular front. The editorial in *L'Egalité* No. 18 (February 1993) notes that in the parliamentary elections, the JCR will support "candidates who declare they are clearly revolutionary and anti-capitalist, candidates who are against the government and against any compromise with the reformists." They then called for a vote for LO candidates.

It takes gall to pretend that LO is "revolutionary," or even "against the government." In *L'Egalité* No. 15 (October 1992)—after the referendum on the Maastricht Treaty and LO's scandalous abstention which helped to save the moribund Mitterrand regime—they wrote, "LO has its share of responsibility in the victory of the September 20 'yes' vote, as the workers will no doubt remind them." Obviously, the JCR leadership preferred to forget this for the purpose of its petty maneuvers! LO is fishing in the same electoral pond with the fascist Le Pen, competing with him for the votes of the racist "man in the street" through fear-mongering demagogy. Those whom the leadership of the JCR presume to call "revolutionaries" (LO) recently boasted of having participated in a vile racist segregationist act: the expulsion of a young woman of North African origin from a high school in Villeneuve-la-Garenne because she wore an Islamic scarf in the classroom. What JCR member who really wants to fight racist segregation could possibly campaign for LO today?

Further on in the 7 February editorial, one finds the call to vote for LCR candidates, "where they don't support the 'pledge to change to the left'." We don't know of any such LCR candidates, and the very fact of running on the slate of Krivine & Co. contradicts all pretense of opposing the popular front. They are involved up to their necks in endless maneuvers with Fiterman, Gallo and ecologists of various stripes.

To be concrete on this key question, what is Raymond Debord's position regarding his "recommendation to vote" in the second round of the elections? It is striking that the phrase "popular front" to characterize the Mitterrand coalition does not even appear in his propaganda, thus leaving room to maneuver. Will Debord call for a vote for PS or PCF candidates? Does his announced opposition to the Mitterrand government stop when matters get serious? If the JCR stated straightforwardly that they supported no candidates of popular fronts—in decomposition or in formation—we Trotskyists would give critical, very critical, support to their candidate, despite his rotten program.

In 1917, the Bolsheviks gave no support to the Mensheviks and SRs in the numerous elections which took place between February and October. They said "Down with the capitalist ministers!" They, too, demanded concrete steps and clear answers!

Comrades of the JCR, you are at a crossroads. You can take the road toward authentic Trotskyism, which will lead you to the principled positions of the ICL, or sink into the centrist swamp, which can only lead to an LCR of the second mobilizatinn. The recent pro-LCR split of L'Egalité-Sociale, which fed off the centrist confusion and compromises of the JCR leadership, just took precisely that road. What L'Egalité-Sociale did was take to its ultimate conclusion the "political solidarity with the LCR" proclaimed by the JCR leadership. To repeat, in July 1992 Elliott praised the Spartacists' opposition to voting for "wnrkers" candidates in the popular front. But a JCR spokesman explained in *L'Egalité* No. 10 (March 1992) that "we would have liked to have seen the two biggest workers parties, the PS and the PCF, unite in these elections and break with the government...when we are faced with PS or PCF electoral slates, yes, we will call to vote for them, in order to defeat the right." Later on, the JCR leadership nurtured a careful ambiguity on voting PS-PCF. The February *L'Egalité* earnestly asks, in the headline of an article, "Should We Vote for the Left in the Second Round?" being careful not to give the slightest response. So, listening to these declarations, you can line up either with the Ligue Trotskyste on the key question of class independence, or with the LCR as an extra-parliamentary prop of the Socialist Party.

The question of voting for mass reformist parties poses a principled question which does not allow for the slightest ambiguity: *one must draw the class line* by posing as a *minimum* condition that the reformist parties stand in these elections independent of all bourgeois allies, before even considering giving them critical electoral support. It is thus that we envisaged giving critical support to Marchais, PCF presidential candidate in 1981, put outside the popular front by the first shocks of the Cold War—support that we withdrew after the racist attack in Vitry, in December 1980, which was the price of admission paid by the PCF to the bourgenisie and its social-democratic water boys, in order to re-enter the popular front. (Conversely, the right centrists and Stalinophobic Workers Power vote on principle—from the first round on—for the candidates of the reformist parties, even when they are part and parcel of a popular front.)

While the JCR leadership along with the Socialist Party, the party of the racist government, signed the call for the February 6 "anti-racist" demonstration, the Ligue Trotskyste offered anti-racist workers and youth a revolutionary pole with a picket alongside the demonstration and a prominently displayed banner: "Mitterrand, 12 Years of Anti-Immigrant, Anti-Soviet, Anti-Working-Class Policies—No to Class Collaboration! For a Workers Government!"

The situation here and internationally demands a revolutionary leadership. This party can only be based on the principles and program of the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky, who said, "In reality, the People's Front is the *main question of proletarian class strategy* for this epoch. It also offers the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism."

Ligue Trotskyste de France
12 March 1993

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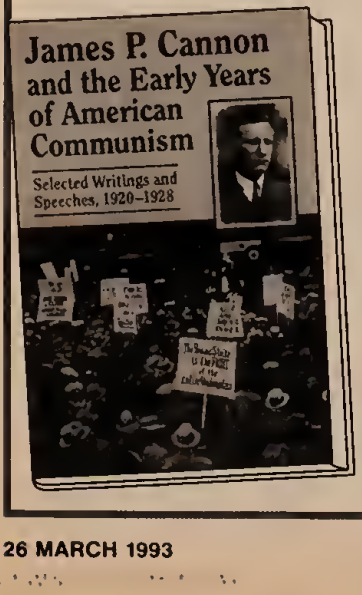

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WORKERS VANGUARD

KKK Connection and Florida Assassination

Abortion Doctor Murdered by "Right to Life" Terrorists

David Gunn, a dedicated doctor who traveled long, lonely hours providing abortion services for women in the Deep South, was murdered on March 10. He regularly made a weekly 1,000-mile circuit of six clinics to perform abortions when no other doctors could be found. When Dr. Gunn arrived at the Pensacola Women's Medical Services Clinic that Wednesday, the god squads from "Rescue America" were outside as usual, harassing the staff and terrorizing the patients. As he stepped out of his car in the parking lot, one of their number drilled three bullets from a .38 into his back at pointblank range.

Dr. Gunn, 47, had for years been a courageous fighter for women's rights. He began work at a public hospital in Brewton, Alabama. "He told me he came to Alabama because it had the highest infant-mortality rate in the nation, and he wanted to try to turn that around," said his son, David Gunn Jr. (*New York Times*, 14 March). Ten years ago, when an elderly doctor got too sick to work, an abortion clinic director in Columbus, Georgia found Dr. Gunn. "We called every doctor in every town from Columbus to Atlanta," she explained. "They would not answer our calls, or they would hang up on us, or they would tell us they were scared."

The clinic director continued, "A clinic would call, and he'd say he would help out until they found someone else. But no other doctor would do the work, and so David was there forever. He eventually gave up his private practice and spent most of his time on the road, living out of hotels."

David Gunn was a prime target of the bigots, who have branched out from mobbing patients (and bombing clinics) to terrorizing doctors. Under the "No Place to Hide" campaign, initiated by Operation Rescue's Randall Terry, the bigots track abortion doctors, follow their children to school, telephone their elderly parents in the middle of the night to tell them their children are dead. A "wanted" poster with Dr. Gunn's name and picture on it was distributed by Operation Rescue (OR). The flyer detailed his "regular itinerary" as he moved from clinic to clinic. He was followed late at night, sent hate mail, death threats, screamed at by fanatics yelling "Murderer!" Then he was killed.

Right-wing terror against abortion clinics and doctors is escalating. In 1992, clinic bombings were at record levels across the country. Dr. Warren Hern, of the Boulder Abortion Clinic in Colorado, said, "I am sitting here behind my desk, looking out a bullet-proof window. I work in four layers of bullet-proof windows. Death threats are so common they are not remarkable." Ron Fitzsimmons, executive director of the National Coalition of Abortion Providers, said on the Phil Donahue Show (15 March) that after David Gunn's murder, "I was getting phone calls all day long from physicians who were looking for bullet-proof vests, trying to find out how they can hire a guard dog or security guards, barbed-wire fences. It's really a war out there."

In response to the wave of outrage over the murder of Dr. Gunn, some spokesmen for "respectable" anti-abortion groups claimed that the killer was a lone wacko. Not so. The assassin, Michael Griffin, had been working with Rescue America, whose Pensacola leader is one John Burt, who was in front of the clinic on March 10. The sinister Burt is a "former" Ku Klux Klansman who participated in the lynch mob violence against school integration in St. Augustine, Florida in the 1960s. In December 1984, when three Pensacola abortion clinics were bombed, Burt called the bombers "heroes" (see "Defend Abortion Clinics," *WV* No. 371, 25 January 1985). As well as providing "family counseling" to the murderer Griffin, Burt has admitted he was the "spiritual adviser" of two men arrested in the 1984 Pensacola bombings.

In fact, many "right-to-lifers" brazenly excused the murder of David Gunn. Rescue America head Don Teshman said: "While Gunn's death is unfortunate, it is also true that quite a number of babies' lives will be saved." (Rescue America is raising funds for Griffin's defense.) And OR head Randall Terry remarked, "we must also grieve for the thousands of children that he has murdered." In launching his "No Place to Hide" campaign, Terry said, "the weak

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Miller/Montgomery Advertiser
Dr. David Gunn

Spartacus Youth Clubs Protest Murder of Dr. David Gunn

Young Spartacus
Washington, D.C., March 18—SYC protest at Howard University against murder of Dr. Gunn.

Defend Abortion!

Spartacus Youth Clubs at Howard University in Washington, D.C. and at the City College of New York (CCNY) called rallies on short notice to defend abortion rights and protest the murder of Dr. David Gunn in Pensacola, Florida. The Ku Klux Klan connection in the assassination of Dr. Gunn was a topic of discussion and outrage among women at Howard University, a black Southern campus. On Thursday, March 18, SYC member Liisa Martin rallied students to take a stand against this ominous KKK/"right to life" offensive against women:

> "The anti-abortion groups who harass, threaten, terrorize and bomb clinics—and now murder doctors—call themselves the 'right to life' movement. But as we have pointed out, this movement has death written all over it. The deranged bigot Michael Griffin, who murdered Dr. Gunn in such a cold-blooded and cowardly fashion, was with the group 'Rescue America' which was founded by a so-called 'former' KKK member. Not a strange coincidence. The program of the Klan and Nazis for women is '*Kinder, Kirche, Küche*' (children, church and kitchen). The Klan has been known to parade around in their hoods and robes with signs with coat hangers on them. They want to force women back into deadly back-alley abortions.... The Spartacist League has been in the forefront of organizing integrated labor mobilizations to stop Klan and Nazi terror. This power should also be utilized to defend the clinics from these terrorists. *Defend the clinics! Take a stand! Free abortion on demand!*"

That same day at Harlem's CCNY campus, New York City police tried to close down the SYC rally. After failing to convince SYC members that they didn't have the "right" to protest, the cops then declared that a bullhorn was *verboten*. Undaunted, the rally spokesman jumped on top of a snowbank and hollered at full lung power, attracting

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Young Spartacus
New York City: Spartacus Youth Club speakout at City College to defend abortion clinics against right-wing terrorist attacks.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 573

9 April 1993

Moscow: Falling Out Among Thieves

Yeltsin Meets His Paymaster

APRIL 6—Fresh from the fiasco of his failed bonapartist power grab two weeks earlier, Russian president Boris Yeltsin jetted to Vancouver last weekend to hobnob with U.S. president Bill Clinton. The idea was to bolster Yeltsin's flagging prospects for a popular vote of confidence in the upcoming April 25 referendum. As Clinton pumped Yeltsin's hand, the American exhorted his Russian ally to "Win! Win!" But for Yeltsin and his imperialist patron, this could be not a "win-win" but a "lose-lose" situation. For both are playing with a weak hand.

In a joint press conference, Clinton and Yeltsin repeatedly banged away at the theme that theirs was an equal "partnership." But there was no mistaking that this was a meeting between a groveling lackey and his cheapskate imperialist paymaster. In an unusually candid piece in the *New York Times* (5 April), Thomas Friedman offered a delightful account of the whole affair: "The meeting had all the drama of a bankrupt businessman applying for a bridge loan from the president of a failing S. & L.... Before, Russian leaders presented their American counterparts with a threat. Now, they just present them with a bill."

Clinton's ostentatious promise of a $1.6 billion "aid" package amounted to little more than credits to buy surplus American wheat and funds to dismantle Russian nuclear warheads, with a few "munificent" gestures thrown in, like 3,000 summer vacations in the U.S. and 450 (!) new houses to be apportioned among the tens of thousands of Russian army officers whose families face homelessness when they are demobilized. Any Chicago ward heeler could tell you that this is not going to buy the beleaguered Russian president a lot of votes.

And Yeltsin needs all the help he can get right now. Days after declaring "presidential rule" on March 20 and forcing a head-on confrontation with parliamentary leader Ruslan Khasbulatov, would-be Tsar Boris barely survived an impeachment vote in the Russian Congress. Even with Khasbulatov pushing a backroom deal aimed at leaving a chastised Yeltsin in place, Congress voted overwhelmingly, 617 to 268, to oust the president, falling narrowly short of the required votes. In a rambling speech to the Congress, Yeltsin was forced to concede "mistakes" in his monetarist economic program and to promise a more "socially oriented" policy.

The Congress also moved to gut Yeltsin's proposed referendum, which had been intended as a plebiscite to rubber-stamp dictatorial rule. Now voters will also be asked if they "approve of the Government's social and economic policies." Since living standards have *fallen by 40 percent* over the past two years, the answer to that question is likely to be a resounding "no." As David Shipler wrote in the *New York Times Magazine* (4 April), "After all, there is a clear answer to the question: Are you better off under Yeltsin than you were under Brezhnev?"

But the implicit alternative offered is to support the nationalist-corporatist policy of the Civic Union opposition led by vice president Aleksandr Rutskoi and factory manager spokesman Arkady Volsky, with the Stalinist "patriots" and their "red"-brown coalition in tow. If Yeltsin and his Harvard-sponsored economic whiz kids, whom Rutskoi once referred to as "boys in pink pants," want to shut down whole swaths of industry in the name of privatization, Rutskoi-Volsky's program for maintaining heavy industry requires a massive infusion of international investment—which isn't forthcoming. Russian workers have no stake in the outcome of this referendum, the continuation of a power play between two wings of the capitalist counterrevolution.

Ellis/Reuters

Yeltsin begs Clinton for a bailout at Vancouver summit. Above, Russian riot police face off against anti-Yeltsin protesters in Red Square.

Hosefros/NY Times

Various leftists like Workers Power in Britain argue that Yeltsin is "the main enemy," claiming the imperialists are solidly behind him, since "for Washington and London it is vital to support Yeltsin." Actually, the imperialists are in a quandary over how to proceed in Russia. Yeltsin's chief support rests in Washington, but the Clinton administration is watching its words. At the PR event in Vancouver, Clinton vowed to support Yeltsin "as long as" he is "the duly-elected president of Russia." And how long will that be? The *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (21-22 March), mouthpiece of the Swiss bankers, queried in a front-page editorial "Save Yeltsin—Under All Circumstances?" and cautioned on the need to "hold open other options."

Anger over economic chaos and the IMF-dictated "shock treatment" imposed by Yeltsin permeates the population. While the Western press played up a strike threat to back Yeltsin's power bid by the CIA-sponsored Kuzbass miners union leaders, a Reuters survey found virtually no support for Yeltsin's policies even among this relatively privileged sector. "In 1991 we were promised improved living conditions and a stable economy," griped one Kuzbass miner. "All we got was the speculators." As for the military, an officer in the elite Dzerzhinsky Division said bluntly: "I don't believe any of them. If someone would pay me a good salary, give me an apartment and get me a car...that's who I'd serve."

So the stalemate continues. We noted last issue that both Yeltsin and his opponents moved rapidly to defuse a potential all-out confrontation for fear of "chaos in the streets" and to avoid drawing in the disgruntled armed forces. For the moment the heat has been reduced as both sides gear up for the referendum. But the present paralysis cannot last long. As we noted last issue: "In the absence of proletarian struggle, Russia is barreling toward bonapartist dictatorship, one way or the other, whether under Yeltsin or Rutskoi or more extreme nationalist/fascist forces" ("Dogfight in Moscow," *WV* No. 572, 26 March).

Karl Marx had a good deal to say about the phenomenon of bonapartism,

continued on page 9

—— USec's Labourite Nationalization Fetish ——
Camp Followers of Counterrevolution

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Mass Protest Against Racist Courts

Michael Ainsworth/Dallas Morning News

Photo at left: Ten thousand demonstrate in Forth Worth, March 28, protesting probation for skinhead convicted in shotgun murder of Donald Thomas, a black man.

Lynch Law in Texas

In Waco, Texas an army of federal agents armed with automatic assault weapons, helicopters and M-1 Abrams tanks, as well as megadecibel killer blasts of country music and Tibetan chants, surround the compound of the Branch Davidians. They are targeted for the "crime" of being a non-conformist dissident religious sect. Meanwhile, the Waco-based Knights of the Ku Klux Klan has been staging hate-fest rallies against the first black resident of a public housing project in the East Texas town of Vidor. Massive state repression, racist terror and lynching, legal and extralegal, are par for the course in this old slave state.

Thus, it was a real act of courage when over 10,000 mostly black protesters marched through downtown Fort Worth, Texas on March 28, chanting, "Justice! Justice! Justice!" The target of the marchers' outrage was the grotesque, slap-on-the-wrist sentence of ten years' *probation* given to a racist skinhead convicted of the 1991 "drive-by" shotgun murder of a black man, Donald Thomas. Three teenage skinheads have been convicted of gunning down Thomas as he stood with white friends outside his Arlington home. But the all-white jury which convicted 18-year-old Christopher Brosky of murder decided that "this might be a man who might be able to turn his life around," and set him loose to kill again.

This blatantly racist sentencing incensed the sizable black and Hispanic population of Dallas/Fort Worth. You can bet that a black or Hispanic man who killed a white person in Texas would get the death penalty, if he even lived that long. Texas has long been notorious for its lynch-law "justice," and ever since the Supreme Court reinstated the death penalty in 1976, the Texas murder mills have been working overtime, executing 56 people by electrocution and lethal injection.

The most recent victim was Ramon Montoya Facundo, a Mexican citizen convicted of killing a Dallas cop in 1983. Montoya had come within hours of being executed on January 27, but was issued a reprieve to allow the Supreme Court to decide whether to hear his appeal that his confession was improperly obtained. Even the Mexican government, which usually goes out of its way to lick Washington's boots, pleaded for clemency for Montoya, one of 18 Mexican citizens on death rows in the U.S. But on March 24 his appeal was rejected, and the next day he was dead by lethal injection.

Only two days before Montoya's execution, the state of Texas also executed Carlos Santana, a citizen of the Dominican Republic. Pleas for mercy from the Dominican government were ignored. Santana's case received wide attention, especially after a TV interview with him aired on the Spanish-language *Telemundo* network. The day before he was scheduled to die, Dominican students at City College of New York sat down on Broadway, chanting "Save the life of Carlos Santana!" Later that night, as the clock ran down, 500 people rallied at the Broadway Temple church in Washington Heights, listening to speeches against the death penalty.

But the Supreme Court rejected Santana's two last-minute appeals. On March 23, Santana's body was flown from Texas to New York, where hundreds attended his wake, prior to flying the body back to Santana's homeland. A speaker noted that Santana's execution came at the same time as the acquittal of ten racist thugs who beat a Dominican youth, Manuel Mayi, to death in Queens in 1991.

State-sanctioned racist murder is rampant in Texas: we won't forget the heinous cop killing of Loyal Garner, a black man stopped by the police in the East Texas piney woods on Christmas Eve 1988, then beaten to death for asking to make a phone call from jail. In 1990, black prisoner Clarence Lee Brandley was freed after *nearly ten years on death row* for a crime he didn't commit. Now the vengeful Texas judicial system is charging him for non-payment of child support during the time he was in jail on frame-up charges (*National Law Journal*, 1 March)!

One of the only states with no public defender system, Texas glaringly demonstrates that the death penalty is state-sanctioned racist murder. Amnesty International devoted an entire section of its report, *The United States: The Death Penalty*, to Texas, the state with more people, and the highest proportion of poor black, Hispanic and Native Americans, on death row than any other in the nation.

In Illinois, the large Mexican community and death-penalty opponents are fighting to save Manuel Salazar, a gifted young Mexican artist accused of killing a cop who beat him nearly to death. With pro-death Democrat Clinton in the White House, and Congress gearing up to pass the hair-raising omnibus crime bill, it's clear that escalating state repression is the bipartisan "solution" to the desperate conditions of the inner cities.

The communist movement has a long tradition of fighting against the racist death penalty by mobilizing international working-class protest. In the Scottsboro case of the 1930s, protests organized by the Communist-affiliated International Labor Defense saved the lives of nine black youths framed up on rape charges and sentenced to Alabama's electric chair.

Today, the case of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, radical black journalist and lifelong fighter for black equality, symbolizes the barbaric racism of the U.S. executioners. The Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee are fighting to save Jamal's life through an international campaign of protest. We need to build a multiracial revolutionary workers party to lead the overthrow of capitalist class rule and guarantee the rights of all the oppressed. Abolish the racist death penalty!

* * *

To join the campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013, (212) 406-4252. ■

Honor Warsaw Ghetto Fighters!

TROTSKY

LENIN

April 19 marks the 50th anniversary of the 1943 Warsaw Ghetto uprising. As the last survivors of what had been the largest Jewish population center in Europe were being dragged off to the gas chambers, Communists and other leftists in the Ghetto launched a battle which succeeded in holding off elite Nazi troops for weeks. Ever defiant, the Ghetto fighters rallied in an underground bunker on May Day, the international workers holiday, to sing the Internationale. *In honor of these heroic fighters and the heritage of militant socialist struggle they exemplified, we reprint an excerpt from* Czerwony Sztandar (Red Flag), *the newspaper of the Jewish Trotskyists in the Warsaw Ghetto, in response to the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941.*

The first workers state is fighting for its existence. The fate of the Russian Revolution and—to a considerable degree—the fate of the international revolution weigh in the balance. The workers of the whole world follow with bated breath the course of the greatest class war in the world, and their hearts and souls are with the Red Army.... Under which slogans will the Soviet bureaucracy lead the war? Under patriotic or revolutionary ones, "democratic" or class?

The history of the last 17 years, beginning from the foundation of the theory of "socialism in one country," and especially the "gains" of the last six years—the "people's front," betrayal of the Spanish revolution, the Moscow trials, the pogrom against the Bolshevik elite, the restoration of the officer caste in the Red Army, triumphant reaction in all spheres of Soviet life, the propagation of the cult of [tsarist generals] Suvorov, Kutuzov and similar "heroes," the assassination of Trotsky and the friendship with Hitler, all Stalin's crimes—the whole Soviet Thermidor would have had no sense if the Soviet bureaucracy were to show itself suddenly willing and capable to conduct revolutionary war....

We defend the workers state regardless of the Stalinist regime, as we defend every workers organization from the blows of the class enemy regardless of the reformist regime ruling it.... The war of the USSR against Hitler—is the war of the international proletariat, it is our war!

"We accept the workers' state as it is and we assert, 'This is our state.' Despite its heritage of backwardness, despite starvation and sluggishness, despite the bureaucratic mistakes and even abominations, the workers of the entire world must defend tooth and nail their future socialist fatherland which this state represents" (Trotsky, 1932).

Long Live the Red Army!
Long Live the Russian Revolution!
Long Live the International Revolution!

—"Our War," *Czerwony Sztandar* (July 1941)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Bloody Communalism and Stalinism in India

21 January 1993

Dear Comrades,

Hope you are aware of what is happening in India since December 6. Conditions are far better in West Bengal than elsewhere, though the threat remains. Arson and killings occurred in certain areas of Calcutta as you may have noticed. An unholy alliance of the police and the criminals (which included Hindus as well as Muslims) was responsible for the incidents. It was not, in fact, a question of the temple vs. mosque. The miscreants needed some pretext for uprooting the slum-dwellers and occupying the land for building five to seven-storeyed buildings there and exploited the occasion for the purpose with the connivance of the police and administration. The victims belong to both religious groups and what is common to them is their poverty and slum-dwelling status. I believe, the same has happened in other cities like Bombay, Ahmedabad, etc. The predominantly Muslim areas in West Bengal like Malda and Murshidabad have remained remarkably peaceful which belies the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] propaganda that the Muslim minority in India seeks and provokes unrest.

It must be, however, emphasized that the Indian working class has not been freed from the chains of religious bigotry because the opportunist misleadership of the so-called socialist and communist parties does not care for their real political education and is itself incapable of educating them properly. So the workers remain vulnerable to the propaganda of religious fanatics. BJP-led Bharatiya Majdoor Sangha, though the youngest of all trade-union organisations, is the second largest one now—it is second only to the Congress (I)-led INTUC (Indian National Trade Union Congress). Communal killings in industrial centres like Kanpur, Bombay and Ahmedabad show that all is not well with the trade-union movement.

Though common people belonging to both religious groups have behaved well, sometimes very heroically in saving and helping their neighbours, the role of the political parties is opportunistic and shameful. Particularly, the Congress (I) seems ready to commit political suicide. As the Muslim voters have turned definitely against the Congress (I) after the Dec. 6 events and the aftermath, the Congress (I) people have adopted the language of the BJP (no more appeasing the Muslims, etc.). That will enable the BJP to gain all the electoral support of the Congress (I) along with its usual votes and it is likely to win if fresh elections take place. It was the Congress that paved the way for the Muslim League and made the partition of India on religious basis inevitable in the 1940s. Now it is obliging BJP. I am afraid India is heading for becoming a Hindu version of Iran and Afghanistan. They have banned a number of fundamentalist organisations but that is simply a farce as the government machinery remains deeply infiltrated by Hindu fanatics.

Fraternally,
U.N. Roy

* * *

21 February 1993

What happened in Bombay is now no secret to literate people in India. Press in Maharashtra was not free to print the truth, but then Bombay is a cosmopolitan city and Shiva Sena's original (initial) targets were not Muslims but non-Maharashtrians. So the press in other states has not hesitated to reveal their crimes and that of their allies. As for the events in Calcutta, the press has published a lot attacking the police and the miscreants. BJP is trying to raise its ugly head in West Bengal but has not achieved much success so far. While there was much trouble in certain parts of Calcutta, the rest of the state remained peaceful. There were attempts to create trouble here and there, but they failed. The Congress (I) has shown its bankruptcy all along by identifying with BJP ("no appeasement of Muslims" etc.) though the official line on paper is different.

Fraternally,
U.N. Roy

AP

As terror continues to sweep India, scores were killed in Calcutta last month as a bomb leveled two apartment buildings.

WV replies: Comrade Roy points to the close connection between communalist terror and capitalist greed and venality. Underworld elements and land speculators may also have been responsible for the bomb explosions which killed more than 300 people in Bombay and at least 60 in Calcutta in March. As for the Indian police, even the *New York Times* (4 February) finally detailed their murderous role in the anti-Muslim pogroms in December and January instigated by the Hindu-chauvinist BJP and the fascist Shiv Sena gangs. At the same time, as we noted in "Hindu Fascists Whip Up Religious Slaughter" (*WV* No. 567, 15 January), the overriding character of the violence then was communalist (and state) terror against the Muslim minority.

The fragmented Indian bourgeoisie and its main party, the Congress (I), have always played the Hindu-chauvinist card. Criminally, as comrade Roy points out, the Indian left shares political responsibility for the communalist violence which threatens to tear apart the multiethnic and multinational proletariat of the subcontinent. In their popular-frontist tailing after one or another sector of the Indian bourgeoisie, the Communist Party (CPI) and the CPI (Marxist) foster illusions in the "secular democracy" of Indian capitalism. In a joint statement, the two CPs seek to be "left" advisers to the corrupt bourgeois politicians of Congress (I): "By refusing to fight the BJP, Congress (I) is not only digging its own grave, but preparing the country to be led to the funeral pyre of secular India" (*People's Weekly World*, 20 February).

Even worse, in a pamphlet entitled "Sangh Parivar's Hindutva Versus the Real Hindu Ethos," the CPI proposes to fight the BJP-led communalists by upholding the "real Hindu ethos," quoting the Ramayana on how the Hindu god Ram honored his pledges and citing "Gandhiji" (Mahatma Gandhi) as the correct interpreter of Ram Rajya (Kingdom of Ram)! Meanwhile the Stalinists call on the repressive forces of the Indian capitalist state. CPI(M) Politburo member Prakash Karat, writing in *Frontline* (1 January), demands: "The Army has to be deployed effectively wherever necessary to put down communal violence." This is the same army which is carrying out the murderous repression of Kashmiri Muslims and Punjabi Sikhs—with the support of the CPI(M)! Karat does not even mention the working class, appealing instead for a popular front with the Congress (I), as he calls for "the united effort of all secular and democratic forces to rouse the people's patriotic and secular consciousness."

Tagging along behind this "secular" popular front to demobilize the working class are Indian supporters of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat. USec supporter Achin Vanaik writes:

> "All parties (including the Congress) committed to the secular legacy of the National Movement must, for the first time, forge a common front to carry out sustained mobilization in major towns and cities against Hindu nationalism.... What matters is not this or that policy—for example, the banning of communal organizations—but the determination of the government to impose its moral-political agenda."
>
> —*New Left Review*
> (November-December 1992)

The "moral-political agenda" of the Congress (I) government today centers on the increased immiseration and exploitation of the already impoverished Indian masses on behalf of the imperialist International Monetary Fund. Government bans against Hindu-chauvinist organizations, so cavalierly dismissed by Vanaik, will serve only as precedents to ban workers organizations in the future.

The USec's appeals to the hollow "secular legacy" of Gandhi and Nehru's National Movement, which paved the way for the communalist horrors of the 1947 Partition, demonstrate the Mandelites' utter inability to combat the all-sided national, caste and sex oppression in the Indian prison house of peoples. Likewise in Sri Lanka, the USec's NSSP, which orbits around the bourgeois Sinhala-chauvinist SLFP, refuses to demand withdrawal of troops from the Tamil areas in the North and East.

The burgeoning communalist terror in the Indian subcontinent can only be stopped *through workers revolution* led by an authentic Trotskyist vanguard. As we wrote in January: "What is required is the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution, the seizure of power by the working class rallying behind it the peasant masses, the oppressed castes and national minorities, the subjugated and enslaved women." ■

Editorial Note

DSA: Noske's Grandchildren Groove on Murder of Rosa Luxemburg

As the imperialist rulers trumpet the "death of communism," their social-democratic assets are trying to cash in. The Democratic (Party) Socialists of America (DSA) are showing up as guests at public forums organized by groups like Solidarity and the International Socialist Organization. The Committees of Correspondence (CoC), a social-democratic split from the reformist Communist Party, has even set up a DSA liaison committee—probably to test the waters for fusion with the heirs of Michael Harrington.

But some social-democratic youth were a bit too frank about their own counterrevolutionary heritage. Among the Labor Day greetings in the DSA's *Democratic Left* (September-October 1992) was a sick ad: "WE KILLED Rosa Luxemburg Youth Section Right-wing, Beer Drinking, Meat Eating, Stodgy Social Democratic Caucus." In its following issue *Democratic Left* ran an apology that explained: "The ad's ill-advised humor derived from a long-standing, absurd charge by Trotskyite organizations that DSA 'killed' Rosa Luxemburg. In fact, Rosa Luxemburg is a hero of the socialist movement and some DSA members have named children in her honor."

In fact, Rosa Luxemburg, the founding leader of the German Communist Party, was arrested and murdered in January 1919 along with her comrade Karl Liebknecht by the German *Freikorps*, the rightist paramilitary force (forerunners of Hitler's fascists) brought in by the Social Democratic government to smash the Berlin workers in the so-called Spartakist uprising. Justifying the slaughter, SPD defense minister Gustav Noske remarked, "someone has to be the bloodhound." Reformists and feminists have erected a mythology around Rosa Luxemburg that disappears her revolutionary struggle against capitalism and her defense of the young Soviet workers state.

Chicago DSA leader Jay Hughes told *Workers Vanguard* that such "jokes" are common among DSA youth, who are wont to sing: "Just like the tree that fell on Rosa Luxemburg, we shall not be moved." This cesspool is the political destination for the fake-lefts who supported capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union and are now Bill Clinton's "socialist" lap dogs. ■

USec's Labourite Nationalization Fetish

Camp Followers of Counterrevolution

"Yeltsin's coming to power in Russia heralded the spread of restorationist 'shock therapy' in the former Soviet republics," warns Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec) in *International Viewpoint* (March 1993). "Down with Yeltsin's Coup!" proclaims the British Workers Power group, in a March 23 resolution of its League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI) on Yeltsin's abortive bonapartist power grab last month (*Trotskyist Bulletin*, April 1993). Strange noises are emanating from the fake-leftists who fell over each other trying to scramble (mostly vicariously) onto the Yeltsin barricades in August 1991. What's going on?

Now that the Soviet workers are being plunged into dire poverty by capitalist restoration, these groups are desperate to "disappear" their former support to the Yeltsinite "democrats." At a recent talk in New York, Mandel volubly denied that his organization had sided with Yeltsin in August 1991 (see *WV* No. 571, 12 March). And Workers Power would now have us believe that it took no side between Yeltsin and the "Emergency Committee": "Just as Russian workers should have opposed both Yannaev and Pugo's August 1991 coup and Yeltsin's previous coups [in August and December 1991], so now they should oppose Tsar Boris' latest measures."

But they weren't screaming "Down with Yeltsin!" when he seized on the botched August 1991 coup attempt by Gorbachev's former lieutenants to seize the reins of power and usher in the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state. When it counted, the USec, WP and their ilk all lined up *with Yeltsin and the forces of capitalist counterrevolution.*

The USec loudly proclaimed: "It was necessary without hesitation to oppose the coup, and in this respect to struggle alongside Yeltsin" (*International Viewpoint*, 16 September 1991). *Workers Power* (September 1991) wrote, "Revolutionary Marxists should have stood in the front ranks of those fighting to smash the 19 August coup," while a 22 August 1991 LRCI resolution stated baldly: "Yeltsin's call—for active resistance against the coup and for a general strike—should have been supported and taken up by the workers organisations."

On every front—from East Germany to Poland, the Baltics and Russia—these groups gave open or back-handed support to the forces of counterrevolution. Even now, the USec's *International Viewpoint* (March 1993) provides a platform for erstwhile idol Jacek Kuron—who as Walesa's labor minister is chief strikebreaker for the Solidarność regime—to pontificate on the question of "social justice"!

Untquely, we of the International Communist League opposed capitalist restoration across the board. Against Walesa's bid for power in 1981, we demanded: "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" In Germany in 1989-90, we alone unambiguously proclaimed: "No to Capitalist Reunification!" At the time of Yeltsin's August 1991 countercoup, we declared, "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" We fought for the Trotskyist program of proletarian political revolution, from East Berlin to Warsaw and Moscow, to defeat the counterrevolutionary onslaught and oust the bankrupt Stalinist bureaucracies.

And when it was clear that the forces of capitalist restoration had succeeded in destroying the workers state, we told the bitter truth: "The period of open counterrevolution ushered in by Boris Yeltsin's pro-imperialist countercoup in August 1991 has, in the absence of mass working-class resistance, culminated in the creation of a bourgeois state, however fragile and reversible" ("How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled," *WV* No. 564, 27 November 1992). We raised the call, "For Socialist Revolution to Sweep Away Yeltsin Counterrevolution!"

In the difficult conditions of counterrevolutionary chaos, we Spartacists have sought to cohere a Soviet nucleus around the banner of Trotsky's Fourth International.

"Disappearing" the Counterrevolution

To cover the tracks of their treachery, the fake-Trotskyists hide in a fantasy world which denies that the counterrevolution has conquered in East Europe and the former Soviet Union. Workers Power insists that "Russia remains a degenerated workers' state." Mandel continues to call the East European countries "bureaucratic post-capitalist societies."

How do they pull off this sleight of hand? On Russia, as elsewhere, the Mandelites claim that the Stalinist bureaucracy remains in place, and talk of "the rule of the old nomenklatura." The Polish Mandelites vituperate against the "red bourgeoisie." Likewise the followers of the late Nahuel Moreno argue, in their journal *Correo Internacional* (September 1992), that "to the extent that the relations of property and production haven't changed, the bureaucracy cannot renounce power, from which it is directing the transition."

The idea that the Stalinist bureaucracy remains intact in the wake of—and indeed presides over—capitalist counterrevolution is of a piece with the view that Stalinism is "counterrevolutionary through and through," or in the Workers Power version, "invariably a counterrevolutionary force." Such Stalinophobic arguments were used to justify the refusal to defend the Soviet Union wherever it was concretely posed. Trotsky, in contrast, characterized the bureaucracy as a brittle, *contradictory* caste, parasitically resting on the proletarian property forms of the degenerated workers state.

But the bureaucracy as a caste has now been shattered. Yeltsin himself demonstratively broke from the Communist Party—the bureaucracy's "apparatus of domination," as Trotsky called it—well before becoming Russian president. He offered himself up as spokesman for the new layer of yuppie speculators and Western-oriented entrepreneurs.

So on what basis do these pseudo-Trotskyists claim that East Europe and the ex-USSR are still workers states? Their bottom line is that nationalized property remains. The USec takes this to its logical absurdity when it comes to the former German Democratic Republic (East Germany).

The East German economy was formally subordinated to Bonn and the Frankfurt bankers on 1 July 1990, when the D-mark became the common currency. Later that year, East Germany's state apparatus was literally dissolved and its territory bodily incorporated into the Greater German imperialist state. More than half the population in the east is now unemployed, the planned economy is gone, virtually every social service created by the workers state has been swept away, and the *Treuhand* which oversees the "sale" (read: destruction) of industry is a direct agency of the capitalist banks. Yet Mandel & Co. still insist, "Even in the former GDR capitalism has not yet prevailed" (*International Viewpoint*, March 1993).

In Walesa's Poland, the private sector accounts for almost half of all non-agricultural production and employs 42 percent of the labor force. Yet the Polish Mandelites around the newspaper *Dalej!* speak of "our economy" and raise as their maximum demand: "An immediate program for rescuing the economy and defending state industry" (*Socialist Action*, June 1992). So they want to "rescue" the new bourgeoisie's economy! Meanwhile the Catholic church is the predominant social force in society, dictating religious indoctrination in the schools and a sweeping ban on abortion (to which the Mandelites capitulate with a lame call for "the right to choose motherhood"!).

Arguing that foreign capital is "essential to any restorationist project," *International Viewpoint* continues its obfuscation:

> "It is not necessary for all the means of production to be privatized for this to be achieved nor that the only logic at work is capitalist. But capitalist logic must prevail. Such a state of affairs does not exist in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union now and there is no inevitability that it will exist."

We have described the situation in the ex-USSR and East Europe as "capitalism without capital." But the absence of significant imperialist investment does not

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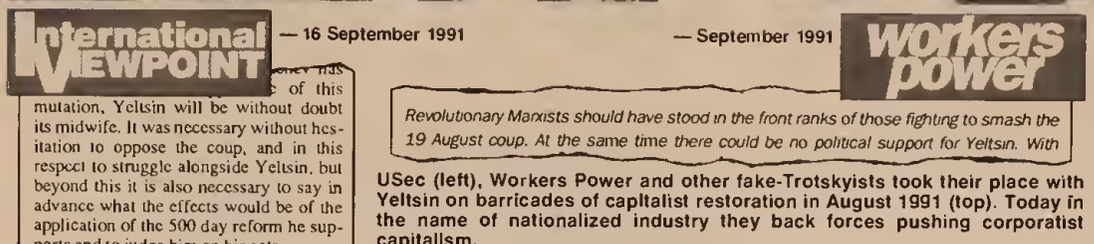
Spartacist

Sygma



International VIEWPOINT — 16 September 1991

workers power — September 1991

Revolutionary Marxists should have stood in the front ranks of those fighting to smash the 19 August coup. At the same time there could be no political support for Yeltsin. With

of this mutation, Yeltsin will be without doubt its midwife. It was necessary without hesitation to oppose the coup, and in this respect to struggle alongside Yeltsin, but beyond this it is also necessary to say in advance what the effects would be of the application of the 500 day reform he supports and to judge him on his acts.

USec (left), Workers Power and other fake-Trotskyists took their place with Yeltsin on barricades of capitalist restoration in August 1991 (top). Today in the name of nationalized industry they back forces pushing corporatist capitalism.

Der Spiegel

USec pushed "Solidarity with Solidarność" and hailed "socialist" Jacek Kuron (right), now chief strikebreaker for Walesa's clerical-nationalist regime.

Young Spartacus

Berkeley Spartacus Youth Club Protests "Right to Life" Bigots

Defend the Clinics—Free Abortion on Demand!

BERKELEY, April 1—When the Spartacus Youth Club heard that anti-abortion bigots planned to meet on the Berkeley campus, we swung into high gear to mobilize an effective protest against the "right to life" provocateurs. On less than two hours notice, the SYC mobilized a picket line demonstration. Teams of comrades agitated in the dining halls and dormitories to pull students out to demonstrate in defense of abortion.

Emboldened by the murder of Dr. David Gunn by right-wing terrorists in Pensacola, Florida, a group calling itself "Berkeley Students for Life" thought they could hold a meeting unchallenged on the Berkeley campus. Instead they were met by a spirited picket of some 30 demonstrators in front of Barrows Hall chanting, "Defend the clinics! Take a stand! Free abortion on demand!"

A Spartacist supporter dispatched to inform a meeting of the "Committee for Justice for Jerrold Hall and John Henry Owens"—a black youth killed by a BART cop, and a victimized survivor—of the urgent protest found ready support. The Committee shut down their meeting to join the demonstration; members of the Revolutionary Trotskyist League and the Revolutionary Workers League spoke at the protest. Supporters of the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League also participated.

In her speech, Kathleen Hayes from the Spartacus Youth Club noted that the campus liberals of "Berkeley Students for Choice" knew about the "right to life" meeting, but did nothing:

> "'Pro-choice' groups like NOW think they have the wind in their sails because their man's in the White House, and there is nothing for them to do but get a 'pro-choice' Supreme Court justice. That this is grotesque and wrong was demonstrated by the murder of Dr. Gunn. These terrorists have to be stopped. Next time, let's mobilize to run them off campus!"

Young Spartacus photos

April 1: Berkeley Spartacus Youth Club initiated united-front demonstration against a meeting of anti-abortion bigots emboldened by the recent murder of abortion doctor David Gunn.

The Bible-thumping, woman-hating squads of Right to Life and Operation Rescue should be run off campus, and everywhere else they dare to stage their provocations. Since losing the overtly sympathetic ear they had in the Reagan/Bush White House, they have escalated their campaign of intimidation, terrorism and murder. Abortion rights will be won through struggle against the anti-abortion terrorists at the clinics and on the streets, not by maneuvers in the courts or lobbying Democrats in Congress.

The SYC says "Labor: Defend the Clinics!" What's needed are large, organized contingents of unionists and all supporters of abortion rights mobilized to stop the right-wing thugs. The bourgeois feminists of NOW are pushing Congress for a "freedom of choice" bill (grotesquely including a "parental consent" clause). But even formal legality of abortion denies poor, minority and working-class women access to safe abortions, if there are no doctors to perform them, no clinics left to perform them in and they don't have the money to afford them. That's why the Spartacist League fights for "Free Abortion on Demand!" and "Free Quality Health Care for All!"

Capitalist society rests in part on the oppression of women, its bedrock being the family, which relegates women to bearing children and household drudgery. Women's liberation is possible only through workers revolution to destroy capitalism, making obsolete and replacing the social functions of the family. The Spartacus Youth Club appeals to young people who want to link up with the working class to bury this rotten capitalist system. Join us! ■

Michigan Padlocks Schools

Nothing reflects the accelerating decay of capitalism like the fact that the system of secular public education, a product of 19th century liberal enlightenment, is now targeted for destruction by the ruling class. And in this class society, the impact is concentrated among working-class and minority youth. Under Democrat Clinton or Republican Bush, the result is a bipartisan budget of cutbacks everywhere.

Last month the school system literally collapsed in the impoverished Michigan district of Kalkaska County, where the school board closed the entire system ten weeks early because of a $1.5 million deficit, leaving over 2,300 students out in the cold. State administrators for Republican governor John Engler cynically responded by suggesting that the district could have kept the schools open by cutting over a million dollars from "unemployment costs for laid-off teachers" and "pension credits" (*Ann Arbor News*, 25 March).

The only major budget increases in Engler's budget are for more cops and prisons, while the counties are starving for funds for essential services. Kalkaska County is a poor rural area where many retirees live and so, not surprisingly, proposals to raise property taxes for schools were rejected three times by the voters.

The condition of Michigan schools is a reflection of the capitalist economy, where the once-dominant auto industry has abandoned Detroit for greener profit pastures, throwing the heavily black proletariat into mass poverty almost overnight.

In New York State, meanwhile, the Commissioner of Education Thomas Sobol announced with fanfare a plan to make work a part of the educational system, requiring students to work a certain number of hours on a real-life job in order to qualify for graduation.

Amid applause from "progressive" educators, Sobol spoke of solving "a crisis for many young people in the transition from education to employment" (*New York Times*, 25 March). But his proposal fell apart immediately when it dawned on school officials that they would have to find jobs for over 300,000 seniors every year. The capitalists aren't hiring raw youth because there are *no jobs* in this bankrupt economy.

In Los Angeles, the recent agreement by the teachers union to swallow a *10 percent pay cut* in lieu of launching a strike against the school board—a "deal" foisted on them by Democratic Assembly Speaker Willie Brown and the union bureaucrats—has only accelerated the decline of the state's school system at all levels. Sensing the lack of organized labor opposition, and the miserable collapse of the recent UC Berkeley TA strike, the University of California regents has cut staff pay by 5 percent while student fees have soared. The fee increases will of course drastically raise the barrier to college education for minorities, who make up 43 percent of the state's population.

And in San Francisco, parents in the affluent yuppie districts are massively opting out of the money-starved public school system and sending their kids to expensive private schools which have the funds for good teachers, textbooks and equipment.

World-famous physicist Albert Einstein, whose views reflect the positive side of 19th century humanist liberalism, once spoke of the "crippling of the social consciousness of individuals" as the "worst evil of capitalism," ascribing it to "an exaggerated competitive attitude" and the "worship [of] acquisitive success" ("Why Socialism?" from *Out of My Later Years*, 1950). He concluded that "there is only *one* way to eliminate these grave evils, namely through the establishment of a socialist economy, accompanied by an educational system which would be oriented toward social goals."

In *The ABC of Communism*, Nikolai Bukharin and Yevgeny Preobrazhensky noted that in bourgeois society the educational system first of all "inspires the coming generation of workers with devotion and respect for the capitalist régime," and "creates from the young of the ruling classes 'cultured' controllers of the working population." In contrast, the young Soviet republic created the unified labor school and established that "instruction and education must be united with labor and must be based upon labor.... We can more easily understand our natural surroundings when we get to work upon nature in our attempts to modify it."

AP

Kalkaska, Michigan: Students sent home as schools shut down for lack of funding.

But for this, a socialist revolution is necessary. Conversely, as a signal of the recent counterrevolution in the former East Germany, the vengeful bourgeoisie did away with the polytechnical educational system for all youth—the capitalists see no need to teach girls how to be lathe operators—and the old class-track system with its elite *Gymnasium* for the privileged has returned (along with witchhunting thousands of teachers out of their jobs).

The lesson for today's youth is: without a working-class revolution, school's out. ■

Bloody Outcome of U.S. Anti-Soviet Crusade

AP

Girard/Asiaweek

Afghanistan: Mujahedin Rape Kabul

Above left, cutthroat *mujahedin* (holy warriors) devastated Afghan capital of Kabul early this year with U.S.-supplied rockets. Right, victory by Islamic fundamentalists means women are imprisoned in the stifling *chadori*.

On March 8, rival Afghan warlords signed a pact in the Pakistani capital of Islamabad. Under this "power-sharing" plan, the bloodthirsty arch-reactionary Gulbuddin Hekmatyar is designated "prime minister." But the Pakistan-engineered "peace" settlement is likely to be short-lived—Hekmatyar immediately declared that his chief rival, Ahmad Shah Masud, would have to go as "defense minister." This presaged continued fighting as the fractious alliance of Pashtun and Hazara tribesmen led by Hekmatyar tries to seize the spoils

Der Spiegel

Bloodthirsty CIA-armed reactionary Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, now prime minister of Afghanistan.

of war from Masud's Tadzhik guerrillas and the militia of Uzbek general Abdul Rashid Doestam. Doestam has been frozen out of the new arrangement as a former "Communist" and infidel.

Holy hell rained on the population of Kabul during January and February as rival factions of fundamentalist Islamic *mujahedin* ("holy warriors") battled for control of the nominal capital of a fracturing Afghanistan. For the third time since the fall of Soviet ally Najibullah last April, medievalist reactionaries armed with U.S.-supplied modern weapons poured mortar fire and rockets into residential communities in a conscious effort to drive out a population bloated by refugees fleeing 15 years of civil war. The death toll among the civilian population sometimes exceeded 300 a day, while more than 750,000 people have fled Kabul in the last year.

Reuters news agency (10 February) reported one refugee's lament that the *mujahedin* are shooting Afghanistan back into the Middle Ages. Already under Masud, all women have been driven out of public employment and into the stifling *chadori* (head-to-toe veil) while the entire populace has been subjected to a reign of terror and plunder. "The destitute tell harrowing tales of murder, mutilation, torture, abduction or rape at the hands of defence ministry or rebel forces," writes a London *Guardian* correspondent (26 February). Now the upper hand is held by Hekmatyar's Hezb-i-Islami thugs, who regularly murder innocent refugees and flay war prisoners, and the Iranian-allied Shi'ite group Hezb-i-Wahadat led by Khomeinite fanatics.

In the early 1970s, Hekmatyar gained notoriety for throwing acid at women students at Kabul University whose legs and faces were uncovered. Outlining his vision of a "strict Islamic state" in 1989, Hekmatyar said: "Democracy and Islam do not go together.... A group of wise men will adapt the laws to Islam, all alcohol will be banned, women will stay at home once again, and mullahs will have more power" (*New York Times*, 6 March 1989). Last spring Western reporters watched as a Hekmatyar warrior shot down a Red Cross worker on the outskirts of Kabul, declaring, "I don't want infidels in Afghanistan" (*Washington Post*, 23 April 1992). Now, thanks to the deal brokered by Hekmatyar's patron, Hamid Gul, former head of Pakistan's secret Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), these horrors will be visited on Kabul.

The all-sided bloodbath in Afghanistan is the rotten fruit of American imperialism's unremitting drive to undermine and destroy the Soviet degenerated workers state. From the moment the Soviet-allied People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) came to power in April 1978, Washington started funneling arms to *mujahedin* guerrilla groups based in Pakistan. In December 1979 the Soviet Army directly intervened in the civil war to prevent the collapse of the petty-bourgeois nationalist PDPA regime, whose meager modernizing reforms—land redistribution, education of women, freedom from the *chadori*, lowering of the bride price—had outrun the social forces prepared to implement and defend them against medieval reaction.

Democratic U.S. president Jimmy Carter then drastically escalated aid to the Afghan counterrevolutionaries, launching what became the biggest covert CIA operation in history. Still smarting from its ignominious defeat in Indochina five years earlier, the U.S. government launched a drive to bury the "Vietnam syndrome." Behind Carter's hypocritical anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign, including the U.S. boycott of the 1980 Moscow Summer Olympics, came the biggest military buildup in human history, including a massive increase in nuclear weaponry aimed at the Soviet Union. Afghanistan, where American-supplied weapons could be used to kill Red Army soldiers, was the hottest hot spot of Cold War II. Carter and The Company didn't give a goat's fart for the "self-determination" of Afghanistan: their goal was the destruction of the Soviet Union.

Carter's proxy war in Afghanistan marked the start of Cold War II. All organizations claiming to stand for revolutionary Marxism were put to the test: For or against the defense of the Soviet Union? For or against imperialist-sponsored counterrevolution? Maoist currents openly lined up with Washington. Stalinist parties fractured between anti-Soviet "Eurocommunists" and reformist adherents of Moscow's line of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. Fake-Trotskyists joined the anti-Soviet chorus and denounced the Kremlin "invasion," some ludicrously arguing that it made their bogus "Soviet defensism" harder to maintain! The only group that consistently and emphatically stood with Soviet troops and their Afghan allies against CIA-backed Islamic counterrevolution was the international Spartacist tendency, now the International Communist League, of which the Spartacist League is the U.S. section.

It is now acknowledged by both officials of the former Gorbachev regime in Moscow and their counterparts in Washington that the battle for Afghanistan was a decisive turning point in the demise of the USSR, which despite Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration embodied gains inherited from the October Revolution of 1917. Today the Islamic counterrevolutionaries mobilized in a *jihad* (holy war) against Communism in Afghanistan are continuing their deadly work around the globe, laying waste to Kabul and spreading fundamentalist terror from Tadzhikistan to Egypt and Algeria, and possibly New York City.

Imperialism's *Jihad*

The Spartacists greeted Soviet intervention in Afghanistan with the headline: "Hail Red Army!" Not only was Moscow's military action fully justified by the need to militarily defend the Soviet workers state's southern flank, but it also opened up the possibility of liberating Afghanistan's masses—

Eaton/L.A. Times

Moscow: the grave of a Soviet soldier killed in Afghanistan. Honor the Red Army men and women who did their internationalist duty!

especially women—from feudal oppression and tribal backwardness reinforced by imperialism. We demanded: "Extend social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples!" (*WV* No. 247, 11 January 1980). Noting that this ran straight up against the Stalinists' program of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, we warned that Moscow might betray by withdrawing from Afghanistan, and said: "Only a proletarian political revolution in the USSR can truly restore the Red Army and the Soviet state to its internationalist and revolutionary mission."

Recently released Soviet documents, as well as some "insider" memoirs of the CIA's Afghan operation, confirm that the civil war was an imperialist dagger thrust at the Soviet state, and the Moscow leadership knew it. According to Soviet Communist Party Political Bureau minutes from early 1983, Kremlin leader Yuri Andropov saw no basis for compromise with the United States over Afghanistan. Countering Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko's proposal for a "political agreement," Andropov said: "Our main opponent here is American imperialism, which understands full well that it has lost its position in this particular corner of the international arena. That is why we cannot make any concessions" (*Washington Post*, 16 November 1992).

By 1984 the Red Army and its PDPA allies had essentially reduced the *mujahedin* forces to demoralized remnants, as we reported in "Red Army Mops Up CIA's Afghan Feudalists" (*WV* No. 370, 11 January 1985). But then Washington suddenly shifted gears and vastly expanded its "aid." Why? A two-part series in the *Washington Post* (19 and 20 July 1992) on the "CIA's Covert Afghan War" reported:

> "An intelligence coup in 1984 and 1985 triggered the Reagan administration's decision to escalate the covert program in Afghanistan, according to these Western officials. The United States received highly specific, sensitive information about Kremlin politics and new Soviet war plans in Afghanistan."

What was this information? The November 1992 *Post* series on "The Afghan Archive" reports that under the new general secretary Gorbachev, "By October 1985, the Politburo had worked out a new line on Afghanistan. The aim, according to Politburo minutes, was to 'speed up the withdrawal' of Soviet troops while assuring the survival of a 'friendly' regime in Kabul" through "a more vigorous prosecution of the war in the short term."

Washington's Afghan war was a *bipartisan* undertaking. In 1984 the Democratic Congress *tripled* the Republican administration's proposed appropriations for the Afghan reactionaries. House Democrat Charles Wilson from Texas said: "There were 58,000 [American] dead in Vietnam, and we owe the Russians one." By the time the Soviets left Afghanistan the CIA's Afghan "freedom fighters" had received (by official estimates) more than *$2 billion* in military hardware, a figure reportedly matched by Saudi Arabia and supplemented by other U.S. allies like China and Egypt. At the height of Washington's proxy war against the USSR, the *mujahedin* were receiving up to 65,000 tons of war matériel annually. The *Post* quotes a Western official saying that the escalation beginning in 1985 "was directed at killing Russian military officers."

Instead of Korean War-era Soviet and Chinese arms, the *mujahedin* began receiving state-of-the-art weaponry made in the USA. Despite the U.S.' claim that it no longer engaged in assassination, Washington dispatched sniper rifles via Pakistan which were requested for the purpose of killing Soviet generals. Despite American condemnation of indiscriminate terror in Beirut, the *Post* reports that Washington supplied C-4 plastic explosives: "Some mujaheddin trained at the CIA-assisted guerrilla schools used the materials and training supplied to carry out a number of car bomb and other assassination attacks in Kabul...." In June 1986, seeking to counter the Soviets' effective use of helicopter gunships against the guerrillas, Reagan ordered the CIA to begin distributing Stinger heat-seeking, shoulder-fired missiles to the *mujahedin*.

Graschenkov/Novosti

Afghan women armed with Soviet AK-47s. Thousands volunteered for women's militia, fighting for their rights and their lives. Withdrawal of Soviet troops was betrayal of Afghan women, and of the Soviet Union.

Though the technology to neutralize the Stingers was available, the Soviets didn't employ it. This was a *political* decision that undermined Soviet battlefield performance. Gorbachev came to power pushing a series of policy changes: "restructuring" (perestroika) of the Soviet economy, "openness" (glasnost) in Soviet society and "new thinking" in international affairs. This "new thinking" amounted to Soviet *retreat* on a global scale: the cutoff of arms to leftist guerrillas in El Salvador, aid cutbacks for Sandinista Nicaragua, Vietnamese withdrawal from Cambodia, the pullout from Angola of Cuban troops fending off South Africa's army of racist apartheid, one-sided nuclear arms reductions by the USSR.

As part of this strategy of surrender, Gorbachev's Politburo decided in November 1986 to get out of Afghanistan within two years. The withdrawal was completed on 15 February 1989. "At CIA headquarters in Langley, operations officers and analysts drank champagne," reported the *Post*.

ICL Backs Heroic Resistance to *Mujahedin* Cutthroats

"The Red Army withdrawal from Afghanistan is a cold-blooded betrayal of the Afghan *and Soviet* peoples," we declared (see "Battle for Afghanistan," *WV* No. 471, 14 February 1989). The Moscow bureaucracy's attempt to trade Afghan blood for good will in Washington only whetted the appetites of the imperialists, who remained intent upon the destruction of the entire Soviet Union. Inside the USSR, it strengthened pro-capitalist forces. The Red Army pullout was an important link in the chain of events that led up to the collapse of the USSR: nationalist civil war in the Caucasus, counterrevolution in the Baltics, capitalist reunification of Germany, Boris Yeltsin's pro-capitalist countercoup in Moscow. According to Gorbachev's foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze, "The decision to leave Afghanistan was the first and most difficult step. Everything else flowed from that" (*Washington Post*, 16 November 1992).

The ICL solidarized with the Afghan masses who waged the bitter struggle for survival in the wake of the Soviet withdrawal. On 7 February 1989 the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), the class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the SL/U.S., sent a letter to the government of Afghanistan offering "to organize an international brigade to fight to the death" to defend "the right of women to read, freedom from the veil, freedom from the tyranny of the mullahs and the landlords, the introduction of medical care and the right of all to an education." Though this offer was declined, the ICL raised over $44,000 to aid civilian victims of an all-out *mujahedin* offensive later that year against Jalalabad, the Afghan city closest to the CIA's guerrilla bases in Pakistan. This attack was defeated (see "Report from Heroic Jalalabad: Front Line Afghanistan," *WV* No. 482, 21 July 1989).

Fake-Left: Confusion and Capitulation

Moscow's intervention produced deep turmoil, confusion and capitulation across the spectrum of the left internationally. Various impostors who try to pass off their Stalinophobia as Trotskyism eagerly joined the imperialist chorus calling for Soviet withdrawal, and supported the *mujahedin* either enthusiastically (followers of Nahuel Moreno and of Pierre Lambert) or shamefacedly (followers of Tony Cliff). In Britain a grouping called Workers Power split from the "state-capitalist" Cliffites, declaring the Soviet Union to be a workers state while condemning the Soviet Afghan intervention as "counterrevolutionary" and seeking a mythical Third Camp between the combatants (see "Afghanistan and the Left," *WV* No. 475, 14 April 1989).

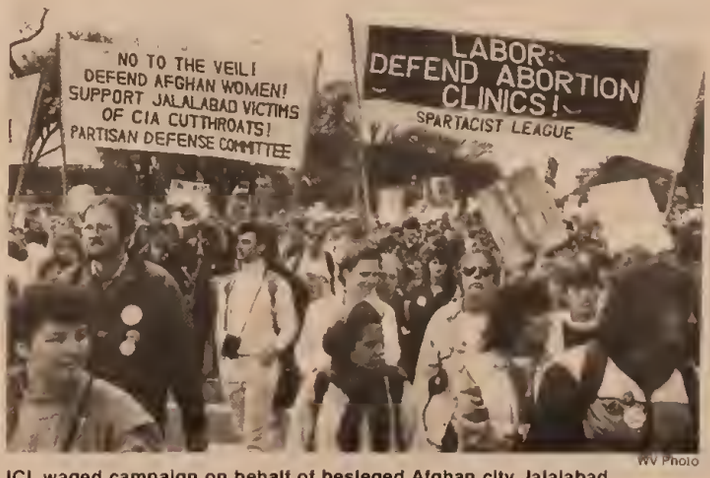
The ostensibly Trotskyist United Secretariat led by Belgian professor Ernest Mandel came down simultaneously on all sides of the issue: the British and French USec sections initially called for "Soviet troops out" but withdrew this openly pro-imperialist slogan later on; the Australian and American SWPs backed the Soviet/PDPA forces, although the latter later flip-flopped out of fear of sounding like Spartacists. In January 1980 the USec adopted a resolution that condemned Moscow's intervention, denounced the Moscow bureaucracy for its disregard of the "national sentiments" of Afghans and opposed the "annexation of new territories," while declining to call for Soviet withdrawal. Yet 16 months later the USec issued a statement calling "For an End to the Soviet Occupation of Afghanistan!"

So what had changed, or—in Mandelese—what was the "new world reality"? It was *Poland*. During 1980 and 1981 the rise of Lech Walesa's Solidarność, a pro-capitalist nationalist movement masquerading as a "labor union," made counterrevolution "respectable" among leftists susceptible to the pressure of imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive. Those chary of backing woman-hating fundamentalists in Afghanistan could easily get behind Solidarność, on the grounds that ten million Polish workers can't be wrong. And once they lined up behind Wall Street and the Pope on Poland, supporting the CIA/*mujahedin* anti-Soviet war in Afghanistan was just a matter of consistency.

For Mandel's American followers a new (or was it just another?) low was registered last fall in an article titled "War and Tragedy in Afghanistan" by Tom Barrett, an editor of the *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism* (*BIDOM*, September 1992). The article appeared just as the Fourth Internationalist Tendency (FIT), publisher of *BIDOM*, was liquidating into Solidarity, an explicitly anti-Soviet and anti-Leninist organization. The article retails lies and CIA disinformation from the Western media, much of which had already been disowned: "the Soviet army turned to terror tactics against the Afghan people, including chemical warfare, cluster bombing, and napalm." Afghanistan was Moscow's "Vietnam-like quagmire," a hopeless attempt to crush a popular revolt led by *mujahedin* whom Barrett likens to the National Liberation Front that fought U.S. imperialism in Vietnam!

Barrett grotesquely labeled the PDPA government "a regime whose tyranny differed only quantitatively from that of Pol Pot of Cambodia." An example of such "tyranny"? "Decreeing coeducation"! Further, in the spirit of USec pundits who in 1979 lectured Iranian women that the veil was a symbol of "liberation," the *BIDOM* article denounces the PDPA for trying to ameliorate women's subjugation by lowering the bride price: "Such seemingly restrictive traditions were actually protective mechanisms for women" against divorce, etc. So why not *raise* the bride price? Barrett echoes America's paternalistic slavemasters, who argued that chattel slavery "protected" the laborer from low wages, unemployment, homelessness, etc. In fact the Red Army was the best "protective mechanism" Afghan women ever saw.

continued on page 10



WV Photo

ICL waged campaign on behalf of besieged Afghan city Jalalabad.

USec...

(continued from page 4)

in itself make a country non-capitalist, as much of neocolonial Africa shows. Nor does the presence of widespread nationalizations—by the logic of these arguments, Third World nationalist regimes (which use state action to build up a domestic bourgeoisie) might have been labeled workers states. Indeed, in the mid-1960s, Italian USec leader Livio Maitan foresaw the "passage to a workers state" through a "cold" process (not involving revolutionary mass mobilization) in Nasser's *Egypt* and *Burma*—and even the West African states of Guinea and Mali, which hardly had the beginnings of a proletariat!

State-owned collectivized property, central planning and state monopoly of foreign trade are indeed the defining features of proletarian property forms—the necessary economic foundations for the development of a classless, socialist society on an international scale. But to the extent state property remains predominant in the former Soviet-bloc countries, it is not organized through a central plan (in the USSR, the planning principle was done away with in 1988) nor is there a state monopoly of foreign trade. Even in state enterprises in the ex-USSR, the factory managers act more and more like outright owners, with decisions relating to production and pricing being made autonomously and inter-enterprise relations based more on barter than on central directives.

In our recent article "Russia's New Exploiters" (*WV* No. 572, 26 March) we noted: "Marxists fight to defend the industrial base of the country, and thus oppose the wholesale 'privatization'—meaning shutdown—of productive capacity." But only through the prism of social democracy, which claims that the bourgeois state is "class-neutral" and promises a gradual, parliamentary road to "socialism" through incremental nationalizations, is the question of nationalized industry per se primary. As we recently noted in regard to the Revolutionary Workers League, which likewise argues that the ex-USSR remains a workers state on the basis of nationalized property: "Like the Labourite social democrats, the RWL elevates nationalized property to the highest pedestal—and remains utterly indifferent to the key question of *which class rules*" ("RWL: Mitosis of a Cult," *WV* No. 570, 26 February).

In positing nationalized property as defining a workers state, these groups fundamentally *deny the Leninist understanding of the state*. As Lenin explained in *The State and Revolution*, "the state is a 'special coercive force'.... And from it follows that the 'special coercive force' for the suppression of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie, of millions of working people by handfuls of the rich, must be replaced by a 'special coercive force' for the suppression of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat (the dictatorship of the proletariat)."

Today we are talking of counterrevolution. Let's look at the question from the other end. The Bolsheviks seized power in Russia on 7 November 1917, yet major industry was not nationalized until late in 1918. In the interim, as Lenin noted, "petty-bourgeois capitalism prevails in Russia" ("Left-Wing Childishness and the Petty-Bourgeois Mentality," May 1918). So what was the class nature of the Soviet state between November 1917 and the autumn of 1918? Lenin was categorical, declaring in his October 1919 article, "Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," that 8 November 1917 was "the first day of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The key question was who held state power, whose class interests did their armed bodies of men serve? If industry remained under the ownership of the bourgeoisie, albeit under workers control, for a period of time, there was no doubt that from day one of its rule, revolutionary soviet power served to *suppress* "the profiteer, the commercial racketeer, the disrupter of monopoly"—the forces Lenin termed "our principal 'internal' enemies." The Red Guards in power served the interests of the workers. In Yeltsin's Russia, the new counterrevolutionary *bourgeois* state seeks to suppress the proletariat in the interests of the profiteer and commercial racketeer.

If nationalization is the *sine qua non* of a workers state, then those who claim that Russia today is still a proletarian state must perforce hold that Bolshevik Russia was *not* one before the autumn of 1918, or, for that matter, after the introduction of widespread petty capitalist commodity production with the New Economic Policy of 1921.

The Bolsheviks, as the conscious vanguard of the proletariat, made clear their *intent* to collectivize the economy from the outset. But even in the case of social overturns led by petty-bourgeois Stalinist forces, the nationalization of the means of production did not necessarily mark the creation of a (deformed) workers state. In China and South Vietnam, protracted and bloody civil wars meant that by the time the peasant-based Stalinist forces took power, there was no viable section of the bourgeoisie left with which they could form a popular front and they were thus forced to rule in their own name. Yet those remnants of the Chinese bourgeoisie which did not immediately flee to Taiwan were not expropriated until late in the Korean War (1953). The Hanoi regime did not collectivize the South until three years after its 1975 victory.

Dietz Verlag

The dictatorship of the proletariat: Red Guards and Baltic fleet sailors in Moscow, October 1917.

One instance where nationalization of the economy was decisive in determining the class character of the state was Castro's Cuba (see "Cuba and Marxist Theory," *Marxist Bulletin* No. 8). Castro's victory in 1959 led to the crumbling of the corrupt Batista dictatorship and its armed force, and brought to power a peasant-based guerrilla movement. In the absence of a proletariat politically organized as a class for itself and with its ties to the old bourgeois order ruptured, the petty-bourgeois Castro regime was initially autonomous from the two major classes in society. A state in the Marxist sense—armed bodies of men committed to the defense of a definite set of property forms—did not exist. Faced with the relentless pressure of U.S. imperialism, which effectively demanded that the new regime commit suicide, the Castroites were compelled in the fall of 1960 to expropriate the U.S. sugar companies, the Cuban bourgeoisie and its Mafia patrons, thereby defining the new Cuba as a deformed workers state.

In general, in periods of revolution or counterrevolution, economic forms can be, and often are, at variance with the political character of the state, of the *ruling class* in society. Trotsky explicitly addressed this question in "Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" (November 1937):

> "Should a bourgeois counterrevolution succeed in the USSR, the new government for a lengthy period would have to base itself upon the nationalized economy. But what does such a type of temporary conflict between the economy and the state mean? It means a *revolution* or a *counterrevolution*. The victory of one class over another signifies that it will reconstruct the economy in the interests of the victors."

In his decisive analysis of Stalinism, *The Revolution Betrayed*, Trotsky likewise emphasized that denationalization would not follow immediately on the heels of a counterrevolutionary victory, laying out a scenario which fairly accurately depicts what is now taking place:

> "In the sphere of industry, denationalization would begin with the light industries and those producing food. The planning principle would be converted for the transitional period into a series of compromises between state power and individual 'corporations'—potential proprietors, that is, among the Soviet captains of industry, the émigré former proprietors and foreign capitalists."

Tailing the Corporatist Wing of Counterrevolution

The logic of fetishizing nationalized property leads the USec to tail after those forces who appear to be defenders of state property against the pro-IMF monetarist policies of Yeltsin and his former economic adviser Yegor Gaidar—notably the Civic Union bloc of militarist vice president Aleksandr Rutskoi and industrialist power broker Arkady Volsky, which represents the powerful factory managers. In her article in the March 1993 *International Viewpoint*, USec Soviet "expert" Catherine Samary sees "a tense but real convergence of interests between workers and managers."

The same issue has an article by Russian USec supporter Alexander Buzgalin, a leading light in Boris Kagarlitsky's social-democratic Labor Party. The Labor Party braintrusts the Moscow bureaucracy of the former official trade-union federation (FNPR), which is a bloc partner of the Civic Union, and it joined with Rutskoi's Free Russia party in a recent "Congress of the Democratic Left." Buzgalin hails this as a "real breakthrough" and explicitly lauds the Civic Union: "The economic programme worked out by experts close to the GC [Civic Union] would indeed be far more helpful in getting the country out of the crisis than Gaidar's monetarist experiments." Samary and Buzgalin don't bother to mention that Civic Union leader Rutskoi ran point for the Yeltsin regime in breaking last summer's strike by Russian air traffic controllers.

Workers Power similarly argues in the March LRCI resolution that the parliamentary opposition to Yeltsin is somehow anti-capitalist:

> "Yeltsin wants to destroy the rival power of the Congress and the Supreme Soviet. As long as this alternative power exists it will obstruct his programme of mass privatisation of industry and agriculture, it will impede the emergence of the mass unemployment and factory closures that Yeltsin knows are necessary if Russia is to go back to capitalism."

WP ludicrously paints the ragtag Russian Unity bloc (the parliamentary voice of the fascist-infested "red"-brown coalition) as a powerful force seeking a "restoration of bureaucratic central command planning," while claiming the Civic Union is a confused and "heterogeneous" formation: "Either they would have to adopt the very measures over which they brought down Gaidar or they would have to roll the restoration process backwards and restore key elements of the central command economy."

In effect, both the USec and Workers Power argue that Yeltsin/Gaidar represent the *only* program for bringing capitalism to Russia and thus any opposition, however hesitant or contradictory, is objectively anti-capitalist. In fact, there is *no* significant political force in Russia today which argues for a return to bureaucratic central planning. Where Yeltsin/Gaidar, based on the new layer of yuppie "entrepreneurs" and speculators, seek to ram through rapid privatization of large state enterprises, which in practice would mean an end to state subsidies and thus widespread closures, the factory managers call for privatization under the enterprise "work collectives," over which they exercise control. They seek to maintain state subsidies because they aim to be the *new owners* of the factories. The Civic Union has a well-worked-out program for *corporatist capitalism*, aiming to maintain a stream-

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Yeltsin...

(continued from page 1)

when a national "savior" raises himself above the contending cliques and factions to embody the common interests of the ruling class. In his 1852 pamphlet *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, on the seizure of power by the upstart emperor who ruled France from 1850 to 1871, Marx noted how during the revolutionary "June days" of 1848, "all classes and parties had united in the *party of Order* against the proletarian class," and the parliament was hailed for having "'saved' society from '*the enemies of society*'." But two years later, having failed to forge a coherent counterrevolutionary policy, the parliamentary party of order was summarily dismissed after trying to impeach the "president" Louis Bonaparte:

> "The aristocracy of finance, therefore, condemned the parliamentary struggle of the party of Order with the executive power as a *disturbance of order*, and celebrated every victory of the President over its ostensible representatives as a *victory of order*."

In short, as the London *Economist* wrote on 29 November 1851, "The President is the guardian of order, and is now recognised as such on every Stock Exchange of Europe."

Less than two years ago, during the "August days" of 1991, international finance capital hailed Yeltsin's "struggle for democracy"; a solid majority of the Russian parliament closed ranks behind Yeltsin against "Communism." Now the parliamentary party of order engages in endless squabbling with the executive power. Now the *Economist* (27 March) proclaims that the choice is "Stalin or Yeltsin." If Yeltsin's backers are yuppie speculators, black market mafia, rent-a-cops and military adventurers, consider Marx's description of Louis Bonaparte's followers: "alongside ruined and adventurous offshoots of the bourgeoisie, were vagabonds, discharged soldiers, discharged jailbirds, escaped galley slaves, swindlers, mountebanks, *lazzaroni* [panhandlers], pickpockets, tricksters, gamblers, *maquereaus* [pimps], brothel keepers," etc., etc.

But there is a crucial difference. Behind the motley crew of lumpen-proletarians who were Bonaparte's shock troops there stood the power of financial and industrial capital and the numerical weight of a conservative smallholding peasantry. Yeltsin today seems suspended above an abyss with no substantial social support. They're trying to build capitalism in Russia without capital and without a cohered bourgeoisie. If any of the contenders has significant social weight, it is the "industrial party" of Volsky and the "military party" of Rutskoi. Yet these forces who have been clamoring for order are considered by Western pseudo-leftists (who in the "August days" were backing Yeltsin as the guarantor of "democracy") to be the lesser evil.

Capitalist restoration has placed at stake the very existence of the industrial proletariat in Russia and the other former Soviet republics. But the capacity of the working class to defend itself has been terribly damaged by decades of Stalinist misrule. The vast majority of working people are indifferent to the dogfight in the Kremlin, dismissing it as a squabble among self-serving politicians. Yet cynicism is also a means of politically disarming the workers before their class enemies.

Russia's multinational proletariat must recapture the understanding—which animated their forebears in the Bolshevik Revolution—that they can conquer *political power* and reorganize society in their own interests. This requires above all the formation of a genuinely communist party, based on the internationalist traditions of Lenin and Trotsky, to lead the fight for socialist revolution against all wings of Russia's new exploiters and their imperialist godfathers. ■

Financial Times

"March of empty pots" in Moscow on International Women's Day, March 8, protested exorbitant food prices.

Issue No. 3 of Russian-language *Biulleten Spartakovtsev* on "The Leninist Party—Tribune of the People," and supplement on "How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled." To order send $2.50 to Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

lined state-subsidized heavy industry sector as the motor force for building a strong Russian capitalist state (see "Russia's New Exploiters," *WV* No. 572, 26 March).

Volsky/Rutskoi seek to emulate fascist dictator Mussolini's corporatist state, which boasted of controlling three-fourths of the Italian economy. In *The Revolution Betrayed*, Trotsky cites a mouthpiece for the Mussolini regime: "The corporative state directs and integrates the economy, but does not run it, which with a monopoly of production, would be nothing but collectivism." The Russian corporatists seek to make the factory managers the *legal* captains of industry, while maintaining a strong state and state subsidies to "direct" and "integrate" the new capitalist economy. This too will require imperialist investment, massive layoffs and the whip of repression to regiment the working class. That is hardly an alternative to capitalist restoration.

The Bankrupt Methodology of Bankrupt British Labourism

The political methodology and program underlying the position of the USec and the other fake-Trotskyists is not crypto-Stalinism, however, but the "Clause IV socialism" of the British Labour Party. This called for "common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange" under the auspices of the British Crown. When Labour was swept into power under Clement Attlee in 1945, the working class entertained enormous illusions that "its" government would implement socialist measures. In the U.S., the right wing of the Shachtmanites argued that Britain in the late 1940s was becoming incrementally socialist.

The Attlee government was faced with a British capitalism which had been in a state of decline for decades and had emerged from World War II with its empire looted and in the process of disintegration. Industries vital to the economy, such as the mines and railroads, were bankrupt and falling apart. Attlee proceeded to nationalize—by and large with broad acceptance by the capitalist class—only the most inefficient and failing industries, which then continued to operate through heavy subsidies extracted from more productive sectors of the economy and, ultimately, from the pockets of the working class. The end result was the continued impoverishment of the British workers, whose standard of living over the years was to sink to one of the lowest in West Europe.

Originally adopted to counter the influence of the Bolshevik Revolution on the British proletariat, Clause IV was ultimately watered down to the point where today's Labour Party does not even promise to reverse most of the denationalizations carried out by the Thatcher government. We of course oppose the denationalization of industry under capitalism when, as is almost always the case, it means an attack on the union organization, working conditions and living standards of the workers. In neocolonial countries, revolutionaries defend nationalizations which are directed against imperialist holdings, such as Nasser's seizure of the Suez Canal in Egypt and Cárdenas' nationalization of oil in Mexico. But we do not defend bourgeois nationalizations in principle (see "Chrysler and the Bankruptcy of Social Democracy," *WV* No. 247, 11 January 1980).

Yet the perspective of Labourite nationalizations remains the lodestar of the British fake-left and other social democrats who masquerade as "Trotskyists." Indicatively, the USec's British affiliate is today buried deep inside the Labour Party. In the case of the Morenoites, what's behind their nationalization fetish is their support to Argentine bonapartist general Juan Perón in the 1950s, who had carried out extensive nationalization of foreign-owned railroads, oil and slaughterhouses. At bottom, what motivates these pseudo-Trotskyist outfits is support to their own bourgeoisie.

It was their fealty to the social democracy which led the USec and the rest to tail behind the imperialist anti-Soviet war drive and to cheer on the same counterrevolutionary forces whose victory they now seek to hide under a rug. The USec rejoiced over the victory of Mitterrand's anti-Soviet popular front in France, which became the ideological spearhead for Cold War II. The Mandelites glorified the Nazi-collaborationist Estonian Forest Brothers and idolized Solidarność ideologue Jacek Kuron. In Czechoslovakia, USec supporter Petr Uhl was even a member of Vaclav Havel's capitalist-restorationist government. For its part, Workers Power solidarized with anti-Communist mobs in East Berlin, called on Thatcher's Britain to aid the ultra-nationalist Lithuanian Sajudis against the Soviet degenerated workers state, and sponsored a speaking tour by a fascist-connected, pro-Yeltsin Russian miner.

Having repudiated the Trotskyist struggle for an independent proletarian vanguard party, these opportunists are driven by inveterate tailism, capitulating to any force that seems momentarily popular. Twenty years ago, the Mandelites were the loudest cheerleaders for Third World Stalinism, only to flip over a decade later to slavishly tailing anti-Soviet social democracy. Two years ago, they hailed the struggle for "democracy" spearheaded by Yeltsin & Co. and every counterrevolutionary nationalist who claimed to be fighting "Russian domination." Today, with Yeltsin discredited in the eyes of the Soviet masses, they bloc with the corporatist faction of the counterrevolution which claims to be opposed to Western imperialist domination.

From pushing "solidarity with Solidarność" to metaphorically climbing atop Yeltsin's barricades of counterrevolution, the Mandelite United Secretariat—which abuses the name of the Fourth International—bears its fair share of political responsibility for the final destruction of the greatest gain yet of the international proletariat, the USSR, the homeland of the October Revolution. This crime will not be forgotten as a new generation of militants goes on to reforge a genuine Fourth International, one Trotsky would have recognized as his own. ■

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Los Angeles...

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a racist slur harking back to chattel slavery! Presiding judge Davies disallowed this evidence, stating that "it would create unfair prejudice." It is no wonder that there are grave suspicions among workers and minorities here that these racist cops will walk away from it again. And if there are some convictions, what provocations will the police stage then?

In a plan worked out with Republican governor Pete Wilson, Judge Davies will delay announcing the verdicts for a minimum of three hours while the Police Department, Sheriff's Department and National Guard deploy their forces. For the past few months, Southern California has looked like a staging area for an imminent attack. The entire 7,000-member LAPD has participated in "riot control" exercises in the parking lots of Dodger Stadium, decked out in camouflage khakis and combat boots like an invading army. Last week at Norton Air Force Base near San Bernardino, the California Highway Patrol secretly engaged in their own battle maneuvers, including the tactic of tossing gas grenades into stores containing "suspected looters"!

Even the coroner's office has devised contingency plans for "recovering bodies." After last year's unraveling of capitalist "law and order," the bourgeoisie is deadly serious about crushing any protest. Fanning the flames of racist hysteria with fictional stories of black and Hispanic gangs organizing assaults on the suburbs, the state has the beleaguered working people and impoverished masses squarely in its sights.

Meanwhile, racist cop terror goes unchecked throughout Greater L.A. On March 9, Michael James Bryant, a popular and outspoken barber from nearby Pasadena, was brutally slain by the cops. Bryant was well known in the community for giving free haircuts to low-income teens the week before school starts. His shop had been a gathering place with lively discussion about the case of Rodney King, an area resident and occasional customer. Bryant had been a target of the cops at least since 1989, when he won a police brutality suit against the Pasadena cops and was awarded $1,500 in an out-of-court settlement.

Witnesses have now come forward to describe how Bryant was killed. In a sickening game of cat-and-mouse replete with racial slurs, the cops alternately beat Bryant and told him to run when he tried to surrender. Screaming for his life, Bryant sought refuge in the apartment complex pool, only to be hit by three darts from a 50,000-volt taser gun. He was then dragged from the pool, hogtied and left to die in the back of a squad car. Resident Teresa Ramirez said one white cop looked her in the eye and mocked, "Ha, ha, ha. That black nigger thought he could swim, huh?" (*Pasadena Star News*, 2 April). One of the cops, Jeffery Sandofur, is a veteran of the infamous 1989 LAPD raid on Dalton Avenue in South-Central, where two well-kept apartment buildings in a black neighborhood were demolished by the vindictive cops, who upon leaving scrawled an ominous warning on the wall—"LAPD Rules."

The threat of naked police-state terror looms over the sprawling ghettos and barrios of Southern California. The 1991 videotaped beating of defenseless black motorist Rodney King by a swarming lynch mob of cops has become the symbol of cop terror USA. The first "trial" of King's tormentors, held in the racist white enclave of Simi Valley, ended in acquittal one year ago and lit the match that set L.A. aflame. Fifty-three people were killed, most of them by the cops, 2,400 injured and thousands more arrested. Now, as rage over this hideous injustice again approaches the boiling point and a blanket of ruling-class repression threatens to smother the minority populations of L.A., it is critical to demand: *Cops, National Guard, army of occupation—out of the ghettos and barrios!*

We wrote in a Partisan Defense Committee leaflet issued last April 30, as a state of emergency was declared and dawn-to-dusk curfew imposed: "The working class must not allow the black population to be isolated—*the powerful L.A. unions such as longshore, aerospace and city workers should organize work stoppages and mass mobilizations to solidarize with and defend the black community* as the LAPD looks to spill more blood to 'celebrate' their racist victory over Rodney King." If tomorrow the ruling class unleashes its guns against the minority, poor and working people of L.A., the organized workers movement must respond with militant labor action, including an area-wide general strike.

Key to this defense is a fight against the pro-capitalist union tops, who tie the workers to the Democratic Party and thus stand as an obstacle to the mobilization of the power of labor in the cause of black emancipation and defense of immigrants. In recent weeks, two potentially powerful strikes of the Los Angeles teachers and Kaiser Permanente hospital workers have been sabotaged by union leaders who have shown their loyalty to their bourgeois masters, who want *nothing* to move in L.A. until the verdict "crisis" is past.

This weekend, at a tiny rally calling for "Unity, peace, jobs and nonviolence," local union leaders welcomed Jesse Jackson to town. In a situation which cries out for common class struggle and *real action* to defend the oppressed, Jackson and his popular-front cronies will preach faith in the racist status quo by diverting the seething anger of minorities into votes for the racist Democratic Party. To counsel illusions in reforming this increasingly vicious state disarms the working class and oppressed in the face of their class enemy.

Meanwhile, the upcoming trial of three black youths charged in the vicious and indefensible beating of white Teamster driver Reginald Denny could lead to further racial polarization in this city. Unlike the black nationalists and fake-leftists who enthuse over random lumpen violence against whites, communists understand that the only road to black freedom is through the forging of an integrated revolutionary workers party to smash racist American capitalism and establish a workers government. Under such a government, a workers tribunal would make short shrift of the likes of the killers of Michael Bryant and the thugs-in-blue who beat Rodney King to within an inch of his life. ■

Der Spiegel Sloan/Newsweek

Rodney King, following sadistic cop beating. Right, Sgt. Stacey Koon, smirking during first trial in white enclave of Simi Valley.

Hospital Workers: Strike Kaiser!

WV Photo

LOS ANGELES, April 1—Chanting, blowing whistles and surrounding Kaiser Permanente's hospital on Sunset Boulevard, 12,000 workers struck the country's largest HMO today. With premiums skyrocketing, the giant firm made $290 million in profits last year—but they are offering peanuts to the janitors, clerks, technicians, food workers and other support staff who run the huge system. Especially galling is Kaiser's demand for a blank check to impose "cost reductions" at will.

The workers, members of Local 399 of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), are eager to fight. They rejected Kaiser's "last, best final offer" with a massive "no" vote, and swelled spirited picket lines all over town, with over 1,000 strikers at Sunset alone. But the Local 399 tops called just a one-day protest strike, sending everyone back tomorrow.

As the LAPD is parading its SWAT teams, itching to smash any popular outrage over another acquittal of the racist cops who beat Rodney King, the situation cries out for militant, integrated labor action. A sharp struggle at Kaiser could inspire workers and minorities throughout L.A.—the largely black, Latino and Asian members of Local 399 have a unique history of struggle that is respected by workers here.

In the spring of 1990, Kaiser workers rejected a deal cooked up by the 399 tops and struck for nine days. That June their fellow local members in Janitors for Justice stood up against the LAPD and won a contract after workers, including women with babies, protesting the union-busting building owners were brutally beaten in glitzy Century City. And a year ago, as cops and National Guard swept through the ghetto and barrios in the wake of the trial verdict, the only unionists to protest were the members of Local 399, who marched through the largely Central American Pico-Union area.

This last February, teachers union bureaucrats derailed a strike which could have sharply polarized the city along class lines. As the city waits for the next verdicts, the Democratic Party mayor and supervisors have lined up a massive cop threat against the working people of L.A. Every time a union calls a protest or picket in L.A. these days, the LAPD "labor squad" comes out in force.

It will take mass picket lines that shut down all Kaiser facilities tight and are respected by the Teamsters and nurses to bring Kaiser to its knees. And that could spark a labor upsurge and give the LAPD a long overdue lesson in the power of the working class.

Afghanistan...

(continued from page 7)

Barrett is so busy conjuring up a fictitious all-Afghan struggle against the Soviet behemoth and its local puppets that he "forgets" the real imperialist intervention in Afghanistan: not once does the article even *mention* the CIA's massive infusion of money, arms and personnel to the *mujahedin*, without which aid *there would have been no civil war* after 1984. That's quite a slip for an American "socialist" living in "the belly of the beast," as Che Guevara put it. *BIDOM* and its adherents want to whitewash U.S. imperialism's dirty war in Afghanistan to cover their own trajectory to State Department socialism. In contrast, we Trotskyists *honor* Soviet *afgantsy* (war veterans) for carrying out their internationalist duties, and condemn their Stalinist political leaders (both Gorbachevite and "hardliners") who capitulated to imperialism.

The Russian Question Pointblank

The almost universal failure of leftists—except for the International Communist League—to take a forthright stand against imperialism in Afghanistan starkly illustrates the crisis of revolutionary leadership of the world proletariat—and its tragic results. That the 1989 retreat from Afghanistan helped pave the way for the counterrevolutionary disaster that destroyed the Soviet Union is recognized by both the imperialist CIA and the Stalinist bureaucrats who brought it about. The urgent tasks posed for revolutionary communists by imperialism's anti-Soviet Afghan war were to *unconditionally defend the Soviet workers state* while fighting to build a *Trotskyist party to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy through working-class political revolution.*

In the face of the restoration of capitalist rule in Russia and the rest of the ex-Soviet Union, the ICL is seeking to cohere the nucleus of that Bolshevik party in our struggle for the rebirth of Trotsky's Fourth International. The revolutionary party that will be forged in the future struggles of the Soviet working masses will be the party that told the truth about Afghanistan. And when the program of Lenin and Trotsky brings the proletariat to power once again in Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkov—then Tashkent, Kabul and Islamabad won't be far behind. ■

"Felony Lesbianism" in Las Vegas

by John Roemer

This piece first appeared in the SF Weekly *(24 March) and is reprinted with permission of the author.*

Berkeley porn star Nina Hartley and 10 other women were charged last month with felony lesbianism for performing oral sex at a lingerie show in Las Vegas. The prosecutor invoked an archaic state law banning "infamous crimes against nature" to make his case against the women.

Hartley, a high-profile crusader against censorship of sexual expression, is bemused by her arrest. "What a concept," she laughed in an interview last week. "What century is Nevada in? Have the last 30 years been for naught?"

Trouble began in January at the annual Consumer Electronics Show, where Friends of X-Rated Entertainment held a lingerie show to raise funds for sexual freedom causes. According to the *Las Vegas Sun*, between 800 and 1,500 people paid $10 apiece to crowd into a large tent behind the Pure Pleasure Book & Video Store to watch the show. Winners of a raffle took off the performers' bikinis with their teeth and some audience members had sex with the performers, the newspaper reported.

As many as 10 undercover cops watched the show and then arrested the women on misdemeanor prostitution charges, even though the event was a benefit and the women were not paid. After prosecutors viewed videotapes of the performance, they decided to take the case to a grand jury, which raised the charges to felonies because the acts involved lesbianism, said John Lukens, Las Vegas' chief deputy district attorney. "The lesbianism did make it a violation of the 'infamous crimes against nature' statute."

But lesbianism alone didn't lead to the charges. "If two ladies wish to have a relationship in the privacy of their home, it may be illegal, but you'd have to find another prosecutor to handle the case. I wouldn't do it," said Lukens.

courtesy of Nina Hartley

Nina Hartley, star of *Debbie Does Wall Street*.

The grand jury brought the charges because the acts were done in public and for money in Las Vegas, one of the few counties in the state where prostitution and homosexuality are illegal. "We've never had a live sex show of this type in Las Vegas," Lukens asserted.

Dominic Gentile, the Las Vegas lawyer representing all 11 defendants, said they were singled out for prosecution. "There was heterosexual conduct on those tapes, yet nobody is being prosecuted for that nor was any male audience member arrested," he said.

Gentile also plans to challenge the Vegas law against homosexuality. "I got the best case on earth to test this statute," he said. One of his clients, Beatrice Valle, is a French citizen. "If she goes home she could never be extradited because France abolished its sodomy laws in 1791," he said.

Gentile added that the videotapes are a hot bootleg item in Vegas police circles. One private cop club shows the tape nightly, he said.

The veteran lawyer said he has come to dread taped evidence against his clients. "I'm used to cringing as I watch my mob guy threaten a kill on tape," he said. "But for once I'm delighted to have this tape. It clearly shows a crowd of alleged victims having a wonderful time with nobody holding a gun to their heads to make them watch my clients."

WV notes. If convicted, the women face penalties of up to 12 years each in prison. The bizarre escalation of charges in this case is a "family values" vendetta, as the Mafia-founded "sin city" tries to clean up its act and lure mom and the kids with promises of a "wholesome" Disneyland in the desert. According to Bobby Lilly, chairperson of Californians Against Censorship Together, a group defending the "erotic eleven," lawyers' fees are already over $30,000. Send contributions to help pay the women's legal expenses, made out to "The Freedom Fund," to: Bobby Lilly, 2550 Shattuck Avenue No. 51, Berkeley, CA 94704. ■

Toronto...

(continued from page 12)

many months that fascists have rallied publicly in the streets of Toronto. On January 19, thirty psycho skinheads organized by the Heritage Front staged a provocation outside a high school anti-racist meeting. Six days later fascists raised the Confederate flag of slavery at a hate-fest near City Hall, where riot cops on horseback came to their aid by charging into protesters organized by the Anti-Racist Action (ARA) group.

Skinhead punks have led murderous assaults on gays, and spray-painted swastikas and hate slogans on synagogues, a leftist bookstore and the Native Canadian Centre. Last year, the abortion clinic of Auschwitz survivor Dr. Henry Morgentaler was destroyed by a bomb only days after the Heritage Front defaced the area with racist graffiti. Fascist thugs forced the closure of two homes for teenage girls through a campaign of violence and death threats. One of the homes was firebombed, while fascists broke into the residence of a black woman staff member and scrawled "N----r, we are here to get you" on the refrigerator.

Once a lily-white bastion of the British Empire, Toronto is now, in the words of a United Nations report, "the world's most multicultural city." People from more than 140 different cultures live side by side, while more than a third of the population speaks a first language other than English. With official unemployment at 11 percent amid a wave of factory closures which has destroyed tens of thousands of union jobs and gutted Toronto's industrial base, the fascists seek to channel desperation among the white urban poor into nativist reaction against minorities. They feel emboldened by the tide of counterrevolution which has engulfed East Europe and the ex-USSR, bringing forth waves of nationalist hatred and neo-Nazi terror against immigrants.

If the Nazis think they can raise their ugly heads today, it's also because the racists in government have set the stage. New anti-immigrant legislation by the Tory federal government targets refugees as "terrorists," scapegoating them for unemployment. Meanwhile the social-democratic New Democratic Party, which runs Ontario for the Bay Street bosses, has enacted unprecedented cutbacks in health care and welfare while preparing mass layoffs and wage rollbacks for public-sector workers.

The fascists must be stopped! But looking to the racist cops, courts and governments is worse than useless. It will take mass action centered on the multiracial working class: the transit, auto, hospital, city and other unions which have the social power to hit the bosses where it hurts. The union misleaders, who continue to preach allegiance to the NDP even as it cuts the workers' throats, have been criminally inactive in the face of rising fascist terror. Instead, protest action has come almost entirely from student youth, especially in the high schools.

The Nazis have also raised their heads at the downtown campus of the University of Toronto, which has thousands of Asian and other minority students. Last month, fascists were "invited" to a political science class and later "interviewed" live on campus radio. On March 31, supporters of ARA, the Jewish Feminist Anti-Fascist League and the TLC responded with a united-front protest rally on campus. While eleven Nazi goons (flanked by their ever-present police protectors) showed up across the street, dozens of militant protesters chanted, "Fascists off the streets, fascists out of the schools!" and "Cops and Nazis hand in hand—Stop the Heritage Front!"

The ARA group has mobilized hundreds of student youth in anti-fascist protest, representing for many the beginning of a broader political awakening. But while demonstrating to "Smash the Nazi Front," ARA has also fostered illusions in the bosses' government and institutions like the Board of Education. Thus it calls for the provincial Education Minister to "act now to remove Paul Fromm from the classroom" and to "investigate" other teachers with "racist or neo-Nazi links." A TLC leaflet distributed on April 2 warned:

> "We say this fascist can and must be *driven out of the school system by a militant, independent campaign of protest and exposure by students, teachers, parents, workers!* But the pressure campaign launched by Anti-Racist Action and others to fire this Nazi teacher is misguided and potentially dangerous. Demands on the government to 'investigate' or 'silence' racists will ultimately be used to go after gay teachers, anti-racists, communists and others who 'undermine' capitalist society's 'core values' of Family, God and Straight Sex (after you're married)."

Outrageously, the teachers union is allowing Fromm, who like all fascists is a murderous enemy of the very existence of unions, to remain within its ranks. The union must expel this Nazi immediately—there's no place for fascists in the labor movement!

A massive display of labor's power, mobilizing blacks, Asians, Jews, gays—everyone the fascists want to destroy—is what is needed to sweep the Heritage Front Nazis off the streets. It would give a real taste of labor's might which, led by a revolutionary workers party, can be galvanized in a fight for socialist revolution to overthrow the decrepit rule of racist capitalism and construct a new society. When the working people run this society, the poisonous fascist vermin will be crushed under our heels for good! ■

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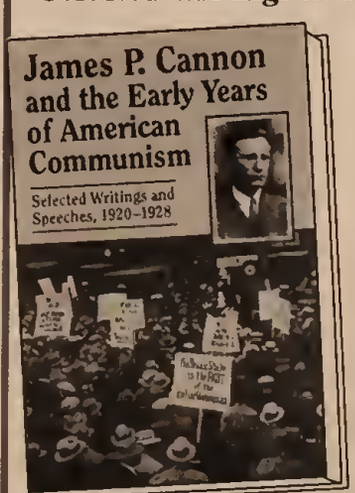
James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism

Selected Writings and Speeches, 1920-1928



The book includes:

- Extensively documented introduction
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- 16 pages of rare historical photographs
- Glossary of names and terms with over 200 entries
- Bibliography of Cannon's works, 1912-1928
- Index

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Black Community Activist Killed as City Awaits Verdict

L.A. in the Crosshairs of Cop Terror

Koester/L.A. Times

George Holliday Video

Cops gear up for police-state repression as verdict nears in second trial of LAPD torturers of Rodney King. Labor must defend the ghetto and barrio!

LOS ANGELES—On April 1, attorneys for the defense rested their case in the federal "civil rights" trial of the racist cop torturers of Rodney King. This clears the way for the case to go to the jury as soon as this week. The state is already champing at the bit to unleash an unprecedented military mobilization of its forces in anticipation of another social explosion when the verdicts are announced. The L.A. city council just passed sweeping new curfew laws. If LAPD chief Willie Williams has his way, South-Central L.A. will resemble Panama City after the U.S. imperialist invasion. "We want people to be able to come out, turn, blink and see an LAPD officer," said Williams. In other cities around the country, from San Francisco to Atlanta and New York, cops are also provocatively preparing to smash a repeat of the 1992 "riots."

For more than two weeks, L.A. has been bombarded with nauseating testimony claiming, among other things, that King's shattered face was caused not by the pummeling of the frenzied nightstick-wielding cops, but by a fall to the ground. One item that the jury *did not* get to hear was an excerpt from Sgt. Stacey Koon's book, *Presumed Guilty*, which characterized King's supposed reaction to California Highway Patrol officer Melanie Singer the night of the near-fatal beating as a "Mandingo sexual encounter."

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Labor, Minorities: Crush the Fascists!

Nazi Provocations in Toronto

TORONTO—Outraged over a local Nazi outfit's attempts to recruit students to their crusade of racist terror, some 400 youthful demonstrators took to the streets here April 2 chanting, "Smash the Heritage Front!" The protest was particularly directed against Paul Fromm, a notorious fascist organizer who teaches at a suburban school. Jumping up and down in unison as they marched ten abreast, militant young demonstrators chanted, "Paul Fromm, Nazi scum—Students say your time has come!"

The protest came in the context of an ominous escalation of fascist provocations locally and across Canada. On the evening of March 27, fifty fascist thugs giving Nazi salutes paraded outside an anti-racist meeting organized by the Canadian Friends of the Simon Wiesenthal Society in downtown Toronto. To enter the meeting, the largely Jewish audience had to file past Nazis screeching "Hail 'The Order'!" and "White Canada Wake Up!" "The Order" is the American white-supremacist outfit that murdered Jewish talk-show host Alan Berg in Denver in 1984. This shows what the neo-Nazis intend for everyone who isn't part of their demented nightmare of white Christian "civilization."

On January 22 in Vancouver, Nazis of the Canadian Liberty Net and their gang of skinhead punks boasted they would rally and organize a "secret meeting" to "welcome" infamous American Nazi Tom Metzger. But determined contingents of longshoremen, postal workers and other unionists responded to a call by the Trotskyist League of Canada (TLC) and Partisan Defense Committee for a mass labor/minority mobilization to stop the fascists. Nazi skinheads fled in fear upon the arrival at their "secret" meeting place of 500 anti-Nazi demonstrators, part of the 3,000 protesters who earlier occupied the fascists' planned rally site at the Vancouver Art Gallery.

March 27 was the third time in as

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Spartacist Canada

April 2: Trotskyist League contingent joins hundreds of Toronto youth in march protesting fascist schoolteacher.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 574 23 April 1993

Clinton and FBI Mass Murderers!

Waco Holocaust

APRIL 20—The April 19 massacre of nearly 100 members of the Branch Davidian religious commune, which the world watched live on TV, was the biggest government slaughter of American civilians in this century, exceeding even the horrendous U.S. Army bombing of the black community in Tulsa, Oklahoma in 1921. Having mobilized heavily to teach a bloody lesson to those who would protest against L.A. racist cops, the nation's forces of state repression immediately let loose in Waco.

The pretext for the original raid by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) was that the group supposedly had a cache of arms. Thus the liberal campaign for gun control helped create the climate for the siege, assault and mass murder of this religious sect which harmed no one. One lawyer told CNN the Waco group probably had less guns than Ross Perot has in his basement. Like the MOVE massacre of 1985, this atrocity must be seared into the consciousness of the working class.

In response to the Waco holocaust, the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee called protest pickets on short notice outside federal offices in New York, Boston, Chicago and the San

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Reuters

THIS IS CLINTON'S AMERICA: "The charred corpses of 87 men, women and children who perished in the firestorm resulting from the FBI's barrage of CS gas, flash-grenades and battering rams are the direct responsibility of the White House" (Spartacist press release, 19 April).

Chris Hani Gunned Down in Right-Wing Plot

South Africa: Black Outrage Over Apartheid Assassination

"Power Sharing" Fraud Exposed

On April 10, Chris Hani, leader of the South African Communist Party and former head of the African National Congress' armed wing, Spear of the Nation (Umkhonto we Sizwe—MK), was gunned down by an émigré Polish fascist with links to South African state intelligence. Hani was shot four times about 10:15 a.m. as he stepped out of the car he had just parked in the driveway of his home in a newly integrated neighborhood in Boksburg, a staunch right-wing suburb of Johannesburg. As news of the assassination spread through the impoverished townships, black anger exploded in the streets from Cape Town to Soweto. Millions participated in mass protests, funeral processions and perhaps the biggest general strike in South African history.

Six million blacks stayed away from jobs on April 14. Apartheid rulers answered with tear gas and pistol shots. Police who were lined up in front of the police station in Soweto shot directly into the crowd of thousands, killing three. At a march in Johannesburg, police stood by while Nazis jumped out of a car and shot three protesters. With Hani's murder, black youth in their outrage took to the streets in dozens of cities. Windows were smashed, vehicles and government offices burnt, grenades thrown at soldiers. On the day of his funeral thousands filled a Soweto

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AP

Township youth take to the streets April 14 in anger over murder of Communist Party leader Chris Hani.

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Free Choi Il Bung and All South Korean Class-War Prisoners!

The December election of former "dissident" Kim Young Sam as president of South Korea was hailed by the capitalist press as a triumph of democratic rule. But for the brutally exploited Korean workers and the trade-union militants and leftists swelling the Korean prisons, Kim's election is little more than a transparent "democratic" veneer for the South Korean police state.

With rampant corruption and declining profits taking the gloss off the "economic miracle" built on the blood, sweat and corpses of South Korea's workers, the "reformer" Kim Young Sam was the preferred choice of the Korean bourgeoisie. Though touted as the first South Korean president who did not emerge from the military, he joined the ruling Democratic Liberal Party in 1990. As set out in a position paper released in February, the new government's plan for revitalizing the declining economy calls for deregulating industry, rebuilding national discipline and encouraging sacrifice for "the country's good"—i.e., squeezing the working class even more.

Despite the police-state repression, backed up by tens of thousands of U.S. troops, the South Korean proletariat has demonstrated its courage and militancy—from the mass strike wave of 1987 to last year's militant class battles at Hyundai. The period leading up to the election was marked by anti-union repression. On September 25, seventeen striking steel workers were arrested when over 1,600 riot cops stormed the 600 strikers who occupied the Sammi steel plant in Changwo. One week later, cops stormed a broadcasting station in Seoul where workers were on strike for a month. Thirty strike leaders were arrested. On December 29 the government executed nine people, about one-sixth of all those on death row—a clear message that even after the election eleven days earlier it was business as usual for Korea's brutal apparatus of repression.

Kim Young Sam came to power amidst expectations of a sweeping amnesty for political prisoners, which has yet to be carried out. But as under his predecessor Roh Tae Woo, any amnesty will likely exclude prisoners considered "socialist" by this vile reactionary government. Roh's 1987 election was hailed as a "democratic opening," but in the next five years over 1,000 labor unions were dissolved, and more than 5,000 dissidents thrown in jail—a rate of 4.4 per day. Among the political prisoners rotting in Kim's jails is Choi Il Bung, a member of the International Socialists group.

Sentenced in November to two years in prison, Choi was charged and convicted under the draconian National Security Laws for publishing books freely available in other countries, including Trotsky's *The Permanent Revolution* and Moshe Lewin's *Lenin's Last Struggle*, as well as the anti-Soviet "state capitalist" writings of Tony Cliff. Enacted in the 1950s to suppress the Communist movement and snuff out any support to the bureaucratically deformed workers state in the North, South Korea's security laws are used to criminalize all political opposition to the reactionary regime. Kim Young Sam himself spent years under house arrest under the security laws, only to today carry on the tradition of locking away anyone deemed a threat to Seoul's bloody capitalist order.

While many South Korean workers and students are sympathetic toward the North, Choi's answer to the charges was to point to the I.S.' position that North Korea is "state capitalist" and that many of the books he published opposed the

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Socialist Worker

Choi Il Bung

TROTSKY

LENIN

The State and Class Oppression

From the brutal videotaped police beating of black L.A. motorist Rodney King and the police-state mobilization surrounding the "trial" of his racist cop tormentors, to the hideous holocaust perpetrated by Clinton's FBI in Waco, Texas, dramatic recent events serve to underscore that the capitalist state, with its troops, cops and courts, is a machinery of oppression whose sole purpose is to defend the interests of the ruling class against those whom it exploits. Only when this state is smashed *through socialist revolution and replaced by a workers state will there be justice for working people and all the oppressed. In his classic work,* The Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State, *Friedrich Engels traced the rise of the state in the development of classes and class antagonisms.*

As the state arose from the need to keep class antagonisms in check, but also arose in the thick of the fight between the classes, it is normally the state of the most powerful, economically dominant class, which by its means becomes also the politically dominant class and so acquires new means of holding down and exploiting the oppressed class. The ancient state was, above all, the state of the slave owners for holding down the slaves, just as the feudal state was the organ of the nobility for holding down the peasant serfs and bondsmen, and the modern representative state is an instrument for exploiting wage labor by capital....

The highest form of the state, the democratic republic, which in our modern social conditions becomes more and more an unavoidable necessity and is the form of state in which alone the last decisive battle between proletariat and bourgeoisie can be fought out—the democratic republic no longer officially recognizes differences of property. Wealth here employs its power indirectly, but all the more surely. It does this in two ways: by plain corruption of officials, of which America is the classic example; and by an alliance between the government and the stock exchange, which is effected all the more easily the higher the state debt mounts and the more the joint-stock companies concentrate in their hands not only transport but also production itself, and themselves have their own center in the stock exchange....

The state, therefore, has not existed from all eternity. There have been societies which have managed without it, which had no notion of the state or state power. At a definite stage of economic development, which necessarily involved the cleavage of society into classes, the state became a necessity because of this cleavage. We are now rapidly approaching a stage in the development of production at which the existence of these classes has not only ceased to be a necessity but becomes a positive hindrance to production. They will fall as inevitably as they once arose. The state inevitably falls with them. The society which organizes production anew on the basis of free and equal association of the producers will put the whole state machinery where it will then belong—into the museum of antiquities, next to the spinning wheel and the bronze ax.

—Friedrich Engels, *The Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (1884)

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No. 574 **23 April 1993**

Letter

Viva Nina!

*The following letter by X-rated movie star Nina Hartley is in response to the article "'Felony Lesbianism' in Las Vegas" (*Workers Vanguard *No. 573, 9 April), which publicized an anti-sex vendetta that threatens Nina and ten other women with up to 12 years' imprisonment.*

To the editor:

A book came out a couple of years ago dealing with the C.P. in Alabama, in which my grandparents are mentioned quite a number of times (see: Joe and Esther Gelders). They were heavily involved in anti-racist organizing. [Birmingham's notorious police commissioner] "Bull" Connor and the KKK beat up my grandfather on three different occasions, leaving him for dead the last time. He recovered, barely, and they headed west.

My parents were also in the party. In 1956, my father was called before the "House Un-American Activities Committee," where he steadfastly refused to name anyone. He was blacklisted, lost his radio show in S.F. and a promising radio career was destroyed.

I want to thank the S.L. for your courageous defense of the right to free sexual expression. Your position on the left is unique. My husband informs me that you are the only Marxist group that actively defends pornography. You understand the connection between sexual freedom/equality and socialism. Thank you! Your support for me is greatly needed and appreciated.

Long live socialism!
Nina Hartley

WV replies: We thank Nina Hartley for her kind letter, and refer readers to *Hammer and Hoe* by Robin D.G. Kelley (University of North Carolina Press, 1990), the authoritative history of the Communist Party's work in Alabama during the Depression. Nina's grandparents, Joe and Esther Gelders, figure prominently, particularly in leading the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners.

The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee oppose all attempts by the state to proscribe sexuality, particular sexual practices and their depiction in pornography. The SL and PDC entered an *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) brief in 1988 in the case of a Fort Wayne bookseller brought up on "obscenity" and "conspiracy" charges. We urge our readers to send contributions to help pay Nina and her codefendants' legal expenses, which are already over $30,000. Checks can be made out to "The Freedom Fund," and sent to: Bobby Lilly, 2550 Shattuck Avenue No. 51, Berkeley, CA 94704. ■

Courtesy of Nina Hartley

Nina Hartley

Amid Massive Police-State Mobilization

Slap on the Wrist Verdict for Racist L.A. Cops

APRIL 18—Following an orchestrated nationwide "riot" scare and cop mobilization, the carefully scripted verdicts in the case of four of the LAPD cops who mercilessly beat Rodney King two years ago were handed down in an extraordinary 7 a.m. Saturday court session. When the court clerk read out "guilty" verdicts for Stacey Koon and Laurence Powell, a cheer went up among those attending a prayer vigil with Jesse Jackson at the First AME church in South-Central Los Angeles. The fact that the strutting, swaggering racist pig Koon and the sadistic baton-wielding thug Powell may spend a few months in protective custody at Club Fed doesn't change one iota the brutal reality of racist American capitalism.

The Rodney King case has laid bare capitalist class "justice" in this deeply racist country. The methodical, systematic, deliberate beating of a helpless black man pinned to the ground by more than a dozen burly cops was the domestic face of the imperialist "New World Order" proclaimed over the corpses of 100,000 Iraqi men, women and children. The flagrantly racist acquittal of the four cops by a Simi Valley jury last year sparked multiracial upheavals of outrage across America. L.A. was torn apart by the largest urban uprising in the U.S. this century—followed by bloody repression. Over 50 were killed, mainly by police. The preparations for police-state repression around the second trial showed what this vicious ruling class is capable of. And on the night the L.A. verdicts were announced, they decided to do it in Waco.

Last year's Los Angeles upheaval shook America's racist bourgeois rulers. They saw a "revolt of the damned," and to prevent any repetition, they prepared a full panoply of counterrevolutionary terror. Four days before the case went to the jury, the Police Foundation staged a top-level conference in Washington, D.C. with top cop Janet Reno and major urban police chiefs to plan for "civil disorders."

The repressive force arrayed against black and Latino L.A. was greater even than that deployed by South Africa's apartheid rulers to suppress black protest in the wake of the Chris Hani assassination. The LAPD poured 6,500 cops onto the streets and stationed snipers on rooftops, while squads of shotgun-toting cops surrounded any black youth who ventured out on the street. Another 2,000 county sheriff's deputies were deployed in special platoons, as well as 800 state highway patrolmen and 600 National Guardsmen. One described their "mission": "We're not out there to arrest, we're not out there to impose the law. We're out there to find the enemy, fix him in position and—do what armies do."

The message was: keep quiet and stay home, or die! And to make that message unambiguous, the racist rulers trotted out their "black faces in high places" the night before the verdict. While black L.A. police chief Willie Williams marshaled the troops, black mayor Tom Bradley appeared on TV to warn the city's minorities to stay in line. He was followed by Jesse Jackson, who echoed the chorus of deadly threats with a warning that any riot would be "put down." South-Central Democratic Congresswoman Maxine Waters, "militant" favorite of the reformists, violence-baited and threatened would-be protesters: "you will be killed. The Los Angeles Police department is primed to keep the peace."

After the verdict was announced, the white bourgeoisie and their black front men breathed an audible, collective sigh of relief. On Saturday morning one press statement followed another on the TV screens—from the federal prosecution team to Attorney General Janet Reno to President Clinton himself—all piously proclaiming that justice had been served. But on the streets of Los Angeles, black workers bitterly noted that of the more than a dozen cops seen on video by the entire country torturing King that night, only four were ever brought to trial, and two of those were acquitted. From South-Central to the South Bronx, everyone knows that the only thing unique about what happened to Rodney King is that it was captured on videotape and aired on TV.

You Can't Get Justice in the Capitalist Courts!

Dykes/L.A. Times

Occupying army of troops and cops rounded up minority youth in South-Central L.A. during last May's explosion over acquittal of racist cops.

BEOs, Labor Traitors Abandon Blacks

Polls showed all racial groups in L.A. other than whites thought that the overwhelming danger was not riots but the cops running amok; whites were evenly split. Yet the bourgeois media were out "riot hunting," feeding the frenzy of cop provocation and militarism. And when nothing happened, it was used as justification for the police-state mobilization and the call for thousands more cops on the streets. The civil libertarian ACLU disgustingly came out in defense of King's racist cop tormentors—in a split vote in which all black delegates dissented—on the grounds that the second trial constituted double jeopardy. While the bourgeois courts may well use this as a precedent, the Simi Valley whitewash was not a trial at all but a flagrant sham.

The new head of the thoroughly "respectable" NAACP, Rev. Benjamin Chavis, felt compelled to complain that the provocative buildup "reminds me of the preliminary activities of Desert Storm." He added: "I'm very concerned, with all the military apparatus that is surrounding Los Angeles right now, that the people who live in South-Central Los Angeles may in fact become isolated from the rest of the United States."

If South-Central is isolated from the rest of America, it is because the beleaguered black population has been abandoned by the black Democratic Party hacks, and the abjectly pro-capitalist union tops who have *sabotaged* the palpable opportunities for working-class struggle in L.A. that could have brought out the power of the labor movement against racist cop terror.

The black elected officials nervously rush to shore up the cops because they know that for all the hype about drug witchhunter Peter Ueberroth's union-hating "Rebuild L.A.," decaying capitalism has nothing to offer the impoverished black and Latino masses. In the wake of the 1960s ghetto rebellions, the state responded with the sop of a "war on poverty." This time around, they bought off a handful of L.A. street gang leaders, who went around peddling T-shirts reading "Peace in the 'Hood."

Last year's talk of $5 billion in inner-city investment is a citywide joke; Ueberroth's outfit even had to change its name to "RLA" for fear of raising "false hopes." Unemployment in poor black neighborhoods reaches 50 percent, as hundreds of thousands of unionized industrial jobs have been wiped out in aerospace and auto. L.A. teachers just had a 10 percent pay cut rammed down their throats by the "friend of labor" Democrats, and Kaiser hospital workers, who were slated to strike during the trial, were sent back to work after only a day.

L.A. labor, especially longshore and the growing multiracial service unions, has the power to come to the defense of the black and Latino population—and themselves. The LAPD "labor squad" has been pervasive, menacing union demonstrations and strikes, while undocumented Latino workers face roundups and deportations by the INS. During last year's upheaval the LAPD and *la migra* swept the streets and deported over 1,000 workers. While California

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Melcon/L.A. Times WV Photo

Latino janitors (left) and striking Kaiser Hospital workers (right). Mobilize power of integrated L.A.-area working class to defend oppressed minorities!

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

stadium while bands of angry youths threw stones at the police "hippos" (armored cars) patrolling the area.

A few days earlier in the Cape Town area, protesters blocked a highway with burning barricades and massed outside President F.W. De Klerk's official residence. "No Peace, War, War," youths chanted in the streets. Black "moderates" pulled out all the stops to quell the justified rage. Bishop Desmond Tutu praised the conduct of the police and denounced the violence of the "lunatic fringe," referring to the ANC's "young lions."

Soweto was the site of a dramatic political confrontation. At the April 14 protest, as ANC leader Nelson Mandela addressed the 20,000 who rallied in a sports stadium, the crowd erupted in boos when Mandela said "I don't like the National Party, but I'm prepared to work with F.W. De Klerk to build a new South Africa." Yells came from the crowd, "We hate them, we hate them!" Others said of Mandela, "He's too old and he doesn't want to fight."

Hani and the "Power Sharing" Deal

Leaders of the ANC and the apartheid rulers worried about the impact on the current "power sharing" negotiations. In fact, the assassination of Hani exposed the reality of the "new" South Africa—not post-apartheid but *neo-apartheid*. Now Mandela is using the spectre of massive violent upheaval in the townships to push through the deal with the white-supremacist regime.

For young black militants, Hani was the personification of "armed struggle" against the hated apartheid regime. Yet following the assassination, Nelson Mandela cited Hani's "central role in the effort to arrive at a negotiated settlement" and said Hani was killed to head off negotiations. This was self-evidently true. As we have noted, Hani and his close ally Winnie Mandela traded on their militant reputations to position themselves as the pseudo-radical opposition to a future Mandela/De Klerk government. Hani in fact insisted he had no fundamental disagreement with "power sharing," only bickering over timing and the small print of the deal. As we wrote last month:

> "Hani/[Winnie] Mandela are expressing the frustrations of the lumpen-plebeian supporters of the ANC, who unlike the black would-be yuppies around ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa and Thabo Mbeki would gain no benefits from the 'power sharing' deal.... The ANC needs both to be in the government and to be in opposition to it. If Mandela is president, then Hani will be the 'militant opposition' waiting in the wings."
>
> —"South Africa 'Power Sharing' Swindle," *WV* No. 571, 12 March

By channeling the mounting disaffection of the township youth, we noted, these critics "are key players in making sure the deal goes down."

We were the *only ones* to state this obvious truth, at a time when nobody, either in the bourgeois media or the left press, would say it. They instead united in building Hani's reputation as an uncompromising Communist leading militant opposition to Mandela's sellout. But today Hani's role in the "negotiations" waltz is being discussed by all. Thus in the *New York Times* (11 April), Bill Keller wrote that "With his credentials as the anti-apartheid guerrilla leader and his charismatic appeal to angry young blacks, Mr. Hani gave the congress credibility among its most disaffected constituents." Tutu said of Hani that "He had the credibility among the young to rein in the radicals." And South African journalist Anthony Hazlitt Heard noted that Hani was "a crucial cog in the peace machinery":

> "Hani was the person most suited to taming the excesses of the masses, particularly the impoverished and embittered youth. And he did this with a gusto and sincerity that surprised many of his opponents. He had made the quantum leap from fostering class revolution to all-around stability."
>
> —*Los Angeles Times* (13 April)

After all, it was Hani who argued for the "integration" of the MK forces into the apartheid army. While as a military guerrilla force, the MK was no threat at all to the South African army, to liquidate it into the repressive apparatus of the present regime is a betrayal of would-be liberation fighters and a sinister threat to black workers and township youth. At the same time, Hani sought to counter De Klerk's Zulu *Gauleiter*, Gatsha Buthelezi, by playing the Xhosa tribalist card. Thus he sought an alliance with ANC-allied bantustan chiefs in Venda and the Transkei. Lately, he had been trying to organize "community defense" patrols as part of the phony "peace" negotiations.

Hani not only fostered illusions in the "democracy" of a "new" South Africa, but apparently shared some of them himself. This is tragically evident in his reported decision to dismiss his bodyguards on Easter weekend, and travel alone in the right-wing white enclave of Boksburg, where the fascists operate with impunity.

Financial Times

Sinister killers of the Nazi AWB target militant blacks and leftists.

Reuters

South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo (left) with SACP general secretary Chris Hani, cut down by assassin on April 10.

The Assassination Plot

The assassin was one Janusz Walus, a fanatical anti-communist Polish fascist who emigrated to South Africa in 1981 on the eve of the suppression of the counterrevolutionary bid for power by Solidarność, the Polish nationalist movement backed by the U.S. and the Vatican. In South Africa, Walus joined the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB—Afrikaner Resistance Movement), a Nazi paramilitary organization, and was involved with other white-extremist action groups.

The "single deranged fascist" line spun by the government collapsed almost immediately when it was revealed the pistol which killed Hani came from a 1990 fascist raid on a South African air force arsenal in Pretoria. The heist, in which more than 70 weapons and thousands of rounds of ammunition were taken, was an inside job. Guards at the installation were among more than 50 rightists charged in the plot.

On April 17, police arrested "for questioning" a senior member of the Conservative Party, Derby Lewis, who has connections to a number of right-wing extremist groups. And an article by John Carlin in the London *Independent* (16 April) reports on fresh evidence definitively linking Walus to South African intelligence. Walus also belongs to the "Afrikaner National Socialist Movement" (ANS), whose leader, Koos Vermeulen, said it would pay Walus' legal costs. Vermeulen was closely associated with two men charged with carrying out a bombing at a black taxi stand in Pretoria in 1990, and with the murder of an ANC supporter in Durban that year. The two jumped bail and fled to Britain, where they announced that they were South African military intelligence operatives.

For a Black-Centered Workers Republic!

The mood of the ANC's "young lions" was expressed by Thabo Morudu, 21. "When Mandela was released, we thought things would get better overnight. Since then it's been delay, delay, delay—three years of delay. And now they're murdering our leaders. The only answer is insurrection" (*Washington Post*, 18 April). This is the bitter anger of people who thought they were getting "*Amandla*" (power) and now have been robbed of even the illusion of it.

Today there is no one of the stature of Chris Hani who can galvanize yet control the township youth, the ANC's plebeian base—which is why he was killed. ANC Youth League leaders adopt militant posturing, and the Pan Africanist Congress will doubtless pick up followers for its indiscriminate terror bombings of restaurants and golf courses frequented by whites. Outrage may degenerate into random attacks by roving bands of lumpenproletarian youth who could direct their rage at anything from Zulu hostels to individual whites or black workers.

A 16 April Associated Press article by Barry Renfrew summed up the imperialists' calculations of the effect of Hani's murder on the "peace negotiations." Renfrew writes that under threat of a descent into chaos, the white rulers and the ANC tops are being pushed into a tighter embrace. Noting that further unrest is likely, he writes that the "violence that erupted in the wake of Hani's death was comparatively modest in a country where dozens of people are killed every week in political violence," and "much of the anger is likely to abate in coming weeks.... Without organization, strong leadership and resources, such unrest could not be sustained."

Renfrew observed that while many "question Mandela's ability to control angry young blacks, the ANC has always had radical black rivals to which it has lost militant black youths for decades." This is quite true, and the real key to the future of South Africa does not lie in the militant township youth, although they can play a valuable role, but in the millions-strong proletariat in the factories, mines, railways and docks who make the wheels of apartheid capitalism turn...or stop.

There is an urgent need for the black, "coloured" (mixed race) and Indian masses to organize self-defense units, *with a proletarian axis*. They can incorporate the young fighters of the impoverished townships, but must be built on a multi-ethnic working-class basis including coloureds, Indians and anti-racist whites. This must be part of a strategy of proletarian revolution.

The key is building a genuine communist, Trotskyist party, where the red star and the hammer and sickle are not hollow symbols of some long-forgotten days but the heart of a fighting program for workers revolution. The modern-day wage slaves who produce the fabulous profits of the Anglo American mining magnates must not be chained to a party of bourgeois nationalism, manipulated by the black front men for refurbished apartheid capitalism, but rather must struggle for a black-centered workers republic. ■

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Mississippi Jailhouse Lynchings

Over the past five years the state of Mississippi claims that 47 people being held in local jails and state prisons, among them 24 blacks, committed suicide by hanging themselves. Charles Tisdale, publisher of the *Jackson Advocate* and veteran of the civil rights struggle in Mississippi, fought to bring to light these tragic deaths, dubiously labeled "suicides." In March the Commission on Human Rights Abuses in Mississippi—including among others former U.S. attorney general Ramsey Clark, Joseph Lowery of the SCLC and Ben Chaney—held hearings to investigate the hangings. Chaney is the brother of James Chaney, who along with Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner was murdered near Philadelphia, Mississippi in 1964. Their gravestone has been recently desecrated by bullet holes in the tombstone portraits. Their killers live in surrounding Neshoba County, and as Ben Chaney has said, "They're local heroes." The threat of more racist lynchings is heavy in the air.

In 1990 David Scott Campbell was found hanged in the Neshoba County jail. Arrested on a year-old warrant, he died on his 21st birthday, on the eve of taking up a new job. The lights went off in the jail for an hour; conflicting testimony has him hanging by a belt (which he never wore) or a pants leg. His body was embalmed before an autopsy. The clothes used to hang him are missing. Campbell was known in Neshoba for dating a white woman, and many in the black community believe this is why he died. His girlfriend claims the Klan has "infiltrated" the Neshoba County Sheriff's Department. Despite common knowledge that KKK activity is widespread in Neshoba, Sheriff Hubert Waddell said, "I didn't even know we had a Klan around" (Jackson *Clarion-Ledger*, 18 March). (Local sheriffs were complicit in the murders of the three civil rights workers in 1964.)

Andre Jones, an 18-year-old black youth, died on 23 August 1992 in a jail in Mendenhall, Mississippi. He was found hanging by the shoelaces of his own sneakers. Jones was said to have knotted shoelaces to a bar and crouched with his feet still on the ground. He died at 10:30 p.m. but his parents were not allowed to see the body till the next afternoon. The family hired a Chicago pathologist, who says Andre was murdered: "It is physically impossible for a person to pick himself up by a shoestring and hang himself from the rafters of a shower stall without the aid of a chair or stepstool...whoever killed him...hung it up to make it look like a suicide" (*USA Today*, 19 February). Jones was to start college as an engineering student. He had spoken to his parents and was upbeat. Andre's parents believe he was murdered as an act of retribution. His mother is president of the local Jackson NAACP, and his stepfather was a minister in the Nation of Islam.

Jones had been pulled over at a police check in Rankin County and charged with two misdemeanors and a felony. In the middle of the night he was transferred to a notorious jail in Simpson County run by Sheriff Lloyd "Goon" Jones. The sheriffs claim he showed them "gang signals," and killed himself because he violated the gang "code of conduct" and was afraid to spend time in jail! Andre was not a gang member and had no record. The Justice Department conducted an investigation, and "after a careful FBI review" they found no evidence to counter the suicide scenario. The Mississippi Commissioner of Public Safety, James Ingram, claims there is no evidence of "foul play." Ingram, a former assistant to J. Edgar Hoover, was responsible for COINTELPRO disruption of the civil rights movement.

Sheriff Lloyd Jones is called "Goon" because he is a racist thug. He was in the line of state patrolmen that cleared a path for the racist mob when James Meredith integrated the University of Mississippi in 1962. When the cops stood back to let the racists rampage, two French journalists were killed. After Meredith was shot five years later, Lloyd Jones ordered protest marchers in Canton tear-gassed. At Jackson State in 1967 he fired three times—black student Ben Brown was killed. Three years later, Jones led a squad at Jackson State, where after a 28-second barrage of machine gun fire and hail of bullets, two black youths lay dead and twelve were injured. As Charles Evers, brother of slain Mississippi NAACP leader Medgar Evers, said later, "I want Jones...held for murder.... For he is the man—I keep saying this—who is always on the scene. He's the one who called us 'niggers'" (quoted in Tim Spofford, *Lynch Street: The May 1970 Slayings at Jackson State College* [1988]).

On April 14 a federal inquiry was announced into hanging deaths in Mississippi jails. Expecting the government to stop this is like asking the fox to guard the chicken coop. The jail where Andre Jones died has been subject to review under federal court order since 1978! But they have got a big PR problem and need damage control. Moreover, this brutality is manifestly a legacy of slavery. (The regime is especially aimed at blacks, but the dispossessed of all colors inevitably get caught in the noose.) Mississippi, Florida, North Carolina and Texas, all former Confederate states, top the list of states with the most jailhouse "suicides." Sixty-seven were in Florida, where Janet Reno, now Clinton's top cop, was a prosecutor; now she's overseeing the federal "investigation"!

The repressive apparatus of the capitalist state, in all its hideous forms, is the racist rulers' central mechanism for social control. For the state, "suicides" have the "virtue" of saving it trouble and expense of a trial and years of prison. After all, the United States has the highest rate of incarceration among industrialized countries, and has more black males in prison than attending college. Likewise, there has been a speedup on death row, where 40 percent of those set to be legally lynched are black.

The civil rights movement barely penetrated the wall of racist reaction, as the powerful positions of Jones and Ingram attest. Thirty years after he shot NAACP head Medgar Evers, Klansman Byron de la Beckwith may again go free in the state run by Republican governor Fordice, who sounds a lot like pinstripe fascist David Duke. In 1993 Mississippi has black elected officials and police chiefs, but little has changed economically or socially for the majority of blacks, who comprise 35 percent of the population. State-sanctioned Jim Crow has given way to resegregation in public schools through a network of private white "academies." Singer Nina Simone's bitter chronicle is no less true today: "Everybody knows about Mississippi—Goddamn."

The experience of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) in 1964 illustrates the dead end of capitalist politics. The MFDP was the outgrowth of a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee voter registration drive in 1964 that netted 80,000 black voters to force the liberals in the national Democratic Party to seat an alternate black protest slate. But Lyndon Johnson needed the white vote, and insisted on a "compromise" seating only two "at large" black delegates. SNCC refused and the *entire* regular delegation was seated. At the time, Stokely Carmichael said it "was as ludicrous for Negroes to join the Democratic Party as it would be for Jews to join the Nazi party."

Today the "New South" yuppie administration of Clinton/Gore mutters about "reform" while practicing racist accommodation. (Candidate Clinton returned to Arkansas to oversee the execution of a brain-damaged black man.) Mike Espy, Clinton's secretary of agriculture, was the first black Congressman from Mississippi since Reconstruction. He is known for his "coalition building," selling out the interests of the oppressed to the plantocracy and agribusiness capitalists who run Mississippi. Ask striking Delta Pride catfish workers from Indianola about his certified anti-union credentials!

A South-wide drive to organize integrated, industrial unions—spreading outward from unionized outposts like the shipyards and steel mills of Pascagoula, Mississippi—against the racist ruling class would send shock waves even into the Mississippi Delta country and the pine woods where the nativist fascists of the KKK hole up. But that requires a class-struggle leadership, organized in a multiracial revolutionary workers party fighting for socialist revolution, a third American revolution that would put an end to racist injustice, and rid the region and the country of the ghosts of the Confederacy and their protectors in the court houses, state houses and White House. ■

Jenson/Clarion-Ledger

Hannans/Atlanta Journal and Constitution photos

Parents of Andre Jones (left) show graduation photo of their son who police claim "hanged himself" by his shoelaces in jail.

Fifteen-year-old wife and two-month-old daughter of Bobby Everett (left) and mother of Shannon King (above), two more victims of jailhouse lynchings.

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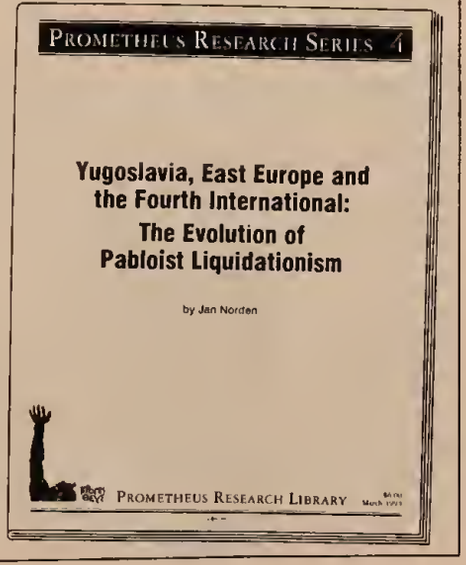


Q. What's an "Outlaw State"?

"New World Order" Targets North Korea

A. A Country Washington Doesn't Want to Have the Bomb.

On April 1, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) went to the UN Security Council seeking unspecified "sanctions" against North Korea for supposedly refusing to allow inspectors to visit "suspected atom bomb sites." Sound familiar? It sure will to the beleaguered population of Iraq: that was the pretext for the vicious bombing attack on them last January, with outgoing and incoming imperialist chiefs Bush and Clinton standing "shoulder to shoulder" to once more bloody this small, non-white country. In motive and intent, the scenario now being played out against North Korea is no different. Behind these moves is a deadly threat against the North Korean deformed workers state by the hegemonic nuclear power on the planet, the U.S. of A.

Bush cast Saddam Hussein as a nut about to get a finger on the nuclear trigger in order to build war fever in the U.S. for Operation Desert Slaughter in 1991, when the Pentagon imperialist war machine butchered 100,000 Iraqis. "Iraq is merely a proxy for a generalized class of threats," declared Bush's war department in a March 1991 policy statement specifically naming North Korea (*CovertAction*, Summer 1991). The *New York Times* (10 April 1991) chimed in with an op-ed piece by Cold Warrior Leslie Gelb labeling North Korea "The Next Renegade State," with the claim that it is "likely to possess nuclear weapons in a few years" and is "perhaps the most dangerous country in the world today." This was the opening salvo in the current imperialist campaign.

Imperialist Britain and France have had sizable nuclear arsenals for decades. So do American client states like apartheid South Africa, fundamentalist Pakistan and Zionist Israel—which alone has enough A-bombs to irradiate every city in the Near East. Indeed, the U.S. itself is the most dangerous nuclear terrorist on the planet. And now Clinton Secretary of State Warren Christopher denounces Iran as an "international outlaw." In imperialist doublespeak, any country facing American aggression is deemed an "outlaw state."

Now that the Soviet Union has been destroyed by counterrevolution, Washington is intent on enforcing a "one-superpower world," while imperialist pundits wring their hands over nukes from the former Soviet republics popping up in the international arms market. In early 1992 a "leaked" Pentagon document elaborated the American rulers' ambitions to "prevent the emergence of a new rival" following the collapse of the Soviet Union. In particular, the U.S. is out to strangle two remaining recalcitrant deformed workers states, Cuba and North Korea. "I'm running out of demons," complained General Colin Powell after the Gulf slaughter. "I'm down to Castro and Kim Il Sung." Washington was set to make a *casus belli* of an uncompleted Cuban nuclear reactor at Cienfuegos until the Castro regime was forced to shut it down when Yeltsin's Russia cut off aid.

The North Korean Stalinist regime of Kim Il Sung signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1985 under heavy pressure—actually economic blackmail—from Moscow and Washington. However, Kim refused to allow "inspections" of the North unless the same treatment was meted out to the South, where the U.S. has had *hundreds* of nuclear warheads. The South Korean capitalist regime claimed in 1991 that these weapons were removed, but "United States policy is never to confirm or deny the presence of nuclear weapons at any site" (*New York Times*, 27 December 1991).

Nevertheless, in 1992 Kim surprised the imperialists by having the treaty ratified, disclosing a number of nuclear power installations and agreeing to let the IAEA in. "The facilities listed were more than they needed to give us," said an IAEA spokesman. Some five months and three inspection trips later, the *New York Times* (21 September 1992) was forced to admit North Korea had "a nuclear arms program more rudimentary than expected," after inspectors were shown "even some facilities the U.S. was unaware of."

However, newly "suspicious" sites can be "discovered" endlessly, which is what the Pentagon and its IAEA agents proceeded to do. When in February the agency demanded access to two sites outside their purview, the North Koreans balked. The U.S. responded by reviving its "Team Spirit" military exercises with South Korea, an annual rehearsal for invasion of the North. Finally, on March 12 the North was driven to pull out of the treaty. In a statement that is rather sober for a Stalinist regime notorious for taking to bizarre extremes the "personality cult" of the "Great Leader" Kim and his son and heir, "Dear Leader" Kim Il Jong, the North Koreans pointed out:

> "If we submissively accept an unjust inspection by the IAEA, it would legitimize the espionage acts by the United States, a belligerent party vis-a-vis the DPRK [Democratic People's Republic of Korea], and set the beginning of the full exposure of all our military installations. Under our specific conditions in which the country still remains divided and exposed to the constant nuclear threats from the United States, it will be totally inconceivable to lay our military sites open to the enemies."

U.S. Imperialism—World's Nuclear Terrorist

Who's kidding who, anyway? Forget how many grams of plutonium North Korea may or may not possess. The U.S. is the *only* military power on the peninsula with nuclear weapons—and no one had better demand to inspect *them*—not to mention the huge stockpile of strategic warheads on Guam a few hours' flying time by B-52 from Pyongyang. Every Korean is vividly aware that it was the racist U.S. rulers who obliterated two entire Japanese cities populated by children, women and old men—and thousands of Korean forced laborers—during World War II. This was the first and only use of nuclear weapons by anyone anywhere. Now deprived of the Soviet nuclear umbrella, North Korea could really use a few nuclear warheads.

During the Korean War, the U.S. *repeatedly* threatened to nuke the North. Two weeks after the outbreak of fighting in June 1950, General Douglas MacArthur sent a "hot message" to the Pentagon demanding 10 to 20 A-bombs to "sweeten up my B-29 force" (Jon Halliday and Bruce Cumings, *Korea: The Unknown War* [Pantheon, 1988]). And it wasn't just the "loose cannon" MacArthur, either. Three days after Chinese and North Korean forces launched a punishing counteroffensive, Truman publicly declared that the use of nuclear weapons was under "active consideration," explicitly refusing to rule out civilian targets.

Joining North Korea on U.S. imperialism's hit list of "outlaw states" are Cuba, Iraq, Iran and Libya. The U.S. bombing of Libya in 1986—targeting Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi's home in a failed assassination attempt—was carried out on the pretext of eliminating a supposed "chemical weapons plant." In 1991 Washington used the same lie to justify the bombing of an infant formula factory in Baghdad. Having curried favor with the ayatollahs to go after Saddam Hussein two years ago, now the U.S. is gearing up for terror against Iran. Last week American public TV presented a propaganda "documentary" on "Iran and the Bomb."

Who's Supposed to Get the Bomb?

The escalating provocations against North Korea "reflect a new global preoccupation with the monitoring and enforcement of a handful of treaties meant to constrain the proliferation of nuclear, germ and chemical weapons and ballistic missiles," says the *Washington Post* (7 April). Translation: the U.S. imperialists have decided these treaties make a really great cover for going after their perceived enemies. Using the United Nations as its agent, the U.S. claims the right to poke its nose into the

continued on page 8

South Africa

Israel

Pakistan

Der Spiegel photos

Which Nuclear Power Does Washington Consider an "Outlaw State"?

Answer: None of the above

Korea Pictorial

North Korean "Great Leader" Kim Il Sung (right), with his son and designated successor, "Dear Leader" Kim Jong Il.

After Right-Wing Election Victory

Der Spiegel photos

Gregoire Korganov

Plainclothes cops attack minority youth protesting murder of African youth in a Paris police station. Above left: conservative prime minister Balladur salutes his predecessor Bérégovoy. Below: Socialist president François Mitterrand inaugurated anti-immigrant crusade.

French Cops on Murderous Racist Rampage

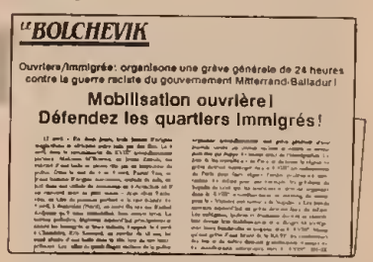
The landslide victory of the conservative parties in France's parliamentary elections last month touched off a wave of racist cop terror against immigrants and those of African or North African descent. Less than two weeks after the elections, three minority youth and a fourth young worker had been assassinated by the killers in uniform. Our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) have issued an urgent appeal for working-class mobilization against the murderous cop terror.

The March elections were a stinging repudiation of Socialist Party rule under President François Mitterrand. With the Socialists receiving barely 19 percent of the votes (and less than one-eighth of the seats in the new parliament), Mitterrand must now "cohabit" with a government of the right. Yet the road to this reactionary regime was paved by a dozen years of Mitterrand's anti-working-class austerity, Cold War anti-Sovietism and anti-immigrant racist attacks. Another beneficiary of this reactionary climate was Jean-Marie Le Pen's fascist National Front, which got 13 percent of the vote in the first round elections.

The nomination of the sinister Charles Pasqua as minister of the interior underlines the threat that terror against immigrant workers and the "second generation" of youth of African or North African parents will be the hallmark of this government. Pasqua was notorious as interior minister in the 1986-88 government of conservative prime minister Jacques Chirac, when he goaded on the killer cops, brazenly telling them he would "cover" for them when they attacked immigrants. Not surprisingly, the police saw the vote as a green light to step up their terror.

The new conservative prime minister Edouard Balladur announced that the first priority of his government was dealing with "nationality, immigration and security," presenting immigrant workers and their families as criminals who merit police-state repression. Many of those who are called "immigrants" were actually born in France of African or North African descent. Now the government wants to do away with the existing right of those born in France to immigrant parents to automatically become French citizens at the age of 18 if they choose.

The LTF leaflet which we print below is being distributed by the thousands in immigrant neighborhoods and hostels, at high schools and university campuses, and before many factory gates. The reception has been highly favorable, especially at factories with many immigrant workers, such as the Flins auto plant, where the North African workers were the first to strike against Mitterrand's austerity in the early '80s. Immigrant workers are an important component of the French working class and could play a key role in touching off combative strikes of French and immigrant workers in a common struggle against the government's racist onslaught.



LE BOLCHEVIK

Ouvriers/immigrés: organisons une grève générale de 24 heures contre la guerre raciste du gouvernement Mitterrand-Balladur!

Mobilisation ouvrière!
Défendez les quartiers immigrés!

Leaflet mass distributed by LTF calls on workers to mobilize to defend immigrant neighborhoods.

For Workers Action to Defend Minority Youth!

APRIL 10—Within two days, three youths of black African and Maghreb (North African) origins were killed by the cops. On April 6, in the 18th *arrondissement* (district) police station in Paris, Makome M'Bowole, a young man from Zaire, was executed, shot in the head by an inspector of police. The night of April 6-7, Pascal Taïs, a youth of Moroccan origin, ill from AIDS, was thrown in a cell in the Arcachon police station, where he was found dead in the morning—two ribs broken, a lung perforated and his spleen ruptured. On April 7, in Wattrelos (Nord), another cop shot at Rachid Ardjouni while he was immobilized, face down on the ground. Police terror, today principally against immigrants and their children, struck an 18-year-old worker, Eric Simonté, who was also shot in the head while being taken into custody. The racist police dragnets and roundups are an outrage and an invitation to more killings of North Africans and black Africans!

AFP

Paris cops evict African families from Bois de Vincennes Park.

In Paris and Tourcoing (in the north), the long-suppressed anger of the youth subjected to years of daily racist terror has exploded against these crimes. Around the 18th district police station in Paris, every day hundreds of youth demonstrate yelling "*Cops—fascists and murderers!*" These youth must not stand alone!

The cop invasion of the immigrant communities today comes in the wake of an electoral campaign steeped in racism, where all the major parties fought over the question of who can best "protect France against immigration," which they denounce as responsible for all the ills of the economic crisis: unemployment, crime. Now the Mitterrand-Balladur government is taking advantage of the current unrest to increase police repression and violence in the name of racist "public safety." Pasqua has put the 18th district under a state of siege, with a police cordon and a sweep recalling the bloody repression against Algerian workers in France during the Algerian War—especially in that neighborhood, which was a stronghold of the FLN. The memory of the defeat of French imperialism in Algeria is fueling the racist terror of the fascists and the Mitterrand-Balladur cops. The cops arrest and torture dozens of demonstrators. A member of the LCR [Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire] is in the hospital after having been beaten up at the police station. Drop the charges now! Full citizenship rights for immigrants! Cops out of the immigrant neighborhoods! Worker/immigrant defense squads based on the factories!

The Ligue Trotskyste calls on the workers movement to immediately organize a *one-day general strike against the racist crimes and police terror which confront youth of the second generation.* On that day, all the striking working people of Paris and environs should converge on the 18th district to establish anti-racist proletarian order. For example, on the same day strikers from Sopalin and their supporters should organize a "Victory to

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North Korea...

(continued from page 6)

military secrets of any state on the globe—and to bomb or invade it if it chooses—in the name of "controlling the spread of weapons of mass destruction."

Luckily for the rest of the world, the Soviet Union got the bomb after World War II, and its military might kept the U.S. nuclear pirates in check for decades. If not for the Soviet nuclear arsenal, the American rulers would have vaporized dozens of Russian cities, as their early '50s operational plans called for, and neither North Korea nor Cuba would have been allowed to survive as deformed workers states. But especially since the demise of the Soviet degenerated workers state, nobody in the world has stockpiles of these weapons remotely approaching the vast nuclear, chemical and biological arsenal of the Pentagon. "Non-proliferation" means keeping U.S. military dominance intact.

But guess what—there are countries which have collected *many* deliverable nuclear warheads in the past couple of decades without raising a peep of protest from Washington or its lapdog IAEA. On March 24, South African president De Klerk announced the apartheid regime built six atom bombs over the past 15 years. De Klerk claimed the devices were destroyed after 1989, and that even blueprints were shredded. While the Randlords certainly don't want a future ANC "power-sharing" government to get its hands on nuclear weapons, this does not mean the bombs have really been dismantled. IAEA sources say South Africa may still have some *350 kilos* (770 pounds) of weapons-grade uranium (London *Independent*, 26 March).

Moreover, as the liberal South African *Weekly Mail* (26 March) observed, De Klerk "had more than he revealed." The article noted that the apartheid state's nuclear capacity was "on the technological cutting edge internationally," including self-guided nuclear "smart bombs." South Africa's nuclear weapons program—carried out with U.S., Israeli and German cooperation—was no news to anyone. It was exposed by the ANC more than 15 years ago (see "West Germany Gets the Bomb," *WV* No. 170, 26 August 1977). In 1980 the apartheid regime sentenced South African researcher Renfrew Christie to ten years in jail for passing nuclear secrets to the ANC.

And how about the *only* country in the Near East with not just a crude warhead but *hundreds* of deliverable weapons—Israel? Mated to the Jericho II missile, this arsenal gave the Zionist rulers the power to level every urban center in the Near East and to strike the Soviet Union, the main target of U.S. imperialism after WW II. The Zionist arsenal was heroically exposed by Mordechai Vanunu, a former technician at Israel's top-secret Dimona nuclear weapons plant. After giving the story to the London *Sunday Times* in 1986, Vanunu was kidnapped in Italy by Israeli agents working with the CIA, tortured, given a kangaroo-court trial and sentenced to 18 years in solitary.

Vanunu also exposed the central role played by the Israeli regime in helping South Africa get the bomb in exchange for South African uranium. In 1979, the two countries even conducted a joint nuclear test in the Indian Ocean, revealed by two reporters for the Israel daily *Ha'aretz* in a book banned by the Zionist censors. The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have campaigned from the outset to demand: Free Mordechai Vanunu now!

Despite a dirty colonial war under UN cover which killed nearly 10 percent of the Korean population, the U.S. imperialists failed to smash North Korea, where a social revolution from above overthrew capitalist-landlord rule. Now that the threadbare planned economy in the North has been deprived of Soviet oil as well as military support, facing a total imperialist embargo, the Stalinist regime is facing a truly desperate situation. Within the framework of "socialism in one country," i.e., Stalinist nationalism, there is no way out. So, while rejecting the outright surrender being demanded by the imperialists, Kim can only appeal to the IAEA to return to a mythical "neutrality" and plead that the U.S. turn peaceful.

Pantheon Books

Hiroshima or Nagasaki? No, Pyongyang, capital of North Korea, after being laid waste by American imperialists with "conventional" weapons during the Korean War.

While the South Korean *chaebols* (big monopolies) salivate over the prospect of exploiting cheap North Korean labor, the "democratic" police state in Seoul pales at the prospective costs of a German-style *Anschluss* (annexation). Washington, however, is intent on pressing the regime in the North to the point of collapse.

The North Korean deformed workers state must be defended against the imperialists and their puppets in Seoul. But what's critically needed is a *revolutionary* reunification of the peninsula through a socialist revolution in the South and a proletarian political revolution in the North. An internationalist perspective in Korea must necessarily embrace the powerful Japanese proletariat, which is key to the struggle for socialism in East Asia.

The Democrats now ensconced in the White House have always been the party of imperialist war in this century. It's up to the working class in the U.S. to disarm the nuclear-armed would-be "new world order" of slavery, terror and mass murder by carrying out a victorious workers revolution here. ■

France...

(continued from page 7)

the Sopalin Strike" mass rally in the 18th. Other workers now on strike should do the same. College, high school and primary school students should meet in front of their schools and march to the 18th with their banners and chants. Instead of a one-hour metro strike, trains and buses should be run all day for free bringing anti-racist demonstrators to the 18th. Two hundred thousand workers, mobilized in defense of the immigrants and their children, will drive the fascists back into their holes, and will force the cops and the government to think twice.

The immigrant workers of the 18th district in Paris represent potential social power. Many among them work in some of the most important plants in the area. Workers at Flins, for example, were involved in crucial strikes during the early 1980s. An initiative by Flins workers in defense of the 18th could be an important launching pad for massive united actions.

The National Front, as the vanguard of capitalist reaction, profited from the elections to consolidate its base. Immediately after the elections a band of fascists attacked an immigrant neighborhood at Salon de Provence. Balladur, in the course of his consultations with the parties having "an undeniable following," is getting ready to meet with Le Pen. *We must crush the fascists before they crush us!* Gardanne (near Marseille), where on March 14 miners, youth of North African origin and militant workers routed Le Pen and his thugs, demonstrates the potential of worker/immigrant united-front actions to stop the fascists. A general strike against racist terror would also constitute a base to organize a worker/immigrant/Jewish mobilization to finally stop the National Front from marching again on May 1.

Anti-immigrant terror is the spearhead of the offensive against all workers. Those who are killed today are the children of a decisive section of the working class of this country. The workers movement must not let the youth who go into the streets today to vent their rage stand alone; it must act to defend the immigrant workers and their children against segregation and racist terror.

If the working class is divided between "French" and immigrants, like during the Talbot strike in 1983-84 or during the Gulf War (when Mitterrand imposed an anti-immigrant state of siege to squelch the rage against the racist massacre of hundreds of thousands of Iraqi men, women and children), it is the exploiters who rub their hands in glee. It is the unity, integrity and capacity to struggle of the whole working class which are at stake.

Everyone remembers that on 10 December 1986, in response to the assassination of Malik Oussekine by the cops of Mitterrand-Chirac, a 24-hour workers strike called by the unions and the biggest demonstration against racist terror took place. One week later, the rail workers rushed into the breach opened by this mobilization. And their strike broke the wings of Chiracism.

To organize a class-struggle day of action in defense of our embattled North African brothers and sisters is a serious undertaking of self-defense for the entire proletariat. But the "leaders" of the working class are totally dispirited in the face of the electoral defeat of the "left"—by which they mean Mitterrand's discredited, anti-working-class popular front—and have no "strategy" but to cower in expectation of the anticipated new attacks on jobs, wages and working conditions. The 24-hour general strike against racist terror could be the beginning of a fightback against the international capitalists, emboldened by the destruction of the Soviet and East European degenerated and deformed workers states and ready to begin a new cold war against the workers at home.

This means a leadership which does not flinch at a fight, including defensive struggles. But the existing leaders have been mired in popular-frontism for decades; the leaders of the CGT and CP, which claim to represent the most militant and conscious workers, are totally disarmed in the face of the "death of Communism." As Trotskyists, we say: Stalinism is dead—the class struggle lives! An action in defense of the oppressed minority populations would be a big step toward forging a class-struggle leadership instead of the "*Produisons français*" ("Produce French") chauvinist reformists and their "far-left" tails. These leaders are more afraid of the workers getting a taste of their potential power than they are of fascists in the streets.

Across Europe, workers have begun to resist the assaults on their living standards—for example, the April 2 strikes in Britain and Italy. In Germany tens of thousands of metal workers have demonstrated against the devastation wrought by capitalist reunification. In France, the workers are again showing their combativity—from the SNECMA (aeronautics industry) to the SNCF (railroads) and including the Métro and the post office. Last March 31, 60,000 workers demonstrated at Lyon to defend the trade unionists against the bosses' "justice." A one-day general strike against the racist terror would begin to turn the tide, after a dozen years of racist and anti-worker policies of "the left" and in the face of the new anti-worker offensive.

The cops and courts are instruments of racist oppression in the service of the capitalist class. When they aren't terrorizing the immigrant areas, they are attacking picket lines, like at Renault-Cléon in 1991. *No confidence in the bourgeois state!* In this racist, capitalist country, there will be no justice for Makome M'Bowole, Pascal Taïs, Rachid Ardjouni and all the other victims of racist terror. Justice will be rendered when the killer cops are judged by those whom they took as their targets—when the power of the capitalist class and their racist lackeys in uniform is broken by a socialist revolution which expropriates the bourgeoisie and puts the workers in power. *For a workers government!*

More than ever, it is necessary to organize and fight back against the attacks of the fascists and the cops of the bourgeois state—in the factories, the campuses and the neighborhoods!

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Waco...

(continued from page 1)

Francisco Bay Area. The NYC demo drew over 80 participants, including a number of Haitians who were protesting the Clinton administration's ban on HIV-positive refugees imprisoned at the U.S. naval base in Guantánamo, Cuba. The signs of the SL/PDC protesters included: "Rodney King Beating, Waco Inferno: America's 'New World Order'," "Bloody Crimes of U.S. Capitalism: Wounded Knee Massacre of Sioux Indians, U.S. Invasion of Panama, U.S. Takeover of Grenada," and "Communist Revolution Is America's Last, Best Hope."

We print below the text of the press release issued by the Spartacist League/U.S. immediately after the Waco massacre.

* * *

The charred corpses of 87 men, women and children who perished in the firestorm resulting from the FBI's barrage of CS gas, flash-grenades and battering rams are the direct responsibility of the White House. President Clinton gave the green light, Attorney General Janet Reno personally supervised the plan, and the FBI's storm troopers moved in to carry out the government's "final solution" against the small, integrated Branch Davidian religious sect in Waco, Texas. After a murderous raid by federal Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agents armed to the teeth and a 51-day siege, almost a hundred people have now been subjected to a flaming apocalypse for the sole "crime" of being a non-conformist religious sect which dared to defend itself against government assault.

The Spartacist League/U.S. and Partisan Defense Committee have called emergency demonstrations of protest and outrage, at 5:00 p.m. today, Monday, April 19, outside the Federal Building in Manhattan, New York City and at federal offices in other cities around the country to denounce the government mass murder in Waco. An SL spokesman, in condemning this outrage, noted that the Branch Davidians received the same death sentence meted out to the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia, bombed by the Philadelphia police on Mother's Day (May 13) 1985, using C-4 plastic explosives donated by the FBI. Eleven black people were murdered there, including five children, and an entire black neighborhood was laid to waste. "Like the racist cop beating of L.A. black motorist Rodney King," said Spartacist spokesman Marjorie Stamberg, "the Waco holocaust is the domestic image of America's 'New World Order.' This is U.S. imperialism's Desert Slaughter in Iraq brought home."

UPI

WV Photo

Spartacists held emergency demonstration outside New York Federal Building, April 19, after FBI massacre of Branch Davidians.

A banner outside the compound of the racially integrated Branch Davidian religious sect said, "Rodney King—We Understand." It is no accident that the feds' onslaught in Waco came two days after the slap-on-the-wrist verdict for two racist cops in L.A. With troops poised to occupy the inner cities coast to coast, amid a massive police-state mobilization, the racist rulers breathed a collective sigh of relief that the urban ghettos and barrios did not explode in outrage over another outright racist acquittal. They seized the moment to incinerate the Waco commune.

In the gray light of dawn, the FBI moved in the heavy artillery—M-60 Combat Engineering Vehicles, Bradley fighting vehicles and heat-seeking reconnaissance planes—in a bid to drive out or exterminate the 70 adults and 25 children still inside the wooden structure. The whole area had already been ringed with razor-sharp concertina wire. Electricity and water were cut off. The intent was to create a firetrap with no escape. Naturally there were no fire-fighting vehicles present to put out the flames. Now the government wants to blame the victims, but *the Waco assault was deliberate mass murder, decided at the White House.*

On Sunday, Vice President Al Gore wept tears for those who died 50 years ago in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. But the methodical burning down of the Waco commune, carried "live" on television, recalled nothing so much as the Nazis' razing of the Warsaw ghetto. Clinton-Gore have carried out their own holocaust against another religious minority who evidently have "no right to exist" in this racist capitalist society. The Clinton administration has carried out its own Operation Prairie Slaughter, igniting a massive firestorm against its perceived domestic "enemies," a small group who did no harm to anyone.

The Spartacist League spokesman noted, "From Republican Bush to Democrat Clinton, the racist rulers show what they have in store for anyone who dares to defy the state. The murder of these innocent people, burned at the stake by this bloodthirsty government, cries out for vengeance. It will take a socialist revolution to mete out real justice to the police torturers of Rodney King, to the FBI arsonists in Waco, to the U.S. military bombers of Baghdad." ■

PDC Notes...

(continued from page 2)

system in the North as well as the South. Though this meant little to the kangaroo court, Choi was certainly not guilty of perjury. Choi's I.S. is affiliated to the British Socialist Workers Party of Tony Cliff. In the early 1950s, Cliff and his cohorts refused to defend North Korea against U.S. and British imperialism. Three million Koreans were slaughtered in the Korean War, conducted under United Nations auspices. For the next 40 years, workers in the South have been subject to police-state rule in this U.S. protectorate, while the North has been subject to unrelenting imperialist sabre-rattling.

On April 5 the Partisan Defense Committee sent a letter of protest to the Korean Embassy, stating: "Now, with former dissident Kim Young Sam at the helm the South Korean government carries on its war against the Korean working class as it joins its U.S. quartermasters in beating the drums for war against the North Korean workers state. We demand that all charges be dropped against Choi Il Bung and he be immediately released. Free all trade unionists and leftists."

* * *

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. You can aid the program to support class-war prisoners and other activities of the PDC by becoming a monthly sustainer: many contribute $10, $25, $50 and $100 a month. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

Los Angeles...

(continued from page 3)

governor Pete Wilson scapegoats immigrants for the state's budget shortfall, millionaire L.A. mayoral candidate Richard Riordan pushes a jingoist campaign against "illegal aliens." And all the mayoral candidates, including liberal favorite Mike Woo, support Prop 1, which would put over 1,000 more cops on the streets.

The Spartacist League has fought to bring out the power of labor to stand with and defend the ghettos and barrios from racist cop terror. Against the police invasion of South-Central last year, we called for "*powerful L.A. unions such as longshore, aerospace and city workers*" to "*organize work stoppages and mass mobilizations.*" At the time, Latino janitors organized in SEIU Local 399 marched through Pico-Union to protest the mass arrests and deportations. But the labor tops, beholden to Clinton's Democratic Party, refused to lift a finger then or now.

Our Verdict Will Come

Sentencing of Koon and Powell is scheduled for August, at the time of the trial of three black men charged in the vicious and indefensible beating of white Teamster truck driver Reginald Denny. At best, the cops may spend a couple of years behind bars, if that long. Civil rights lawyer William Kunstler commented on the calculation behind the jury's verdict: "If we convict two, there'll be no rebellions, there'll be no uprising. If we let two off, we'll be on good grounds with the police."

Now this slap on the wrist is passed off as "justice"—after a brutal beating seen by millions around the world, after two years and two trials, while dozens of other black and Latino men have been gunned down by killer cops in the meantime. That alone tells you that the capitalist rulers consider cop terror against minorities "business as usual." "This is a system not designed by us and it does not include us," said one black caller to an L.A. radio talk show after the verdict.

Damn right! The capitalist system is designed to extract profits from the blood and hides of the working people; as the system sinks into utter decay, the black population is ever more vulnerable to being socially marginalized and destroyed. Institutionalized racism is the bedrock of American capitalism, from KKK lynch mobs to cop terror on the streets to the predominantly black death rows in the nation's prisons. Black Democrats like Bradley and Jackson who preach faith in the system while pleading for a handful of cosmetic reforms serve only the enemies of the oppressed. The cops and courts are at the core of the capitalist state—they can and will serve only the interests of the oppressor.

Revolution *is* the only solution, as the Black Panthers used to say, but it must be based on the social power of the integrated proletariat, not the impotence of the lumpenproletariat. Last year's multiracial upheavals showed the anger and militancy which could be mobilized in a struggle to tear down this system of brutal exploitation and oppression. That requires the leadership and program of a revolutionary workers party which fights to sweep away this racist system and its hired killers. Vengeance for Rodney King and the myriad others tormented and murdered by racist, capitalist injustice will come with the victorious socialist revolution. ■

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New York Times, Feminists Smear Abortion Rights Pioneer

Bill Baird, Courageous Fighter for Women's Liberation

On April 14, the *New York Times* printed an insidious article setting up abortion rights champion Bill Baird. Under the outrageous headline, "The Devil of Abortion," reporter Lindsey Gruson twisted quotes from his interview with Baird into a lying portrait of

WV Interview

defeat. Baird was dismissed as a "zealot for a cause, turned casualty." And the article retailed familiar slanders of Baird by Gloria Steinem and Betty Friedan, "who has suggested he is a Central Intelligence Agency plant." This is pretty rich coming from the likes of Friedan and Steinem, herself a witting and willing recipient of CIA monies in the late '50s and early '60s.

The *Times*' baiting of this heroic man, who has for over 30 years steadfastly fought for women's right to abortion, is truly sinister. In the 1960s and early '70s Baird worked to educate women—especially poor, minority women—on the dangers of unsafe, back-alley abortion methods, establishing the nation's first free birth control and abortion counseling clinic. Arrested numerous times, his clinic in Hempstead, Long Island firebombed by a deadly anti-abortion fanatic in 1979, Bill Baird has earned the respect of millions of women. His 1972 Supreme Court case (*Baird v. Eisenstadt*) extended access to contraception to everyone and established the right to privacy on which the *Roe v. Wade* decision, legalizing abortion nationwide, was based. His 1976 case (*Baird v. Bellotti*) struck down a Massachusetts law requiring parental consent for teen abortions. We salute his courage and determination in his long struggle for women's liberation.

Workers Vanguard called Baird at his Hempstead clinic on 17 April to express our anger at the *Times*' deadly, baiting piece, and to extend our solidarity with his work. As Baird pointed out, the "Devil" headline (which was apparently changed in some editions) is a dangerous provocation that religious fanatics could hold up as justification for murder. We print below excerpts from our conversation with Baird:

Baird: The day the article came out, I was the speaker at the University of Richmond law school in Virginia. I was debating a woman who's president of a group called "Feminists for Life," a group of nutty women who think that they're speaking for the majority of women in this country, who say the embryo is a person from conception. In fact, I got a standing ovation from the audience. But the Virginia version of the *New York Times* had a whole different headline.

WV: They have "The Devil of Abortion," in my *Times* from Brooklyn.

Baird: Now that's amazing. The New York headline that I got says, "Abortion-Rights' Scorned Prophet." The subhead line: "Hated by Both Sides, Bill Baird Raises Hackles, Not Funds."

What makes it so absolutely untrue is that the writer was here in my office, with 44 plaques on my wall, four of them this year. On May 7 the American Humanist is honoring me at their national conference as Pioneer of the Year. NARAL [National Abortion Rights Action League] from the state of Pennsylvania gave me their highest award January 23. Two weeks ago in New Jersey, the Freedom from Religion Foundation gave me their highest award, and last week in Sacramento, California, I was the keynote speaker for the American Atheists, and they gave me their Man of the Year award. So to suggest that all groups hate me....

But when I was in Virginia, that edition of the *Times* had a headline that said, "The Devil of Abortion." Then somebody faxed me the California headline, which is even worse: it says "Abortion Rights Zealot Is Enemy Among Allies." I'm the enemy! Man, this is the *New York Times*, quoting me as a devil without quote marks around it, calling me the enemy—a guy who's had three U.S. Supreme Court cases for women, jailed eight times for women, firebombed for women, shot at as late as a couple of weeks ago. They blew a hole right through my window.

Bill Baird shows photo of his Hempstead clinic, firebombed by an anti-abortion terrorist in 1979.

WV Photo

I'm trying to get people to write letters to the *New York Times*, just basically saying how wrong it is to have such a distorted headline. How dare the *New York Times* put out a headline without quote marks around the word devil? First of all, there's no such thing as a devil. Second of all, to call me a devil—if you knew how many hate calls [I get], and this is very scary, for people can say they would kill me now, because they now have proof positive I am the devil. If the *New York Times* says I am the devil, then I am the devil.

WV: We wanted to express our disgust at this article and this attack on you. We are also interested to know what you have to say about what's going on in the United States right now.

Baird: I think we're being conned left and right by Clinton. I can certainly give you absolute proof that the death of Dr. David Gunn could have been prevented easily. I have in my possession a series of letters from the FBI to me, 15 years ago, where I begged them to investigate the terrorism that I saw building. They wrote me back and they said they have no interest in investigating that. Then I have a legal brief from 1980, where I filed a lawsuit against the FBI to force them to investigate who's behind this terrorism, and to protect clinics. Nobody would help me with this. NOW and all the others said I was nuts, and they all looked the other way.

WV: Right, they thought they'd won the battle.

Baird: When you have a true pioneer such as myself on the front lines, you get these "Big Three" as I call them, Friedan and Gloria Steinem and Robin Morgan. Robin Morgan said in her book *Going Too Far* that men like Bill Baird are in this movement because women will come across—sexually, that is—quicker. It's such an insult to you, and an insult to me, to think that I would exploit you, or myself be exploited. So it's such nonsense.

WV: Fortunately people like Gloria Steinem and Betty Friedan do not stand for the majority of women in this country that you've helped. The *New York Times* isn't going to come out to Hempstead and interview the women that you've helped.

Baird: Tens of thousands of black poor people, as young as ten years of age, I've helped here. I'm the only white guy here now, you know—Hempstead is like Harlem, in that it's very, very black, it's very, very poor, very, very tough. And this reporter was scared to death about his car, and I said, look, we'll just tell the guy that you're with me and we'll watch the car.

Was it your group that ran a headline a few years ago that said, "Feminists Try to Ban Bill Baird in Boston"?

WV: Yes, that was us [*WV* No. 502, 18 May 1990].

Baird: That's probably going to be one of the most famous headlines—I show that all over the United States. On television, on radio, I show it to talk show hosts, college lectures, I'll show it at Harvard on Monday. That those women threatened to castrate me for coming to Boston, the very city that I went to jail for! There was the *Baird v. Eisenstadt* case, and *Baird v. Bellotti*, which gave teenagers the right to abortion. And later they overturned my conviction as a felon.

WV: But that was already after you'd had to serve time, that's the thing that's such a crime about it.

Baird: They stripped me naked, I still am scarred. They stripped me naked in prison, I had to worry about rape every night. I've lost my wife and children. I've paid my dues—I mean, how dare they say that I can't be heard?

WV: Well, you speak to the needs of the majority of the women in this country—not Betty Friedan and Gloria Steinem, who are yuppie feminists in it for careerism, the upper crust of women who have turned their backs on the poor and the black women of this country. They never wanted to fight about the Hyde Amendment, for example, which 17 years ago basically took away the right to abortion for all women on welfare. And you were the one who was working to provide it, to make up for that loss. So we wanted to adamantly express our admiration again. ■

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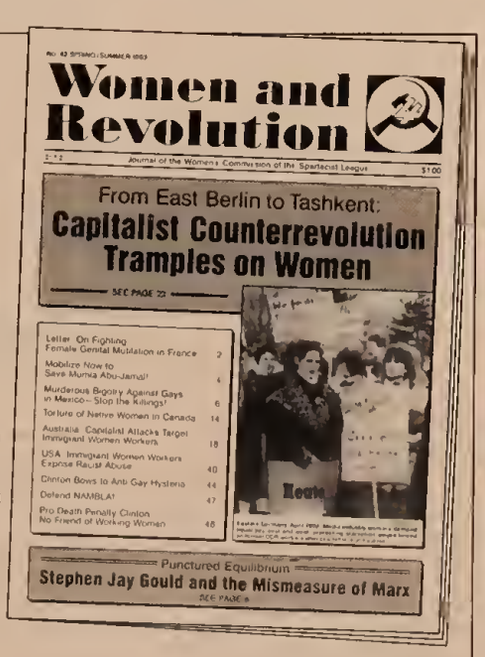

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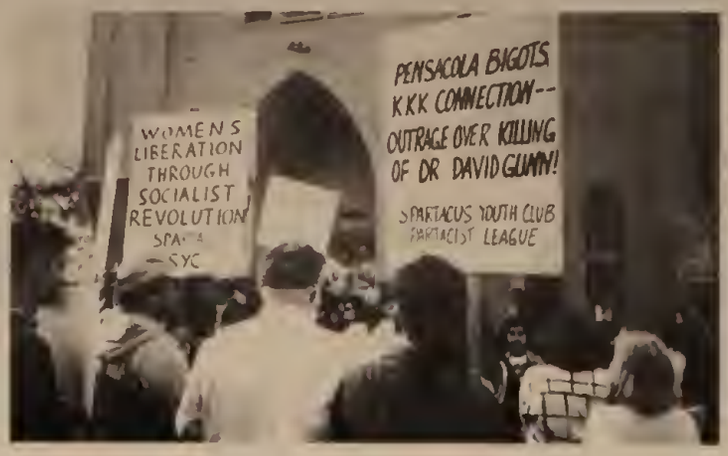

WV Photos

OAKLAND—Abortion rights protesters mobilized in Napa on April 7 and stopped a planning meeting of "Operation Rescue" bigots. The anti-abortion fanatics had said they were meeting to draw up plans to target abortion clinics on Easter weekend. This was a sinister threat, particularly following the assassination of Dr. David Gunn in the parking lot of an abortion clinic in Pensacola, Florida on March 10. California abortion doctors have also been subjected to constant stalking and threats.

In Napa, the pathetic clot of a half-dozen "right-to-lifers" never even made it into the church to plan their weekend attacks. They were overwhelmed by 80 spirited, chanting abortion rights activists, and had to be protected by a wall of cops in riot gear, including some carrying shields. The bible-thumping bigots huddled briefly in a "prayer circle" on the steps of Kolby Academy, then fled to their car, surrounded on all sides by chanting pro-choice protesters. The cops finally hustled the last of the anti-abortion fanatics off in a sheriff's van. Their plans for Easter weekend clinic disruption never materialized in the Bay Area, although they did block clinics in Anaheim.

Abortion rights activists had mobilized in response to a call by the Bay Area Coalition for Our Reproductive Rights (BACORR). A team of Spartacists participated in the action, raising signs protesting the murder of Dr. Gunn, calling to "Stop Deadly 'Right-to-Life' Terrorists!" and for "Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!"

Spartacus Youth Club member Kathleen Harris called for defense of the clinics and pointed to the impotency of the liberal feminist strategy of lobbying the Democrats to stop Operation Rescue. Our chant "Defend the clinics, take a stand—Free abortion on demand!" was taken up by the crowd.

Some BACORR activists taunted Operation Rescue with chants of "Pray! You'll need it! Your cause has been defeated," apparently a reference to Clinton's promises to enact legislation maintaining legal abortion. But as the assassination of Dr. Gunn tragically demonstrated, the cowardly "right-to-life" terrorists have hardly been defeated. The loss of support from the Reagan/Bush White House has meant an escalation of their nightriding terror, from blockades to bombs, and terrorizing patients and doctors. Even support from the White House for formal abortion rights won't help poor, black and working-class women get abortions if there are no doctors or clinics to provide them and they don't have the money to pay for them. *For free abortion on demand! Labor: Defend the clinics!* ■

Rights for Gays...

(continued from page 12)

in a way designed to restore popular support for U.S. military adventures in the Third World. The Pentagon's high-tech arsenal of death was deployed against an economically backward country in the Near East. One hundred thousand Iraqis were massacred with practically no casualties on the American side. The declared aim of the war was to defend Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. These are some of the most corrupt, socially reactionary societies on earth, where women are literally enslaved behind veils and young girls are forced to marry whoever their father wants them to. Yet the Pentagon brass used the "Desert Storm" terror exercise to show how *American* women in the "new" U.S. armed forces were making such great progress!

When Bush began his Persian Gulf War buildup, some gays saw their opportunity to win respectability in support of U.S. imperialism. Miriam Ben-Shalom, the national chair of the Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Veterans of America, petitioned Bush to allow the creation of a special gay battalion to go "to the front lines in the Persian Gulf. Mr. President, let us prove our worth."

Our side in the Persian Gulf was with the terrorized Iraqi people being carpet-bombed by American imperialism. And whether it was a lesbian army technician greasing the tanks, or a gay West Point-trained officer giving the orders to bomb the Baghdad air raid shelter in which hundreds of women and children died, makes no difference—this was a vicious war crime! The April 25th demo organizers are pushing liberal racist colonialism. They want open gays and lesbians to join the Southern "good old boys" and poor blacks from the Northern ghetto who can't get a decent job anywhere else as cannon fodder for the cops of the world protecting the interests of Citibank and General Motors.

The Family, the '50s and Anti-Gay Bigotry

Events surrounding the April 25 march are a '50s-style smorgashord of "all-American" activities designed to demonstrate how seamlessly gay and lesbian types could fit into a sentimental '50s "family values" Norman Rockwell pastoral if only ignorant prejudices could be overcome: there's a "Queer Scout Cookie Sellethon," gay "Forgotten Scouts" will do some park beautification, there's the wedding ceremony, a host of marching bands, country and western dancing, religious ceremonies of your choice, and for the late-night crowd an S/M Leather Fetish party followed by a breakfast for ex-SF mayor Dianne Feinstein.

Behind the hoopla, there's decades of pain and oppression, beginning with the mass witchhunts of the '50s Cold War, led by the FBI's secretly gay *führer* J. Edgar Hoover and his lover Clyde Tolson (while the infamous Roy Cohn went after "commies" in Congress). But the problem with all gay/lesbian attempts to "fit in" is that it is not simply "ignorant prejudice" that keeps gays and lesbians still largely closeted, often fearful for their lives in a climate of growing violence against them. Even in San Francisco, where the gay community has local political clout, "gay bashing" has escalated ominously.

Bigotry against women and gays in particular flows from entrenched sexual stereotyping decreed by the sexual division of labor in the family, the root of the oppression of women in bourgeois society, and enforced by religious moral codes against "sin." Capitalist society needs the family, a bedrock conservatizing force and the mechanism by which capitalist private property is passed down from generation to generation, and so *cannot* ultimately "legitimatize" those who fundamentally deviate from its restrictions.

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

It will take a socialist revolution to lay the groundwork of a collectivized economy before the family can be replaced through socialized childcare and housework. Many radical-minded gays and lesbians who have come to Washington will be repelled by the sickening militarism and flag-waving patriotism that will emanate from the official platform. They should look to genuine communists for a program to fight for the liberation of all the oppressed and exploited.

There are a lot of small groups peddling often militant-sounding platforms. Take the RWL (Revolutionary Workers League) and its spin-off front group, NWROC (National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition). In its statements, this group claims to want to break with the Democrats and build a workers party, to uphold free abortion on demand and defense of abortion clinics. On April 3, the Spartacist League sent a letter proposing a joint contingent with the RWL and NWROC at the April 25 demonstration, with each organization marching under its own banners. We pointed out that the demo's overwhelming political thrust "is aimed at pressuring the Democrats in the White House, particularly to make Clinton drop the U.S. military's ban on gays, through a demonstration of their red-white-and-blue patriotism," and insisted:

> "While we, like yourselves, certainly defend equal rights for gays in the military as a simple democratic demand, it is vital to simultaneously make clear our opposition to U.S. imperialism's war machine. Consequently, we think it important to bring together the forces of all those who seek to break illusions in Clinton and the Democratic Party, and to put forward a class-struggle, anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist perspective."

As we go to press, we have not so far received a response.

During the Persian Gulf War, the RWL adopted a left stance, calling for a defeat of U.S. imperialism by the Iraqis. Yet now, in a leaflet for the April 25 demonstration, NWROC fails to mention at all the U.S. military, the Persian Gulf War or American imperialism in any way. Instead it consists of fatuous appeals to build a "mass movement": "It was a mass movement that won the gains of the 1960's and 70s."

The mass movement which won the gains of the 1960s and '70s was the North Vietnamese army and Viet Cong. By defeating U.S. imperialism on the battlefield, they shook the American bourgeois order internally and radicalized a generation of American youth. This created the political climate for the abolition of the draft and the legalization of abortion as well as a more tolerant attitude toward open homosexuals.

As Marxists and Leninists, we Spartacists fight against all forms of social oppression in our struggle for international workers revolution. Thus we champion the rights of gays and lesbians while simultaneously opposing the U.S. military. At the April 25 demonstration, the SL will undoubtedly be the only organization which defends both NAMBLA (the North American Man-Boy Love Association) and Fidel Castro's Cuba, where a social revolution ripped the former Yankee neocolony out of the hands of United Fruit and the Mafia. We defend porn star Nina Hartley against Las Vegas "felony lesbianism" charges, while also defending the right of North Korea, a bureaucratically deformed workers state, to have an atomic bomb.

And when we have our own workers state to defend, then *our* army will be in the forefront of eliminating discrimination and oppression. ■

Spartacist Forum

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Race, Sex and Class in Capitalist America

Speaker:
Amy Rath, Editor, *Women and Revolution*

BOSTON

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WORKERS VANGUARD

April 25 Organizers Salute Racist Imperialism

Full Rights for Gays!

Down with U.S. War Machine!

WV Photos

Spartacist League and Bay Area Labor Black League fight to defend gay and women's rights, at march in San Francisco, spring 1992.

The April 25 "March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation" is the first big rad-lib D.C. mobilization with a Democrat in the White House in over a decade—and predictably, illusions in the Democrats are being pushed for all they're worth by the event's organizers. A major theme is red-white-and-lavender flag-waving patriotism, as gay leaders seek to demonstrate their "loyalty" to this system in order to convince Congress and the Pentagon to overturn the military's long-standing ban on homosexuals.

The organizers of the April 25 demonstration are touting Bill Clinton as their liberator. "Many of us rejoice at winning the White House," wrote one of the march co-chairs in an official handout, while an ad in the *Village Voice* (6 April) said it would be "a day of support for the President and his moves to end discrimination of all kinds." *Voice* writer Donna Minkowitz contributed a "Forward, March!" puff piece insisting, "You need to march to make sure Sweet William fulfills his promises and goes beyond them." So Clinton should fulfill his promises? Like U.S. intervention in the Balkans to do to the former Yugoslavia what Bush did to Iraq in the bloody Desert Slaughter, which Democrat Clinton supported?

Meanwhile, members of more radical gay groups like Queer Nation and ACT UP complain, "The radical queer agenda has been excluded from any participation in the march" (*New York Post*, 13 April). Sure, the organizers want suit-and-tie respectability so they can get in with the new Washington, D.C. power elite. After a decade of solid Reagan-Bush reaction, it's clear there's a difference in Washington, but what is it? Clinton courted women's and gays' votes, exploiting their fear of the Republican right's all-sided social reaction, its hate-filled diatribes against abortion rights and against gays, its savage satisfaction in the tragic AIDS epidemic as "nature's awful retribution" on homosexuals. Clinton presents a yuppified veneer for bourgeois rule, a more "liberal" strategy for oppression and exploitation.

Pentagon War Machine: Persian Gulf Mass Terror

Following a White House meeting last week of gay spokesmen with Clinton, the head of the campaign to allow homosexuals in the military commented that "we were being welcomed into the family." The Pentagon ban on gays is sheer ideological hypocrisy and a violation of democratic rights, but gay liberals are eagerly enlisting in the cause of imperialist militarism, which is a threat to all the oppressed.

From the time of the ancient Greeks, homosexuals have always been part of the military. The man who built the American revolutionary army and the founder of West Point, Baron von Steuben, was gay—so flagrantly so that apparently he got into trouble even in the court of Frederick the Great, another famous homosexual military genius. In the less liberal social climate of 20th century America, gays in the army have had to stay in the closet. As Randy Shilts points out in his new book, *Conduct Unbecoming. Gays & Lesbians in the U.S. Military* (St. Martin's Press, 1993), since World War II, purges of gays have increased in peacetime, but when a war looms, or the reserves are called up, suddenly discharges for homosexuality are put on hold.

Reuters

Operation Desert Slaughter in Iraq, 1991, carried out by U.S. army of imperialism and racist oppression.

The U.S. military is a microcosm of society as a whole, and just as we socialists fight against racist and homophobic violence and discrimination in "civilian" society, so we oppose it in the military as well. Open gays and lesbians have just as much right as anyone else to participate in the armed forces. At the same time, the U.S. military is a tool to defend imperialist exploitation and subjugation, especially of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Thus, we steadfastly uphold the Marxist position of "Not one man, not one penny!" for the imperialist army.

The Democrats have always tried to put a liberal face on U.S. militarism, from Democratic president Woodrow Wilson calling World War I a "war to end all wars" to Democratic president Franklin Roosevelt presenting World War II as a war against fascism to create a world governed by the "four freedoms." However, the "liberal" image of U.S. militarism was blown to bits in the dirty, losing war on Vietnam launched by Democratic presidents Kennedy and Johnson. An entire generation of American youth came to see the U.S. armed forces for what they really are, a machine for terrorizing dark-skinned peoples in order to prop up right-wing dictators in the interests of Wall Street and the Fortune 500.

The Persian Gulf War was conducted

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 575

7 May 1993

Liberals Beat War Drums Over Bosnia

U.S./NATO Hands Off the Balkans!

Der Spiegel

AP

Self-proclaimed leader of "world's only superpower" threatens terror-bombing of Bosnian Serbs. Right: U.S. unleashed death and destruction on Vietnam.

MAY 4—After leaking over the weekend that they had decided "in principle" to conduct air strikes against Serbian positions in Bosnia, today Clinton administration officials let it be known that they were preparing to dispatch 20,000 to 25,000 U.S. troops into the former Yugoslavia within a matter of weeks. Emboldened by its success in incinerating a religious commune outside Waco, Texas, Washington is now preparing to enforce its writ with guns and bombs in the Balkans. The commander in chief of U.S. imperialism wants to show the rest of the world who's boss. "We are, after all, the world's only superpower. We do have to lead the world," Clinton remarked at a recent press conference.

While Washington is talking of only 20,000 American soldiers initially, this is scheduled to expand to 34,000 out of a 50,000-man NATO "peacekeeping force." A few days ago, Serbian nationalist leader Slobodan Milosevic and the Bosnian Serb leaders bowed to imperialist sanctions and formally agreed to the "UN"-brokered deal dividing Bosnia

continued on page 8

Russian Referendum: The Morning After

Yeltsin's Bloody May Day

Less than a week after his victory in an April 25 vote of confidence put the wind in Russian president Boris Yeltsin's sails, Moscow militia (police) and special OMON anti-riot troops provoked a bloody clash with several thousand anti-Yeltsin protesters in Moscow on May Day. Earlier in the week, Yeltsin had decreed that the traditional rally site at Red Square be sealed off to all street protests. But police trucks and horse-mounted cops, wielding batons and water cannon, moved to block demonstrators when they tried to march to another site in the university area near the Lenin Hills. The anti-Yeltsin demonstrators responded with a hail of rocks and masonry.

Some 70 protesters and a larger

continued on page 9

AP

Campaigning for vote of confidence, would-be Tsar Boris takes aim at his opponents. Above: touring a weapons plant where AK-47s are made.

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Prometheus Research Library Fund Appeal

The following appeal was issued by the Prometheus Research Library on May 3.

The Prometheus Research Library has embarked on a major fund drive in order to preserve and secure the premises we currently occupy. We are appealing to you to help maintain our library, the central reference archive of the Spartacist League/U.S., American section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). The PRL is also a working research facility for a wide range of Marxist studies, open to any qualified scholar needing our special collection.

This fund drive is urgent. Our present occupancy is at risk, confronting us with the immediate necessity of a substantial outlay to protect and secure these premises, as well as major additional upgrading costs over the next few years. This will cost tens of thousands of dollars over the next few months and more tens of thousands over the next few years.

The purpose of the Prometheus Research Library is to collect, preserve and make available the indispensable historical record of the international workers movement. Our library's unique collection—centered on but not limited to the work and interests of the American Communist and Trotskyist movement—has been the basis for an active publishing program. Last year we published our first book, *James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism, Selected Writings and Speeches, 1920-1928*. This 624-page volume, fully indexed and footnoted, has been favorably reviewed in a number of publications, including the Canadian academic journal *Left History*.

Just off the press is the fourth bulletin in our *Prometheus Research Series*, "Yugoslavia, East Europe and the Fourth International: The Evolution of Pabloist Liquidationism" by Jan Norden. This bulletin, covering the internal discussion within the Fourth International over its flawed response to the Yugoslav Revolution and the 1948 Tito-Stalin split, includes rare documents from the period. PRL publications are of high quality but priced to make them available to the widest possible audience. The PRL staff continues to work on further books and bulletins.

Today, imperialist ideologues are crowing over capitalist restoration in East Europe and the former Soviet Union, and the profit motive now determines access to Soviet archives. Factory libraries, which once provided the basis for mass working-class education on a wide range of topics, are being closed and the books simply thrown away. Yeltsin's regime is engaged in wholesale destruction of volumes of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Our library is not simply a repository for such material, but is actively engaged in work with archives around the world. For example we are in touch with the Berlin Institute for the History of the Workers Movement, whose own premises were raided last year by the vindictive reunified German state. We also collaborated actively in providing sources for Wolfgang Lubitz' 500-page *Trotskyist Serials Bibliography, 1927-1991* (Saur, 1993).

The Prometheus Research Library's collection now includes over 4,500 books and bound volumes of periodicals, as well as 100 reels of microfilm and 150 linear feet of archival documents and bulletins. Our holdings include substantial materials on the organizations inspired and led by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. We hold most of the protocols of the Executive Committee meetings and World Congresses of the Communist International, as well as extensive internal discussion materials and unique runs of leading committee minutes from the 1920s American Communist Party and the early Trotskyist movement. We also have a general collection of books on related topics, including history, science and other sometimes tangential subjects.

The present premises of the PRL have been built up over a 14-year period into a working archival facility which allows for the temperature and humidity control necessary to preserve old papers and books, as well as providing the work space and technology to accommodate researchers. If we are unable to meet the present challenge to our library facility, the large sums of money and the countless hours of painstaking labor already expended over the years to construct and upgrade this crucial resource of the socialist movement will be largely wasted and the work of the PRL will simply come to a halt for a period of time.

Please help us to preserve and upgrade our premises and maintain our unique collection. Send checks, payable in U.S. dollars, to "PRL Special" to: Prometheus Research Library, Box 185 Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013.

Trotsky on Revolution in Europe

TROTSKY

LENIN

Washington's designs to be unchallenged cops of the world following the destruction of the Soviet Union have heightened rivalry not only among the major imperialist power blocs—the U.S., Japan and a German-dominated Europe—but within Europe itself. The postwar period has now given way to sharpened interimperialist conflict, as well as the prospect of sharpening class struggle. Writing in 1928, on the eve of the unparalleled capitalist economic crisis which paved the way to the second imperialist world war, Leon Trotsky addressed the relationship between the U.S and European imperialist powers and the struggle for a Socialist United States of Europe.

We must clearly understand that if the first period of American intervention had the effect of stabilization and pacification on Europe, which to a considerable extent still remains in force today, and may even recur episodically and become stronger (particularly in the event of new defeats of the proletariat), the general line of American policy, particularly in time of its own economic difficulties and crisis, will engender the deepest convulsions in Europe as well as over the entire world.

From this we draw the not unimportant conclusion that there will be no more lack of revolutionary situations in the next decade than in the past decade. That is why it is of utmost importance to understand correctly the mainsprings of development so that we may not be caught unawares by their action. If in the past decade the main source of revolutionary situations lay in the direct consequences of the imperialist war, in the second post-war decade the most important source of revolutionary upheavals will be the interrelations of Europe and America. A major crisis in the United States will strike the tocsin for new wars and revolutions. We repeat: there will be no lack of revolutionary situations. The entire question hinges upon the international party of the proletariat, the maturity and fighting ability of the Comintern, and the correctness of its strategical position and tactical methods....

The slogan of the Soviet United States corresponds to the dynamics of the proletarian revolution, which does not break out simultaneously in all countries, but which passes from country to country and requires the closest bond between them, especially on the European arena, both with a view to defense against the most powerful external enemies, and with a view to economic construction....

Every new aggravation of the European and indeed of the world crisis is sufficiently sharp to bring to the fore the main political problems and to invest the slogan of the United States of Europe with attractive power.

—Leon Trotsky, *The Third International After Lenin* (1928)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 575 **7 May 1993**

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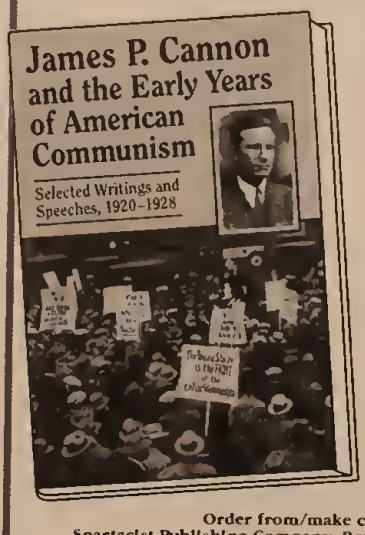

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From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

MOVE and Waco: Deadly Déjà Vu

After 51 days of remarkable religious resistance, the U.S. government eliminated over 80 members of the Branch Davidian sect near Waco, Texas.

The sect, an offshoot of the 7th Day Adventists, had been held up at their Mt. Carmel headquarters after an armed and botched Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) raid, which left 4 government agents and an undetermined number of Davidians dead from a brief but fierce firefight. Throughout the 51-day standoff, the government sought daily to demonize the Branch Davidian leader David Koresh as a pedophile, a false prophet and a psychopath.

The U.S. government, its agents' egos aburst after 51 days with no "progress" (*i.e.*, surrender), pursued a dangerous campaign of destruction of the front of the buildings for "CS/tear gas insertion," and after the thorough distribution of the airborne irritant, apparently touched off a firestorm which consumed over 80 men, women and babies at the scene.

Even before the fire had finished burning, the White House issued a statement determining suicide as the cause of death of the 80 people—before a moment's investigation!

There's an old Chinese saying: "No investigation—no right to speak!"

Under such an adage, the White House should've been silent—at least until a full, fair, impartial investigation was conducted.

The only source suggesting B.D. people killed themselves was the FBI itself, hardly an impartial source. The firestorm in Waco, Texas, which snuffed out an estimated 86 lives shares eerily reminiscent precedents with the police bombing of MOVE people on May 13th, 1985, in Philadelphia, PA.

Both scenes of carnage were preceded by government/media demonization campaigns that portrayed the people under government siege as insane for daring to resist the state.

By contrast, the government (*i.e.*, the police) is always seen as reasonable.

In Philadelphia, where the contrasts were even sharper due to race, class and politics, the intentional mass murder of MOVE men, women and children was justified by the government. MOVE, they reasoned, were "terrorists"—bad niggers.

The Koreshians were "fanatics" who were suspected of child physical and sexual abuse—thus psychologically expendable. Only after such social equations are made can the state drop bombs (as they did in MOVE) or punch holes in people's homes (as in Waco) and be reported in the media as "reasonable."

Predictably, in both instances, in the hours following the government assaults (or minutes) the government justifies the results as "suicide," thereby taking itself off the hook.

The initial ATF assault on Mt. Carmel, purportedly for a minor weapons violation, leading up to an infernal clash of egos that launched tanks and tons of gas into the Koreshian home, was an act of colossal government arrogance and impatience.

The flames and carnage of both Philadelphia and Waco merge at the strike ignited by a government that perceives itself more as a master than a servant of the people.

19 April 1993

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Jamal faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, Drawer R, Huntingdon, PA 16652.

Waco Massacre: Texas Lawyer Fights Cover-Up

Interview with Dick DeGuerin

The following telephone interview with Dick DeGuerin, a Houston lawyer who represented David Koresh, leader of the Branch Davidians, was conducted on May 2.

WV: You said that you thought you had an agreement to wait this out. What changed?

DeGuerin: I think the only explanation is that they were frustrated and felt that they needed to make it happen. They felt embarrassed that the FBI had been unable to get any success in 51 days.

I'm receiving information about this CS gas that was used that indicates it was not safe at all. The children didn't have gas masks. It would have been a terrible thing to subject them to, which flies in the face of their claims that they were worried about the children being abused. I mean, that's like this old Vietnam attitude that we have to destroy the village in order to save it.

WV: What can you tell us about what was happening inside and how the fire started?

DeGuerin: What the survivors say is that the people inside were moving away from the gas as much as possible, and moving away from the tanks that were crushing in the walls. There was propane, space heaters. There were dozens of gallons in single, one-gallon cans, of lantern fuel, which when heated has the same properties as gasoline, because they used Coleman lanterns for lighting.

WV: The papers mentioned a stairway collapsing, which trapped the people upstairs.

DeGuerin: Right. That was the main staircase that was used for the women and children upstairs. That stairway collapsed early on. Every time the tanks hit the building, the whole building would shake. In fact the hallways, both in the first and second floors, went the length of the building, and would have acted as almost a wind tunnel, a horizontal flue is what fire experts I've talked to called it. That's where the women and children were trapped.

WV: Now, about the allegations of child abuse. It looks like this might be shaping up as the mother of all child abuse trials.

DeGuerin: Well, they're going to fail at that, because the previous allegations of child abuse have been thoroughly investigated by Child Protective Services. They found no evidence of child abuse. On one occasion, some former member of the community had said that there was going to be a mass suicide last Passover, in 1992. This Child Protection Services worker called David, told him of the report. He said it was ridiculous, and she could come out any time she wanted to, and she did. He also said he would bring the children in and have her see the children, and that suicide was abhorrent to them, it was contrary to their beliefs. And she satisfied herself as to that. So this excuse that the FBI went in because of child abuse just doesn't hold water.

WV: We've seen how the media have picked up the government's enormous lies.

DeGuerin: The media, for the most part, were simply going to the daily press briefings held by the ATF and FBI and reporting as fact everything that they were told. There were a few reporters that did try to dig and get stories, and every time they did, they'd find that what they were learning was contrary to what the ATF and FBI were saying.

Why did the ATF start all this? It was a terribly planned and terribly executed raid. It was all out of proportion to the crime that was suspected. And it was probably done for the most venal of reasons, and that is, to have something to point to when [BATF chief] Higgins testified before the Congressional appropriations committee, so he can justify having this secret paramilitary force.

I think it also raises a vastly more important question, of whether as a country we're willing to see our police force militarized. To see the militarization of civilian police, that's a terrible thing to happen in a country. In the first place, it's contrary to our Constitution, but secondly, you have terrible human rights and civil rights abuses.

WV: Well, we certainly want to do what we can to see to it that the memory of this crime is seared into the collective memory.

DeGuerin: Good. I applaud you in doing that. ■

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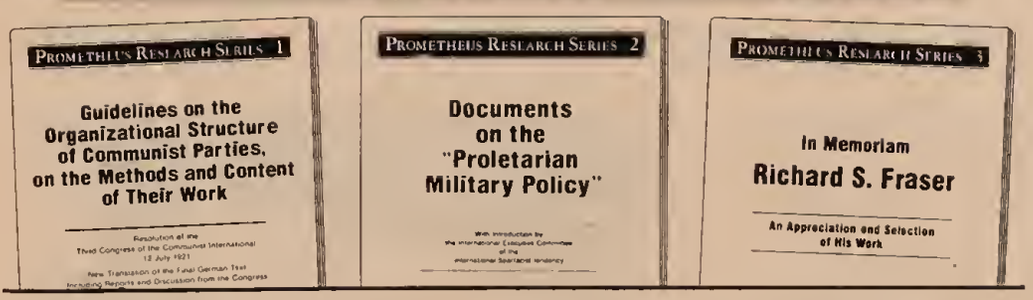

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BART Bosses, Labor Fakers Cover for Killer Cop

We reprint below a letter from the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense to the *Oakland Tribune*. It was written in response to a scurrilous letter to the editor of the *Tribune* titled "They Don't Represent Us," signed collectively by presidents of two Bay Area Rapid Transit unions, the BART cops and the management association. The union bureaucrats, in collusion with the cops and management, alibi the wanton killing last November of unarmed black youth Jerrold Hall by a BART cop. Moreover, alleging that some of those shown protesting against the killer cop "claim to be members of BART unions," they cynically try to discredit the scores of union members who fought for union action over this racist killing. The *Tribune* has so far not printed the LBL's letter.

The demonstration initiated by the LBL which so upset the bosses, cops and labor tops took place in front of the Alameda County courthouse on March 16. The protesters demanded that charges be dropped against John Henry Owens, who was with Jerrold Hall when he was killed, and pointed out that BART cop Fred Crabtree belonged in jail for this wanton killing. Not only was the killing whitewashed, but it was reported that cop Crabtree was moved to an undercover unit, which, if anything, makes him even more dangerous.

The police killing of Jerrold Hall is so shameful that even the *New York Times*, the authoritative organ of the American ruling class, was sufficiently concerned to prominently publish on its 24 April op-ed page a powerful article by the victim's brother, Jeff Hall, denouncing the killing. Jeff Hall noted that "Under questioning by our lawyer, Mr. Crabtree admitted he knew he violated the law when he fired the warning shot but he had 'to get control of the situation.' When he fired the second shot, he intended to kill my brother, he said."

The initiative by BART workers to mobilize the power of their multiracial unions points the way to struggle against racist cop terror. The bureaucrats who opposed this effort are shackling the unions to their enemies—the bosses, the cops and the Democratic Party. Many BART workers remember when these same company cops beat strikers during the 1979 lockout/strike when unionists occupied the Concord maintenance yard. Later BART cops ran an undercover sting operation framing up and firing scores of workers on drug charges. Outrageously, the BART cops are affiliated to the Service Employees International Union, which also represents BART maintenance workers. The cops are the hired thugs of the bosses and have no place in the labor movement!

WV Photo

Oakland, March 16: BART union members at demonstration against racist killing of Jerrold Hall by BART cop.

John Henry Owens returns to court for trial on June 14. For more information about the Labor Black League and its activities, write to the Labor Black League for Social Defense, P.O. Box 751, Oakland, CA 94604, or call (510) 839-0851.

* * *

12 April 1993

Oakland Tribune
Oakland, CA

Editor:

A letter published on April 9 jointly signed by Jayne Faria, President ATU Local 1555, Milt Waalkens, President UPE Local 790, and the presidents of the BART Supervisory and BART Police Officers associations dishonestly implies that they had no knowledge of the demonstration at the Alameda County courthouse on March 16 in defense of John Henry Owens and against Fred Crabtree, the BART cop that killed Owens' friend Jerrold Hall last November, and disowns those members of their unions that took part in this demonstration. In addition their letter takes the position of BART management and police that Crabtree killed Jerrold Hall "in the line of duty."

In fact, according to BART workers present that day, motions were brought up at the membership meetings of both union locals on March 10 calling for the unions to mobilize at the courthouse on March 16 to demand that BART cop Fred Crabtree "be brought to a jury trial for the racist killing of Jerrold Hall" and that "all charges against John Henry Owens be dropped." They said over 100 members from both locals co-signed the motion prior to the union meetings. Family members of both Owens and Hall spoke at one of the meetings in support of a union demonstration behind these demands. However in each union these same local presidents opposed the motion and after heated debate and some countermobilizing it was defeated, in one meeting narrowly. Lacking official union support the demonstration proceeded under the auspices of the Labor Black League for Social Defense. Among the 60 demonstrators at the courthouse were at least 10 members of Locals 1555 and 790 who participated as individuals, identifying themselves on their signs as "Unionized BART Workers."

The thoroughly misleading and inaccurate character of this letter of April 9 indicates that these particular union officers, along with BART cops and management, obviously place other considerations higher than the fact that a white BART cop killed an unarmed 19-year-old black youth with a shotgun blast to the back of his head. These are not qualities that an integrated union membership needs in its leadership.

Sincerely,
Hursey Bush
for the Labor Black League
for Social Defense

My Brother's Killer

By Jeff Hall

Investigate the shooting of Jerrold Hall.

The New York Times
24 April 1993

***New York Times* published article by Jeff Hall, bringing nationwide attention to racist murder of his brother Jerrold.**

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RWL at Washington Gay Rights March

The Lavender, Red, White and Blue

"Hail to the Chief" was the theme of the Lesbian, Gay and Bi March on Washington as contingents of veterans with a color guard of American flags and eagle-topped flagstaffs paraded for Clinton to hold to his electoral promise to end the ban on gays in the military. As Marxists we fight the oppression of gays in all spheres of life and support striking down the ban on gays in the military as an elementary democratic demand. But in contrast to this orgy of lavender, red, white and blue patriotism in Washington, we are opposed to the imperialist war machine, which Clinton is gearing up for intervention in the former Yugoslavia. As the banners at the Spartacist literature tables in Washington said, "End the Ban on Gays—Down with Racist U.S. Imperialism! Break with the Democrats! Build a Workers Party!"

Gays in full-dress uniform marched down the mall in Washington as the smoke had barely cleared from the killing fields of Texas, where 86 men, women and children were incinerated at the Branch Davidian compound near Waco for the "crime" of being different. To sear the horrendous Waco massacre into the consciousness of all fighters for social justice, the Spartacist League raised a banner at the Washington demonstration which read, "Waco Holocaust—Clinton/Reno/FBI Are Mass Murderers!"

The Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) mobilized heavily for the march on Washington through its affiliate known as NWROC (National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition), calling to build a "militant integrated contingent." On April 3, the Spartacist League responded with a letter proposing a joint contingent, stating, "we think it important to bring together the forces of all those who seek to break illusions in Clinton and the Democratic Party, and to put forward a class-struggle, anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist intervention. To this end, we propose a joint contingent of NWROC, the Revolutionary Workers League and the Spartacist League in which each organization marches under its own banners and slogans."

We received no formal reply to this proposal. Instead the answer came in the form of the physical exclusion of our supporters from a public NWROC meeting on the eve of the demonstration. At the march itself, NWROC and RWL leaders acted like cub scout den mothers on acid, hysterically screaming at their own members to stop talking to the Spartacist League. As to their "militant" contingent, RWLers spent most of their time raising funds by selling "I fuck to come, not to conceive" T-shirts. (Needless to say, this isn't exactly an incisive slogan in a gay rights demo.)

What is the RWL/NWROC afraid of? While sporting a banner with a slogan borrowed from the SL, "Break With the Democrats, Build a Workers Party," the RWL barely mentioned opposition to the imperialist military. When it comes right down to it, the RWL actively *opposes* an open intervention by Leninists because their appetite is to pressure bourgeois organizations like the National Organization for Women (NOW)—and even the Clinton White House—to the left. Just as the bourgeois feminists of NOW (who the RWL calls on to build a labor party!) call the cops on the RWL at clinic defense mobilizations, the RWL excludes the Spartacist League on the grounds that we "don't want to build NWROC."

The RWL and NWROC spill a lot of ink writing resolutions in favor of diversity and on the need to link up and address all forms of oppression. But their response to the Waco massacre was at best petulant indifference—"it happens all the time"—and at worst an ignorant whitewash of mass murder by the U.S. government. The simple truth that Clinton is a mass murderer cannot be reconciled with a strategy of pressuring the Democratic Party White House for reforms. In the context of the Waco massacre, the RWL/NWROC banner, "No Reliance on Clinton," and chants bleating, "You made a promise, don't back down—Lift the ban or we'll burn this town" and "Bill Clinton told a lie—He's going to let those Haitians die," reveal the depth of their opportunism.

When the Republican White House put wind in the sails of "right-to-life" anti-abortion terrorists, the RWL won a number of good, young militants who put their bodies on the line to defend abortion clinics. On the hush-hush, these youth were talked to about "socialism," but the RWL's explicit strategy was to conceal their ostensible views, all the better to pressure bourgeois feminist organizations like NOW to the left. With the election of Ms. Hillary and her husband to the White House, the bourgeois feminists have achieved *their* agenda. Now the RWL is lashing out at authentic Trotskyists who fight to build a genuine Leninist party that is a tribune of all the oppressed.

A supplement to the RWL's *Fighting Worker* selectively distributed at the march contains the explicit response to our proposal for a joint contingent:

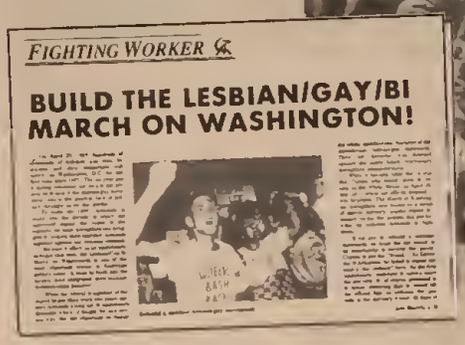
> "The RWL is not interested in working with groups like the Spartacist League, which say they agree with these demands so that they can use this struggle, like all struggles, as an opportunity to rip off a few supposed 'cadres'."

Indeed, we do want to win subjectively revolutionary youth from the RWL who thought they had joined a genuinely Trotskyist organization, only to find out they're trapped in some pressure group on NOW and other Democratic Party constituents.

For the centrist RWL, "the movement is everything, the goal nothing." When they sneer at recruiting cadre, they give the lie to their professed desire to build a revolutionary vanguard party. The RWL will march behind the stars and stripes in hot pursuit of "the movement," but they can't stomach the idea of joining forces with genuine communists to take a stand against U.S. imperialism. Bans were made to be broken, and we encourage those members of the RWL and NWROC who are interested in genuine socialism to check out the "forbidden fruit"—the Spartacists. ■

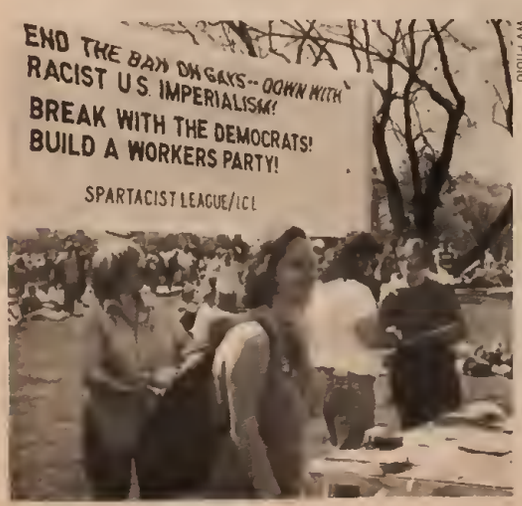
WV Photo

Contingent of gay soldiers in Washington demo, April 25. Next stop Bosnia, as part of "Balkan Storm" U.S. invasion force? RWL's *Fighting Worker* (March 1993) barely mentions opposition to imperialist military.



FIGHTING WORKER

BUILD THE LESBIAN/GAY/BI MARCH ON WASHINGTON!



WV Photo

Spartacist banner in Washington calls for democratic rights for gays and opposition to U.S. militarism.

Free Geronimo!

On May 21 Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) appears before the California Parole Board. A former leader of the Black Panther Party, Geronimo has spent over 22 years behind bars, framed by the FBI and Los Angeles Police Department for a murder they know he did not commit. Ten times before, the Board has denied parole because Geronimo refuses to crawl before them and renounce his dedication to black liberation. After the 1987 hearing the D.A.'s representative bluntly put it, "He's still a revolutionary." Mobilize now to demand Geronimo's freedom. We urge you and your organization to send letters of support. Address them to the California Board of Prison Terms and send them to the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107.

WV Photo

Capitalists Attack Postwar "Welfare State"

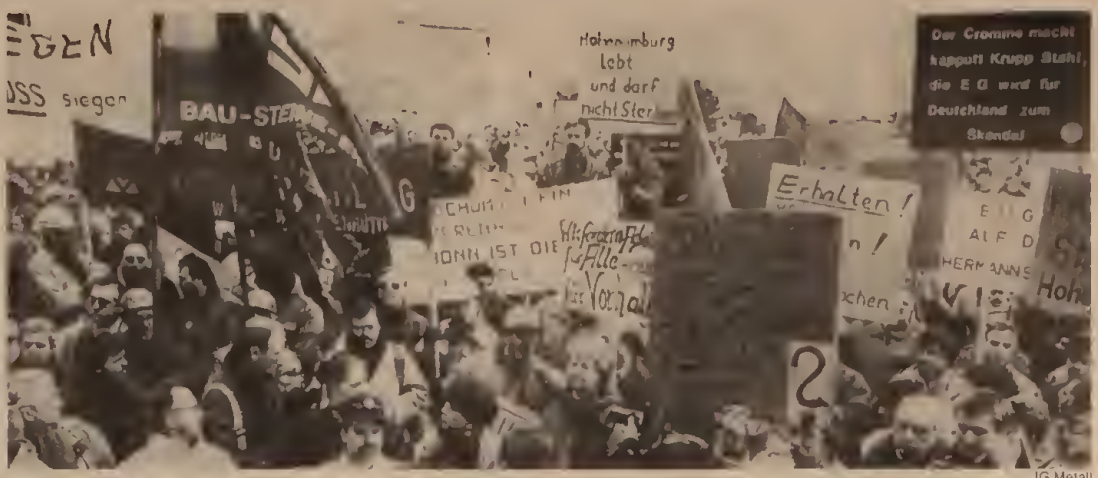
Workers' Protests Across West Europe

Over the past month, West Europe has experienced a dramatic upsurge of workers' strikes and protests, from the Mediterranean to the Baltic. In eastern Germany, warning strikes by metal and steel workers brought out tens of thousands, blocking roads, bridges and factory gates. British rail workers have shut down service twice in the space of two weeks. In Italy during the Europe-wide day of union action on April 2, schools, airports, railways and public buildings were shut down.

These labor struggles are part of mounting social unrest in post-Cold War Europe. The dramatic defeat of French social democracy in the March parliamentary elections and the victory of the right wing was quickly followed by police killings of minority youths. Spain's "socialist" government is about to lose its majority. The Italian political regime, which has remained constant through more than 50 governments since World War II, is collapsing. Fascist attacks and anti-immigrant pogroms in Germany were followed by large anti-fascist demonstrations.

This many-sided turmoil is the result, directly or indirectly, of counterrevolution in East Europe and the former Soviet Union, and generalized capitalist economic crisis in the West. Lacking the common Cold War enemy, interimperialist rivalries have intensified, not only Europe vs. America vs. Japan, but also among the European bourgeoisies. Mass unemployment is being combined with attacks on the social programs of the postwar era by a ruling class emboldened by the destruction of the Soviet Union. Pro-NATO social democrats thought they would prosper as a result of the collapse of Soviet Stalinism. But the opposite has occurred, as the bourgeoisie sees less need for its labor lieutenants and finds the vaunted "welfare state" an expensive and now dispensable overhead cost.

All of the euphemisms for a supposedly fundamentally reformed capitalism ("social market economy" in Germany, Sweden's "third way," etc.) are out the window. Even the most elementary social struggles today cry out for revolutionary leadership.



IG Metall

Steel workers in the German Ruhr, the industrial heartland of Europe. On May 3, East German metal workers began strike action after bosses reneged on parity agreement to bring wages up to Western union scale. Spartakists call for full metal/steel/coal strike now, East and West.

The New Capitalist Offensive

The Eurocrats of the Brussels-based European Community (EC) are proposing to lay off 50,000 steel workers—over half of these in Germany—in the next two years. If even the strongest section of the working class in the wealthiest capitalist country in Europe is threatened by the economic crisis, its effects are already devastating weaker sections in the poorer regions. In southern Italy, for example, unemployment among women workers has reached a staggering *35 percent!*

The Italian government has launched a savage austerity program that eliminated the *scala mobile* (sliding scale of wages), a vitally necessary means of maintaining workers' living standards in a country prone to high inflation. The new right-wing French regime poses a Gallic version of Thatcherism—denationalizations and cuts in medical benefits—along with stepped-up state terror against the North African and black African communities in France.

In Britain, the Tory government of John Major wants to close down the remaining 60 percent of the nationalized coal mines, thereby finishing off the destruction of the historic core and most militant section of the labor movement. British Rail is also targeted for privatization and further job-slashing. The German ruling class, with the Social Democrats in tow, is demanding "sacrifices" from the working masses to pay for its takeover of the German Democratic Republic (DDR—East Germany).

Reformist union bureaucrats and politicians accept the destructive logic of the capitalist system, only pleading for a measure of damage control. Oskar Lafontaine, the one-time stormy petrel of German Social Democracy and premier of the Saarland, told protesting steel workers: "Further layoffs are unavoidable, but they must be made socially bearable for those affected." However, rising unemployment has been accompanied by the ripping up of the social safety net supposedly designed to protect the victims of the anarchy of the market.

Even the most left-talking social-democratic trade-union bureaucrats have shown themselves utterly impotent to defend the workers' interests against the capitalist offensive. Arthur Scargill, the "radical" head of the British National Union of Mineworkers, diverted the explosion of working-class anger when Major announced the pit closures last fall into protest demonstrations that in no way threatened the Tory government. Furthermore, this former bête noire of the British establishment embraced Tory local councillors, liberal politicians, Anglican church leaders and the like, who for their own reasons object to the wholesale deindustrialization of Britain.

For months, Franz Steinkühler, the left social democrat who heads IG Metall—self-proclaimed as the most powerful trade union in the world—has made ringing declarations of "solidarity" with his union members in eastern Germany, a region reduced to an industrial wasteland by the rulers of the new Fourth Reich. But now Steinkühler states that "there can no longer be an all-encompassing contract" for metal workers in Germany. The gutting of the workers movement in Prussia and Saxony will necessarily undermine the unions west of the Elbe too. A plant council official in East Berlin's KWO cable manufacturer noted: "It's quite clear that the employers are taking on the union here in order to prepare the ground for a wider attack in the west" (London *Guardian*, 2 April).

There is a widespread sense throughout West Europe, especially among the youth, that something has gone very wrong with the social and economic order. Even the *New York Times* (4 April) observed from its ideological vantage point that "three years after the epochal changes that followed the collapse of Communism in Europe, signs of crisis in the political systems that ensured the success of its free societies during the cold war remain evident everywhere." Among the losers in the post-Cold War order, a mood of despair and hopelessness is spreading, leading for example to the anti-immigrant pogrom cheered on by hundreds in the eastern German port city of Rostock last August.

Fascist parties are channeling economic fears and resentments into attacks on dark-skinned "foreigners" and minorities. The ultimate aim of the fascists, who are now appealing to backward workers as well as unemployed youth, is the destruction of the organized labor movement. In short, capitalist counterrevolution against the bureaucratically ruled workers states in East Europe is being followed up by a capitalist offensive against the bureaucratically led workers movements of West Europe. And the bureaucrats don't have a clue as to what to do about it.

Reuters

IG Metall

Immigrant workers have strategic position in German heavy industry, now threatened by plant closings with the loss of tens of thousands of jobs. Sign at left reads: "Germans and Foreigners, One Class, One Struggle."

The Cold War and the Welfare State

The complex of social programs known as the "welfare state"—free or inexpensive medical care, government-funded pensions, unemployment insurance—were *not* won through trade-union struggles or social-democratic pressure politics. They were a response of the West European bourgeoisies in fear of social revolution in the immediate aftermath of World War II. That fear was accentuated by the very existence of the Soviet Union, which had just acquired new prestige from the Red Army's victory over Hitler's Germany, while large sections of the European bourgeoisies were tainted by their collaboration with the Nazi occupation forces. Especially in Latin Europe, the national Communist parties had also gained greatly increased authority in the working class.

In order to pacify the working masses, with the precious help of the social

democrats and the Stalinists (who joined postwar "popular front" governments with capitalist parties in France and Italy), the bourgeoisie had to offer a far better deal than the prewar conditions of the Great Depression and the rise of fascism. At the same time, American imperialism was promoting and funding social-democratic bureaucrats in the unions and anti-Communist reformist parties in order to cohere the NATO alliance against the Soviet bloc.

In the 1960s-early '70s, West Europe experienced another period of instability arising from a series of long, losing colonial wars—Algeria, Vietnam, Angola and Mozambique. A new generation of militant workers and leftist intellectuals came to the fore, hostile to the traditional social-democratic and pro-Moscow Stalinist parties. In Latin Europe, this period of radicalization culminated in the prerevolutionary crises of the May-June 1968 events in France and Italy's "hot autumn" the following year, and later the Portuguese Revolution of 1974-75.

To restabilize the bourgeois order in the southern tier of NATO, greater concessions were made to the working class while social democracy was deliberately strengthened in this region. The *scala mobile* was the main gain Italian workers extracted from the 1969 "hot autumn," which saw the beginnings of dual power in the factories of Lombardy and Tuscany. The real scare which the French bourgeoisie received in May '68 led to the reconstruction of French social democracy around François Mitterrand. In the Iberian peninsula, the right-wing despotisms of Franco and Salazar were replaced by social-democratic governments.

The shoring up of NATO's southern flank laid the basis for Cold War II in the early 1980s, with the social democracy marching arm in arm with Reagan, Thatcher and Kohl. This was exemplified by the unholy alliance of support for Polish Solidarność, stretching from its patrons in the Vatican and the White House to Cold War "socialists" and most of the "far left." NATO social democrats like Mitterrand glorified the "welfare state" as part of the imperialist propaganda campaign to subvert the Soviet bloc. Workers in East Europe were told—and many believed—that capitalist restoration would enable them to live like the workers of West Germany and Scandinavia, the wealthiest regions of the imperialist world. In reality, counterrevolution has degraded East Europe and the former Soviet Union to the condition of Third World neocolonies.

And in West Europe, the social-democratic welfare state is now under attack by a bourgeoisie for which it has outlived its historic usefulness. That attack has been intensified and accelerated by the economic repercussions of German reunification. Especially after the defeat of the Portuguese Revolution, in which the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (named after the German SPD leader famous for saying he hated revolution like the plague) played a key role, West Germany acted as a godfather to social democracy in Latin Europe. Spain's Felipe González and Portugal's Mário Soares were creations of the SPD. Through the European Community, Bonn helped fund social programs and industrial subsidies in the poorer Mediterranean countries.

But German imperialism's takeover of the DDR changed all that. With the vindictive dismantling of the DDR's industrial plant, millions of unemployed East Germans were put on the dole. Last year Bonn transferred $130 billion to Germany's eastern states, mainly for unemployment benefits, pensions for forced retirees and special projects like paying people to demolish closed-down factories. The "reconstruction" of the ex-DDR has been financed through massive deficit spending, drawing in money capital from the rest of West Europe via high interest rates maintained by the Bundeshank.

The wealthy godfather of the European Community has become its Scrooge. The 1991 Maastricht Treaty, proclaiming a new era of "European unity," is now a dead letter. The pipe dream of Mitterrand and EC Commission head Jacques Delors, that the Bundesbank would share its financial wealth with France, collapsed last fall along with the European Monetary System. Likewise, Spanish social-democratic premier Felipe González' project of a "cohesion fund" for the poorer EC countries has been shot down by the rulers of the new Fourth Reich.

German capital has become a force for austerity and industrial retrenchment throughout West Europe. For example, Krupp and other German steel giants are demanding an end to government subsidies for the state-owned steel industries in Italy and Spain. This protectionist campaign has the wholehearted support of the social-democratic union leaders, with IG Metall's Steinkühler calling for a "German steel concept."

Collapse of Stalinism, Crisis of Social Democracy

Nowhere is the link between the collapse of Stalinism, leading to counterrevolution in East Europe, and the bankruptcy of social democracy in West Europe clearer than in France. For the past decade François Mitterrand was the personification of an anti-Soviet social democrat. In fact, he was more bellicosely hostile to Moscow than his bourgeois (Gaullist and Giscardian) predecessors in the Elysée Palace. Yet in the wake of the destruction of the Soviet Union, Mitterrand's Socialist Party has suffered a political defeat so shattering its future existence is in doubt.

Initially, the Mitterrand regime attempted a policy of economic expansion—"Keynesianism in one country"—during the 1982-83 world slump. Its nationalization of banks and several large companies was largely in order to prevent them from going bankrupt. After the predictable capital flight and two currency devaluations, the Paris social democrats made a U-turn in economic policy in favor of monetarist *rigueur* (austerity) in the name of a strong franc. As a result, unemployment in "socialist" France hovered around 10 percent for half a decade before the current recession made things even worse. The American *Business Week* (5 April) noted that "German companies such as Volkswagen and Thyssen are only starting the big layoffs and plant closings that took place in the 1980s at Renault and Usinor Sacilor [steel]."

Financial Times

Striking Timex workers in Dundee, Scotland confront scabs.

Unemployment dominated the French March 22 parliamentary elections, with one poll showing that 70 percent of voters considered this issue number one. The Mitterrand social monetarists were punished for the wretched state of the economy, as the bourgeois right gained its biggest electoral victory in a quarter century. The Socialists were reduced to 19 percent of the vote on the first round, not much higher than the 12.5 percent garnered by the fascist National Front of Jean-Marie Le Pen.

The new right-wing government—a none-too-stable bloc between the Gaullists and Giscardians—has co-opted the National Front program of anti-immigrant racism against the North African and black African communities (see "French Cops on Racist Rampage," *WV* No. 574, 23 April). The new Gaullist premier Edouard Balladur has announced plans to privatize a number of nationalized companies, which especially under conditions of severe recession will mean layoffs and cuts in wages and benefits, and to cut the reimbursement rate for medical treatment and drugs.

The magnitude of the Socialist Party defeat on March 22 threatens to shatter this faction-ridden electoralist machine. Mitterrand's heir apparent Michel Rocard is calling for a "big bang"—the *dissolution* of the social democrats into a broader political formation somewhat analogous to the American Democratic Party, open to ecologists, liberals and anyone regarding themselves as left of center.

The Communist Party (PCF), once hegemonic over the French working class, has been reduced to its hard core of support in the "red" suburbs, its electoral following less than that of the National Front. With the social democrats demoralized and in disarray, the PCF has recouped a bit in the most recent period. However, the PCF will never regain its former position as *the* reformist party of the proletariat.

With a dramatic weakening of both the social democrats and erstwhile Stalinists, working-class resistance to attacks by the new rightist regime could well take the form of spontaneous, combative struggles led by raw militants without clear political direction. And given the common identification of Marxism-Leninism with Stalinism, one might see in France a resurgence of anti-parliamentary syndicalist currents such as dominated the French workers movement in the decades before World War I.

Corriere della Sera

La Repubblica

Italy: Cobas (Rank and File Committees), above, have come to fore as militant workers protest against government and union leaders' complicity in destroying union gains.

In Italy, conditions are even more fertile for the re-emergence of syndicalist tendencies and attitudes within the working class. As in France, anarchist and syndicalist groupings were strong in the Italian workers movement in the pre-1914 era. And such currents resurfaced during the radicalization of the 1960s-early '70s. Today, once again, the Italian working class has demonstrated great combativity in defying the reformist parties and union leaders. Last fall, when right-wing Socialist prime minister Giuliano Amato announced a new austerity program of "blood and tears," hundreds of thousands of workers, joined by pensioners and students, poured into the streets, clashing with police and pelting the sellout union leaders with coins.

These tumultuous class battles are taking place at a time when the entire postwar political order in Italy has all but collapsed. Since the U.S. Army entered Rome in 1944, the heavy hand of American imperialism has directed the political stage in the peninsula. Washington was determined to keep the powerful Communist Party out of the government, even after the abjectly reformist PCI only asked to become junior partners of the Christian Democrats during the mid-'70s (the so-called "Historic Compromise"). The Cold War in Italy meant a perpetual coalition made up of the venal and factious cliques of the Christian Democrats and social democrats.

With the disintegration of the Soviet bloc and the accompanying split in the PCI, the anti-Communist glue holding together Italy's ruling cliques dissolved.

continued on page 11

Balkans...

(continued from page 1)

into a patchwork of "cantons" dominated by the several ethnic groups. But whether this agreement will hold on the ground, or go the way of the countless "cease-fires" that preceded it, is utterly unclear. Should the NATO troops go in to enforce the crazy-quilt "peace" agreement, they would either have to roll back heavily armed Serbian forces entrenched in mountainous and heavily forested terrain, or, if they maintain the status quo, American and West European troops risk attack from Croat and Bosnian Muslim militias.

The self-proclaimed "cops of the world," like the racist cops in America's inner-city ghettos, are used to terrorizing defenseless people. But the Serbs are in a rather better position to defend themselves than the Branch Davidians. Explaining last week his hesitations over using U.S. ground forces in Bosnia, Clinton told reporters, "in the Second World War, Hitler sent tens of thousands of soldiers to that area and never was successful in subduing it" (*New York Times*, 26 April). Today's murderous Serbian nationalists are a far cry from the Yugoslav Communist Partisans who courageously fought off the Wehrmacht in World War II, but you know what they're talking about in the White House situation room when an American president, with unintentional honesty, compares the U.S. role to that of fellow imperialist Adolf Hitler.

Ever since Vietnam, U.S. imperialism has tried to conduct its foreign military adventures on the cheap, minimizing American casualties through overwhelmingly superior firepower—the rape of the tiny black Caribbean island of Grenada; the invasion of Panama; Operation Desert Slaughter in the Persian Gulf; and the colonial occupation of the famine-ravaged East African country of Somalia. Gun-shy over a Vietnam-scale intervention, the U.S. military much prefers terror-bombing raids from the air.

Once again we read about "surgical strikes," but over 100,000 Iraqis were slaughtered in the Persian Gulf "war," including hundreds of women and children in the Baghdad air raid shelter pinpointed by U.S. "smart bombs." Meanwhile, the German Fourth Reich wants to throw its weight around militarily, beginning with airmen in AWACS planes directing bombing runs on Serbian forces in Bosnia.

The U.S. Air Force chief of staff told Congress that bombing Serbian gun positions could be accomplished with "virtually no risk" to attacking American warplanes. And then? While the former Vietnam "dove" in the White House is gung ho to go into the Yugoslav quagmire, the Pentagon brass, still smarting at their humiliating defeat in the jungles of Indochina, is well aware that getting out will be a lot harder than getting in. And the American population is anything but sold on an Operation Balkan Storm.

America's rulers, too, are divided over intervention in the Balkans. The Pentagon, the *New York Times* and other leading imperialist spokesmen are worried about getting bogged down in "another quagmire." Ironically, it is the liberals, from State Department career officers to pundits like *Times* man Anthony Lewis, who are on the cutting edge of the drive to get Yankee imperialism into the Balkans. Reacting to the barrage of war propaganda focusing on the suffering of the Bosnian Muslims, bleeding-heart liberals are making common cause with mad dog conservatives like William Safire and Margaret Thatcher.

Revolutionary Marxists take no sides in the bloody communalist/nationalist wars ripping apart the former Yugoslavia as an outcome and motor force of capitalist counterrevolution. But we warn that the imperialists are the incomparably greater threat to mankind. In the face of U.S./NATO intervention we defend the Serbs, while calling on the Serbian working class to overthrow its nationalist-capitalist misleaders on the road to reforging a genuinely internationalist socialist federation of the Balkans, from the Danube to the Aegean Sea.

New York Times map

"Ethnic Cleansing": Product of Capitalist Counterrevolution

Western journalists have depicted the communalist massacres, now called "ethnic cleansing," unleashed by the breakup of Yugoslavia as a revival of ancient Balkan blood feuds. Yet for the four and a half decades of the Cold War the Western powers incited nationalist fervor in East Europe and the former Soviet Union as the key element in their anti-Communist crusade. The CIA's Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty spewed out the most vile nationalist demagogy, including anti-Semitism. Western intelligence agencies financed and ran Croatian and Ukrainian fascists, Russian monarchists, Polish clerical-nationalists and the like. Now, with the collapse of the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy, mutually hostile nationalist fanatics have come to power in East Europe. The results are not always to the liking of their imperialist godfathers.

Ever since the breakup of Titoist Yugoslavia began in 1991, the Western media have portrayed the Serbs—and they alone—as bloodthirsty monsters bent on terrorizing peace-loving Croats and Bosnian Muslims. We've been deluged with heart-wrenching photos, gruesome accounts and harrowing stories of mass rape, torture, concentration camps, the killing and maiming of children at the hands of Serbian nationalist forces. Yet, as in all such communalist wars, atrocities abound on all sides among peoples engulfed by fear, hatred and lust for vengeance.

Thus recently the Croats have turned on their former Bosnian Muslim allies and are engaging in their own "ethnic cleansing" to improve their position for an imperialist-imposed "peace" agreement. The London *Guardian* (22 April) had an eyewitness account: "Street by street and house by house, the Croat commandos hounded the Muslims out, murdering many as they sought to flee in terror from land they have inhabited and tended for hundreds of years." And Serbs have also been victims. A year ago, there were 10,000 Serbs in the Bosnian district of Goradze. Today, there are only 1,000 left; the other 90 percent have either been killed or have fled fearing for their lives.

In reality, the war in Bosnia is being driven by the murderous logic of trying to cohere nation-states in regions of *geographically interpenetrated peoples*. By 1990, the Yugoslav Stalinist bureaucracy had all but completely fractured along national lines. The final blow was given by German imperialism, which in mid-1991 pushed through the international recognition of an independent Slovenia and Croatia. The Bosnian Muslims were thus faced with the hapless prospect of being reduced to a minority in a rump Yugoslav state that was in fact Greater Serbia, moreover under the rule of fanatical Serbian nationalist strongman Slobodan Milosevic.

The Muslim leaders like Alija Izetbegovic responded by declaring Bosnia an independent state in which they, as representatives of the largest ethnic group, would predominate. The Serbs in Bosnia—a third of its population—aimed to detach and incorporate the regions they inhabited into a Greater Serbia. As the militarily stronger force, the Serbs have driven the Muslims out of the regions of mixed populations and have occupied large tracts of land formerly predominantly inhabited by Muslims. The Muslims are thus being compressed into a rump Bosnian state.

The Western media and politicians have demonized the Serbs and routinely compare Milosevic to Hitler. Yet Croat president Franjo Tudjman first gained notoriety as an apologist for the clerical-fascist Ustashi regime, which, under the protection of the Nazi Wehrmacht, slaughtered hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Jews and Gypsies. Tudjman also dismisses the Nazi murder of six million Jews, but this did not stop Clinton from entertaining Tudjman in Washington and even inviting the Croatian Nazi apologist to the opening of the Holocaust Memorial Museum!

Western Imperialism: Hands Off Bosnia!

There is a difference between Washington and West European capitals on how to deal with the Bosnia crisis. The Europeans want to end the war quickly, even if this means underwriting Serbian territorial gains, in order to stop the flood of Bosnian refugees into their own countries. The Germans, who precipitated the bloody breakup of Yugoslavia, are now appalled at finding the victims on their doorstep. Furthermore, the European bourgeoisies are concerned—and rightly so—that Western military intervention in Bosnia would provoke a wider Balkan war drawing in Macedonia, Albania, Greece, Turkey, etc.

U.S. imperialism has used the breakup of Yugoslavia as an opportunity to demonstrate its superpower prowess. Bush maneuvered to make Serbia a U.S. client through a deal with Milosevic to appoint an American businessman of Serbian descent, Milan Panic, as prime minister of the rump Yugoslav state. From the outset Clinton has taken a more belligerent anti-Serb stance than Bush. But Clinton put new UN sanctions against Serbia on hold for a few weeks in order to help Boris Yeltsin win the April 25 Russian referendum without having to face a hostile reaction from Russian nationalists who regard the Serbs as their fellow Slav "little brothers."

To whip up popular support for a war against Serbia, Clinton is posturing as a champion of the battered and besieged Bosnian Muslims. Yet he doesn't give a damn about the Bosnian Muslims, any more than Bush did about the Iraqi Kurds. After Saddam Hussein seized the oil-rich sheikdom of Kuwait, the Washington propaganda mill suddenly discovered that Iraqi Kurds and Shi'ites were brutally oppressed by the Baghdad Ba'athist regime, and Bush called on them to rise in revolt. But then Washington stood by as not only Saddam Hussein but America's Turkish client state ruthlessly bombed the Kurdish population.

U.S. Senator John McCain, an ultra-hawkish, right-wing Republican, stated: "I have yet to talk to a military expert who believes that air strikes alone will beneficially affect that tragic situation." That's because Clinton's proposed air strikes are not intended to end the war. They are intended to force Milosevic and the Serbs to accept an imperialist-imposed deal, and to demonstrate to the world—including to the U.S.' imperialist "allies"—that American power holds sway.

As revolutionary Marxists and internationalists, we have opposed all sides in the communalist warfare unleashed by the breakup of the Yugoslav bureaucratically deformed workers state. Under Tito, an attempt was made to establish an equitable national solution, albeit within the Stalinist framework of "socialism in one country." Pre-WW II capitalist Yugoslavia was dominated by the Serbs, and to assure the non-Serbian nationalities that they had an equal place in society, the territory of the Serbian republic in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was sharply reduced. The Stalinists even created a Bosnian republic with a Muslim plurality, even though there was no Bosnian nationality.

As long as the collectivized economy remained in place, such territorial revisions were of little concern. But with the destruction of the proletarian state, the dog-eat-dog logic of capitalism and the interests of the nation-state impelled the bourgeois-nationalist forces on all sides into a revanchist fury aimed at grabbing as much territory as they could and seeking to drive out their former neighbors.

The only way out of this murderous cockpit is through socialist revolution throughout the region. Trotskyists fight to build proletarian-internationalist communist parties that will wage uncompromising struggle against all forms of nationalism, and put an end to "ethnic cleansing" once and for all in a Socialist Federation of the Balkans. Today, as the Serbian people face military attack by U.S. imperialism, the greatest mass murderer in world history, class-conscious workers everywhere are duty-bound to defend the Serbian forces against the Pentagon war machine. Down with Washington's bloody "New World Order," built on the destruction of the Soviet Union! ■

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Russia...

(continued from page 1)

number of police were wounded in the bloodiest street fighting seen in Moscow since Yeltsin seized the reins in August 1991. Demonstrators responding to the call of the "red-brown" National Salvation Front (NSF) chanted "Death to Yeltsin!" Moving to the Russian parliament's "White House," the headquarters for Yeltsin's pro-imperialist countercoup in 1991 and now the center of the anti-Yeltsin bourgeois opposition, demonstrators raised barricades and hoisted red banners and monarchist white-yellow-black tricolors.

NSF spokesman Ilya Konstantinov, connected to the fascistic Russian National Sobor, warned of a sharper clash next week on Victory Day, commemorating the Soviet defeat of Nazi Germany in World War II (portrayed by Stalin as the Great Patriotic War): "This is the beginning of the real resistance. We can say that on May 9, the OMON will be met differently. Motherland or Death!"

At the head of the march were several of the failed putschists from the August 1991 "Emergency Committee," whose trial finally went to court last month and has now been indefinitely suspended. While their botched "perestroika coup" made no attempt to go after the Yeltsinite counterrevolutionaries but rather opened the way to Yeltsin's seizure of power, we Marxists condemn this anti-Communist trial by the nascent bourgeois state against the losers at the bureaucratic trough.

The bloody May Day clash capped a week of moves by would-be Tsar Boris aimed at consolidating power in the wake of last Sunday's referendum victory, including a ban on Communist Party activity in all state enterprises and a decree outlawing the nationalist newspaper *Den*. The National Salvation Front's blustering notwithstanding, it is not this ragtag coalition of Stalinist has-beens and anti-Semitic Great Russian chauvinists which is presently Yeltsin's main concern, but the corporatist-nationalist Civic Union parliamentary bloc for whom the "red"-browns serve as shock troops.

Two weeks before the referendum, Yeltsin publicly humiliated his vice president, Civic Union spokesman Aleksandr Rutskoi, stripping him of his government Mercedes and bodyguards, and removing him from his post overseeing agriculture. Rutskoi in turn accused the regime of being rife with corruption, claiming that defense minister Pavel Grachev had illegally sold Soviet military property in East Germany. After the vote, Yeltsin declared his rival was no longer in charge of the government's anti-corruption investigations.

Yeltsin's victory in the referendum certainly gave the would-be strongman what he wanted, a vote of "Da, Da, Nyet, Da" on the four questions posed in the vote: 58 percent "yes" to his presidency, an unexpectedly high 53 percent approval of his "shock treatment" economic policies, just under half were for new presidential elections, with 64 percent in favor of new elections to the Congress. Yeltsin's imperialist paymasters whooped for joy. "This is a very, very good day," burbled Clinton. A *New York Times* (27 April) editorial gushed that "Yeltsin's trust in the people was overwhelmingly reciprocated." To produce this result, Yeltsin's Western backers pulled out all the stops.

New York ad agency Saatchi and Saatchi "covertly" ran Yeltsin's media campaign, which harnessed the state-run TV for an "unrelenting stream of government propaganda" (London *Guardian*, 26 April). Yeltsin was shown "at home" with his wife in a modest three-room apartment—while the government spends 100 million rubles a month to build him a lavish new penthouse suite complete with tennis court and swimming pool. In the days before the vote, Yeltsin doubled old-age pensions, canceled rent increases, raised subsidies to the mining industry and promised more money for veterans. He also promised to restore the Cossacks' privileges and lauded these tsarist pogromists as "one of the most important entities of the new democratic Russia."

AFP

Bloody May Day in Moscow as Yeltsin's cops provoke clash with anti-Yeltsin protesters.

Der Spiegel

Giant Uralmash machinery plant in Sverdlovsk (now known by its tsarist name, Ekaterinburg). Soviet workers have class interest in fighting to preserve Russia's industrial base.

Meanwhile the Group of Seven imperialist powers did their bit by promising a new $28 billion aid package, while the World Bank threw in a billion more to keep Russia's oil wells pumping. Even then, many people voted for Yeltsin only because they were even more fed up with the Congress' shenanigans and wanted a "strong hand."

On the eve of the referendum, the International Communist League took the position that it was in the workers' interests that Yeltsin suffer a resounding defeat, calling for a vote of "Nyet, Nyet, Da, Da" on the four questions. In an earlier article ("Yeltsin Meets His Paymaster," *WV* No. 573, 9 April), we noted that "the implicit alternative offered is to support the nationalist-corporatist policy of the Civic Union opposition," and wrote, "Russian workers have no stake in the outcome of this referendum, the continuation of a power play between two wings of the capitalist counterrevolution." While the working class cannot give political support either to the imperialist stooge Yeltsin or to his corporatist-capitalist opponents, this general statement did not adequately address the *specific* questions posed in the referendum.

The *New York Times* (26 April) observed that "Nyet, Nyet, Da, Da" was how anti-Yeltsin voters "who tended to be from the pox-on-all-their-houses school" voted. Any class-conscious worker would certainly say "nyet" to Yeltsin and his economic policies, which amount to the immiseration of the population and the destruction of industry. And, while we do not fetishize abstract democracy, when posed with the question of new elections for president and parliament our answer could only be yes. With Russia now a capitalist state—moreover one in which all the contending bourgeois forces seek to est· ·ish bonapartist rule—it is necessary for the revolutionary party to maintain the utmost vigilance with respect to democratic forms.

Marc Cooper in the *Village Voice* (4 May) caught the flavor of the Russian referendum in declaring the winner to be..."General Augusto Pinochet," the Chilean military dictator. As one streetwise Muscovite interviewed by Cooper said of Yeltsin: "After the referendum, be careful. With a vote of confidence in his back pocket, and unable democratically to implement his revolution, he could decide to call in the army and try to do it by force." Five days after the vote, Yeltsin summoned 88 regional leaders to Moscow to endorse his draft for a new constitution, which would enshrine a semi-bonapartist "presidential republic," replacing the legislature with a toothless bicameral "representative" body, whose lower house would, appropriately, be called the State Duma. The Duma was an impotent "advisory" council set up (and repeatedly disbanded) by the last tsar, Nicholas II, as a "democratic" sop following the 1905 Revolution.

To get the support of regional leaders, Yeltsin is prepared to intensify the centrifugal forces tearing the country apart and sharply limiting the central government's writ. A number of districts had already added a fifth question to the referendum, promoting regional autonomy or independence, and some, like secessionist Chechenya, boycotted entirely. Meanwhile, Yeltsin's "privatization" scheme would destroy the country's industrial base, turning Russia into a neocolonial supplier of oil and other raw materials to the imperialists. But while corporatists like Rutskoi talk of preserving the country's heavy industry and a strong Russian state, they would be no less dependent upon imperialism. Meanwhile, Rutskoi openly appeals for bonapartist rule, vowing that "law and order must be restored in a strong state."

As we wrote in "Dogfight in Moscow" (*WV* No. 572, 26 March): "*The working class must oppose moves from any corner to place its neck in the yoke of a bonapartist dictatorship.*" Nothing short of socialist revolution to sweep away all the contending factions of the nascent bourgeois state can save the Soviet working people, whose very existence is threatened by the ravages of counterrevolution. The key lies in the formation of a genuinely communist party, based on the principles of Lenin and Trotsky, to lead the multinational working class of Russia and the other former Soviet republics to power. For a planned, collectivized economy based on soviet democracy and revolutionary internationalism! ■

Der Spiegel

Scenes from the counterrevolution: Old-age pensioner passes swank boutique.

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Waco Massacre...

(continued from page 12)

> claiming David Koresh and his followers set the fire themselves. We have no reason to believe this lying government. But the inescapable fact is they died as a result of a deliberate assault after weeks of government terror and torture. This was government mass murder."

Already at the time of the February 28 raid, we wrote that "the U.S. government will go to any lengths to disarm the population—even if they have to kill 'em. Now these people near Waco are being killed for 'resisting arrest' over a non-crime" ("Murderous Fed Assault on Christian Sect," *WV* No. 571, 12 March).

We Marxists came to the defense of this small religious group whose only "crime" was their attempt to practice their religion and bear arms—both rights supposedly guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution. Less than four hours after Clinton's killers laid waste to the Branch Davidian commune, we staged an emergency protest outside the Federal Building in New York City with signs including "We Will Not Forget: MOVE Massacre, Desert Slaughter in Iraq, Waco Holocaust." Two days later we picketed outside FBI headquarters in Washington, the J. Edgar Hoover Building, with placards

Reuters

Survivors of government massacre hauled off in chains.

declaring: "FBI Baby Killers." We demand that all the survivors of Clinton's holocaust be freed immediately!

Strong/Sipa

During the siege, Branch Davidians appealed to press to tell their side, but bourgeois media parroted government's lies.

Feds: "This Is Not an Assault"

The entire world saw Operation "Prairie Slaughter" live and in color on TV, through the shaking lens of cameras kept almost two miles away on the Texas plain. On the first day, Clinton kept his mouth shut and let Reno take the heat, feeding rumors that he might accept her resignation. The *New York Times* editorialists slapped the Democratic administration's wrists for an "ill-conceived and unwarranted operation." But by the next day, the White House had launched a massive campaign to, as the *Times* (22 April) put it, "fix the damage from what the American people saw that happened this week." Attorney General Reno went on a whirlwind media tour from Good Morning America to good night Ted Koppel. In whitewash hearings before a Senate committee, Democrats and Republicans held a lovefest, praising "Madam General" for her handling of the situation. The White House made it clear that this was a loyalty test, and the liberals and media quickly fell into line.

Reno claimed that April 19 "was not meant to be D-Day," and the murderous assault was "just a step forward in trying to bring about peaceful resolution." In fact, the resolution was meant to be bloody from the outset. For 51 days an army of hundreds of state police, National Guard, FBI and BATF agents, using M1A1 tanks and Bradley fighting vehicles from the Texas National Guard, gradually tightened a noose around the farm buildings. They were determined to exact revenge for the deaths of four BATF agents and the wounding of 16 others in the February 28 raid.

As the siege approached the third month, the feds were getting itchy trigger fingers. They had early on cut off water and electricity to the buildings, and gradually tore down trees and walls on the perimeter, laying down miles of razor-sharp concertina wire. At night, as blazing floodlights lit up the area, the FBI engaged in "psy-ops" tactics dreamed up by their "cult experts." Huge loudspeakers played wretched Nancy Sinatra songs, Tibetan monks chanting, the sounds of roaring locomotives and the squeals of rabbits being slaughtered. A local paper wrote, "If there were a contest for the most deranged...the feds would win hands down."

At 6:04 a.m. on April 19, the FBI announced by phone and over their loudspeakers, "This is not an assault." They then unleashed their combat engineering vehicles—M-60 heavy tanks rigged with bulldozer blades and huge booms—which began to smash gaping holes in the side of the farm buildings and drench the inside with CS gas. These 58-ton main battle tanks are evidently the military's weapon of choice for mass murder—they were used to bury thousands of Iraqi soldiers alive in their trenches during the opening assault of the Persian Gulf War.

Shortly after nine o'clock that morning, after three hours of pounding by the tanks, someone inside the farm hung out a banner demanding: "We want our phone back." But the FBI wanted them sealed off—an offer to mediate by Richard DeGuerin, Koresh's attorney, was turned down flat. DeGuerin later told CNN that "I thought we had an agreement to wait this out...they were going to come out peacefully." But the government didn't want them to come out alive. The fire began at 12:06 p.m., but the FBI waited eight minutes to even call the fire department. When fire engines arrived, the FBI *refused to let them in for 21 minutes*

Clinton's Apocalypse Now

So who started the fire? As part of its Big Lie campaign, the government insists that Koresh's followers deliberately started the blaze. We doubt it, but even if someone in the commune started the fire as the tanks of their sworn enemies were smashing through their walls, the responsibility for the deaths of all these people lies squarely on the government.

In his appearance before the House Judiciary Committee, FBI Director William Sessions (who is a former member of the Waco city council) claimed the fire started nowhere near where the tanks were tearing the building to shreds. This contention is repeated by some fire "experts" interviewed by the *New York Times* (28 April), who "dismissed the possibility that the F.B.I. tanks battering holes in the compound could have started the fire." But these henchmen for the capitalist state have a problem—millions of people saw the siege live on CNN—and some taped it on their VCRs.

In fact, the smoke first came out of a second-floor window above and right next to where the M-60 had been smashing the building. Around noon, Waco time, CNN was broadcasting live coverage of the same tank rumbling in and out of the building. As the first flames appeared, CNN's anchorwoman switched over to their reporter on the scene:

> **Mike Capps:** "Bonnie, for the last 15 minutes we've watched this M-60 vehicle, this combat engineering vehicle, make large holes in the side of this building and pump tear gas in there. And at times, as you well know, tear gas can be incendiary and apparently this is what's happened. And it looks like—now we have a very large-scale fire breaking out on what must be the south side, right near the front side of this building.... As I said, this combat engineering vehicle has been working very diligently around the front door of the complex."
>
> **CNN Anchor:** "Mike, it appears that the portion of the building that is on fire right now is part of an observation tower that is adjacent to the front door. It's also on the second floor, which is where the women's sleeping quarters are."

As protection against BATF snipers, the Davidians had covered the windows with black plastic and stacked bales of hay in front of the windows. Kerosene lanterns were used all day to light the inside, as the FBI had cut off the electricity in the second week of the siege. Survivors later explained how "collapse of a wall and part of a ceiling tipped over a Coleman portable lamp, spewing burning kerosene over the floor and igniting part of the compound" (*Los Angeles Times*, 23 April). In seconds, driven by 40-mile-per-hour winds and feeding on the bales of hay and tarpaper which lined the walls, the entire complex became an inferno.

FBI spokesmen endlessly repeated that the gas that was pumped into the farmhouse was "non-lethal" and "non-flammable." Clinton claimed that the CS gas "would force anybody who breathed it to run outside." Buried in news stories was the fact that CS is covered by the Paris Convention on chemical weapons, which *bans* its use in international warfare—but that doesn't stop the government from using it against a Christian sect on the Texas prairie. Carried in 50-gallon drums on M5 gas dispersers mounted on the tanks, the CS was injected in massive quantities as a fine powder. It was also delivered in liquid form in 300 "Ferret" rounds fired by riot guns at the upper windows of the complex.

The FBI knew exactly what they were doing—in testimony afterwards they bragged of their consultations with chemical warfare specialists at the Edgewater Arsenal, and commanders of the Army's Special Operations Command. What news accounts haven't reported is that the Army's own *Field Manual 19-15* on "Civil Disturbances and Disasters" warns that in using CS gas on large groups of people, "Open pre-determined escape routes are mandatory." More specifically, it states that "Large quantities of the CS agent should not be introduced into closed structures, rooms, and buildings," and notes that "excessive exposure to CS1 may make them incapable of vacating the area" (cited in Col. Rex Applegate, *Riot Control—Materiel and Techniques* [Paladin, 1981]).

But instead, the government sprayed gallons of CS into the buildings *for hours* to disorient and trap their targets inside. The burning of almost 100 people in Waco ignited memories of Vietnam, where the imperialists destroyed cities and villages in order to "save" them from Communism. And it was in Vietnam that CS was first widely used by the U.S., provoking worldwide protests.

All the survivors say there were no plans for mass suicide, and that the demolition tanks started the fire. As DeGuerin points out, even the location of the bodies gives the lie to the government's claim of "mass suicide." Small groups of five or six, then eight, then nine, sometimes a mother holding a child. And most of the bodies were lying face down, an indication of death by smoke inhalation. Those on the second floor of the complex of buildings were trapped. In the first minutes of the tank assault on the complex, the stairs leading from the front door area to the upper level were wiped out.

This is how a small, racially integrated religious group paid for "refusing to submit to proper authorities." The American capitalist state exercised in blood its "sovereignty" over the Davidians' 77 acres of Texas prairie.

New Age Witchhunt: "Child Abuse"

As the fire raged in Waco, phone calls and faxes denouncing the feds' butchery poured into the Justice Department. So Reno and the FBI launched a media blitzkrieg claiming they had to go in because Koresh was "slapping babies around." Child abuse is the all-purpose witchhunt of the '80s and '90s. "Protecting the kids was the ultimate rationale for going in," said Clinton spokesman George Stephanopoulos. The government's ultimate justification; we had to kill the kids in order to save them.

This was pure, cynical media manipulation—although the bourgeois press hardly needed much manipulating. The FBI held a special three-hour briefing for the press, and suddenly there were reams of stories that the "children would die of hunger or disease" (*Wall Street Journal*, 21 April). Janet Reno oozed "concern." But the entire exercise was a charade to reverse public opinion. After the "child abuse" hysteria, *Newsday* (22 April) noted: "Critics say what some may view as 'child abuse' others may consider spanking"! The *Washington Post* (25 April) reported that "none of the 21 children released from the compound in the early stages of the 51-day siege has shown signs of abuse, Texas child protective service officials said." But by then Reno and Clinton had the polls inverted, running *90 percent* in the government's favor.

The *New York Times* (4 May) continues to push the child abuse angle, with a feature story based on "deprogramming" by the shrink from the Baylor College of Medicine who has had his hands on the kids for the last two months. Claiming they "learned to substitute the word 'love' for fear," that the sect had "a number of unusual ideas about combining fruit and vegetables in the same meal," that "the girls were likely exposed to inappropriate concepts of sexuality," the report by Dr. Bruce Perry concludes that parental ties were undermined by "a

whole variety of destructive emotional techniques" including "shame, coercion, fear, intimidation, humiliation, guilt, overt aggression and power." Sounds like a typical American family to us. As for his allegation that the children's heart rates were elevated to 140 (compared with a normal rate of 70 to 90), mightn't that have a lot to do with the fact that they were brought out after a murderous assault by the feds that killed several of their parents and playmates?!

"General" Reno is no stranger to this kind of witchhunt. Columnist Alexander Cockburn, writing in the *Nation*, details Reno's savage persecution of an innocent 14-year-old for "satanic abuse" who she kept locked up, frequently in solitary, for 20 months. Writing in the Boonville, California *Anderson Valley Advertiser*, Cockburn captures the hysterical nature of the "child abuse" bugaboo: "To call someone a child abuser these days is like calling someone a Communist in the 1950s or a witch in the seventeenth century. Normal standards of evidence or even reason cease to apply." And Cockburn notes that the Cult Awareness Network "experts," who boast of assisting the BATF in Waco, are offering to "deprogram" the children so that they *testify on behalf of the FBI against their parents!*

Lies and More Lies

On February 28, the BATF "went in there like Marines on Iwo Jima." With one spectacular raid they hoped to drag the "gun running Jesus" away in chains and reap a huge publicity bonanza to ensure the future of this agency of state terrorism. When the smoke cleared, and the BATF took away their dead cowboys, nobody could even point to a crime that anyone in the Branch Davidians had committed.

During the siege and subsequent assault, the press retailed the BATF's

WV Photo

Spartacist League uniquely raised cry of outrage. Picketing FBI headquarters in Washington, April 21.

charge that Koresh had an "illegal .50 cal. machine gun." In fact, every weapon they owned, including a Barrett .50 cal. semi-automatic rifle, had been *examined and returned by the local cops as perfectly legal*. The government was playing to Congressional liberals pushing Clinton's program of gun control and 100,000 more cops on the streets. For shock effect, Arizona Senator DeConcini came onto CNN's *Larry King Live* talk show brandishing a grenade, asking the Waco victims' lawyers if their clients were going to explain this before Congress. "My client is dead, Senator," replied DeGuerin.

The bourgeois media dutifully parrots this pack of lies in order to alibi Clinton and Reno. With the same groveling subservience they displayed during the Persian Gulf War, the press tamely accepted being kept almost two miles away during the entire siege and inferno. Only three days later were reporters allowed to move within 200 yards of the smoldering ruins, while the government was removing all the evidence and shipping it off to the FBI in Washington. The pages of newspapers and magazines are full of photographs of murdered Bosnian babies—so where are the photos of the two dozen children incinerated in Waco?! The quintessential expression of the "free but responsible" capitalist press were the identical covers of *Time* and *Newsweek* blaming the Waco inferno on the victims.

The bourgeois press is echoed by Clinton's foot soldiers on the left. Lamenting the "lax gun laws," Gus Hall's Communist Party buys the feds' line: "The Waco cultists, armed with a .50-caliber machine gun and assault rifles, engaged in a firefight in which cultists and FBI agents died" (*People's Weekly World*, 24 April). Unlike the CP, Sam Marcy's Workers World Party denounces the "Waco massacre," but they must be hoping nobody will remember their headline greeting Reno's nomination: "Can Establishment live with woman 'top cop'?" (*Workers World*, 25 February). As for the rad-lib crowd, the *Nation* lamely called the Waco holocaust "disgraceful," but on the eve of the assault they practically scripted the government's case, painting Koresh as a crazy, gun-toting polygamist, the "N.R.A. Gun Nut of the Month."

Gun control is the program of a vicious capitalist class that is hell-bent on asserting its monopoly of armed force in order to rule over defenseless subjects. The reformists and liberals preach faith in the capitalist state. The flames which consumed a racially integrated group of 86 men, women and children in Waco, Texas illuminate yet again the basic Marxist truth that this state is a deadly enemy of workers and the oppressed. Like the massacre of the Philadelphia MOVE commune in 1985, the Waco holocaust was intended as a deadly warning to all those who "have a hostile attitude" toward this racist ruling class.

The Branch Davidians' "crime" was to want to be left alone to live as they chose on their 77-acre piece of Texas. We understand that religious superstition in all its variants is at best a fanciful refuge from—and more often, a cynical apology for—the horrors of this capitalist world. As communists committed to forging a party that can bring workers and the oppressed to power through a socialist revolution, in this country and around the world, we intend to make sure that those who carried out the holocaust in Waco will be brought to justice by a future workers government. ■

West Europe...

(continued from page 7)

Rome has witnessed an orgy of politician corruption scandals, with one-third of the parliamentary deputies being investigated for taking bribes and kickbacks. The Italian bourgeoisie wants to rid itself of the parasitic, faction-ridden Christian Democratic party machine and the bloated bureaucracy of the nationalized industries, replacing them with a streamlined governing apparatus and a "strong state," preferably some form of presidential bonapartism. But for the moment chaos reigns.

The Italian workers movement, too, is in a state of turmoil. In the wake of the capitalist reunification of Germany, the Communist Party, for decades the largest in West Europe, split. The smaller, more left-posturing Rifondazione Comunista (RC) capitulated grossly to Amato's austerity last fall, violence-baiting the workers who took to the streets. The main CGIL trade-union federation, led by erstwhile Eurocommunist hacks, has been widely discredited, and various groupings of shopfloor militants have come to the fore, such as the Comitate di Base (Rank-and-File Committees).

In late February, 200,000 workers answered the call by the United Factory Councils to march on Rome in defense of their jobs. At their head were 300 coal miners from the Sulcis mine in Sardinia, the site of a dramatic occupation. When ENI, the giant state-owned conglomerate which runs the mine, announced plans to cut the workforce in half, nine miners chained themselves in the pit for 46 days as the entire surrounding community rallied to their support. At the February demonstration, thousands of workers called for a general strike. Given the deep political as well as economic crisis, a general strike in Italy would pose the question of which class shall rule. Even a one-day protest intended by the union tops to let off steam could get out of hand.

It is precisely the decisiveness of political power which is denied by the syndicalist program and prejudices. At one level, syndicalism serves as an ideological legitimation for trade-union militancy or, in Leninist terminology, militant economism. Militant economism can be effective only when the capitalist class is willing to bargain over the terms of exploitation. When a multinational corporation is determined to shut down a factory, or a bourgeois government to close a state-owned mine, strikes, protests, even occupations lack economic power. At a more fundamental level of class struggle, militant economism offers no defense against a bonapartist regime prepared to kill, imprison and torture workers' leaders.

Furthermore, trade-union militancy is necessarily nationally centered, and as such has an organic tendency toward economic nationalism. The syndicalist program, which denies in principle the need for centralized economic planning on an international basis, offers no answer to the reformist advocates of protectionism and trade war, the illusion that the interests of workers in one country can be defended at the expense of workers in other countries.

Especially in a period of sharp economic downturn and a determined capitalist offensive against the labor movement, the defense of working-class interests must be directed toward the struggle for state power. A revolutionary workers government will expropriate the means of production and distribution, establishing within the framework of a Socialist United States of Europe an internationally planned economy.

For a Socialist United States of Europe

Germany—the industrial powerhouse of the continent—is the key to Europe's future. During the Cold War, we Trotskyists called for the revolutionary reunification of Germany, through anti-bureaucratic proletarian political revolution in the East and socialist revolution in the West, within a Socialist United States of Europe. The imperialist reunification has had devastating consequences for the working masses of Europe, from Siberia to Sardinia. It has also fundamentally destabilized the bourgeois order in the Fourth Reich itself, long based on institutionalized class collaboration between capital and the social-democratic bureaucracy.

Over half of the adult population in the former DDR is now unemployed, and a much higher percentage of women. The new eastern states have become a mass of hitter hostility to the new order. Across the bleak urban landscape of Prussia and Saxony is the hand-scrawled slogan "*Verraten und verkauft*" —betrayed and sold out.

The harsh conditions in the east are also undermining the social-democratic labor bureaucracy in the west. A few months ago the employers' associations in the region reneged on a 1991 agreement with IG Metall to raise the wages of steel and engineering workers by 26 percent on April 1. Ripping up a union contract was unheard of in the tightly orchestrated relations between labor and capital in the old federal repuhlic of West Germany.

Nonetheless, the Social Democratic tops are bending over backward to prove themselves loyal and useful servants of the Fourth Reich. In March, the SPD and Kohl agreed to a "solidarity pact" supposed to put the income transfers to eastern Germany on a sound financial footing. However, the German ruling class and their SPD lieutenants have only a narrow margin to maneuver. How long will the east German populace tolerate mass unemployment and degrading poverty, compared to their western fellow citizens, without a social explosion and political radicalization? How much can living standards in the west be cut—through government austerity and the effect of the worst economic slump since WW II—without encountering serious working-class resistance? The puhlic workers strike that Kohl provoked in May 1992 was a foretaste of real class struggle.

At the same time, the German nationalism and economic strains of the Fourth Reich have also provided a fertile soil for the growth of fascism, with Nazi skinheads killing and terrorizing dark-skinned immigrants and asylum seekers. In March local elections in the western state of Hesse, the Republikaner party—led by a veteran of the Nazi SS—and other fascist parties got around 10 percent of the vote.

The growing fascist danger has produced a strong defensive response in German society. A new generation of radical youth have come of age in battles to defend immigrants and asylum seekers against Nazi terrorists and also government attacks. More fundamentally, the most powerful and best organized industrial proletariat in Europe—including millions of Turks, Kurds, South Slavs and other non-Germans—could crush the Nazi scum like stepping on an eggshell. The decisive missing factor is revolutionary leadership. In Germany, France, Britain, Italy and throughout Europe, the sections of the International Communist League are campaigning for lahor/immigrant mobilizations to smash the fascists.

Fascism is an organic product of decaying capitalism, as large sections of the petty hourgeoisie and unemployed youth are driven to desperation and crazed hostility to the existing political order. The workers movement, under communist leadership, must demonstrate that it can reconstruct society, providing a decent life for all. And that cannot be achieved through "welfare state" reformism. As the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany wrote in an article on the recent metal worker strikes and protests in eastern Germany:

> "The destruction of entire industrial regions and millions of jobs is not the result of a 'false government policy,' but rather reflects the iron logic of decaying capitalism with its system of production for profit. Capitalism cannot be reformed, nor can parliament be forced to provide decent living standards: this system must be destroyed root and branch through workers revolution." ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Waco and the White House
First the Massacre, Now the Lies

Aydelotte/Waco Tribune Herald

MAY 4—As gloating FBI and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) agents and Texas Rangers raised the flags of the United States, the Lone Star state and the BATF over the burned rubble of the Branch Davidian compound outside of Waco, Texas, the government and media geared up a cover-up that would have made Nazi propagandist Goebbels jealous. This isn't "spin control," it's the Big Lie. Not even their grotesque attempts to blame their victims can cover up the stench of the horrendous crime that Bill Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno ordered on April 19.

Millions of TV viewers around the country and around the world watched in horror as the flames engulfed the Branch Davidian commune. Clinton and his cohorts could not erase this image, so instead they called it "mass suicide." To justify sending in tanks to ram and wreck the complex, pouring in massive amounts of potentially lethal CS gas, allowing the house and its inhabitants to burn to the ground while fire engines were deliberately kept away from the blaze, U.S. top cop Reno claimed the feds had to act because of "child abuse." From the blossoming Rose Garden, Clinton pontificated that "Mr. Koresh's response...was to destroy himself and murder the children who were his captives as well as all the other people."

Archambault/U.S. News & World Report

Mass murderers Attorney General Janet Reno and President Bill Clinton ordered assault on Waco compound which incinerated Branch Davidians.

No, they were all captives of this bloodthirsty government. *From the White House to the "Justice" Department and the FBI, those who perpetrated the massacre of 86 people, including 25 children, in Waco are mass murderers.*

The "final solution" of Waco, as we noted last issue, came directly in the wake of a massive police-state mobilization aimed at crushing in blood any protest around the verdict in last month's trial of four Los Angeles cops who beat black motorist Rodney King. The *New York Times* (21 April) confirms the direct link between the L.A. verdicts and the Waco assault: "Ms. Reno decided to approve the bureau's plan on Saturday evening, after a long meeting in her office with senior aides who had been euphoric and relieved over the verdicts earlier in the day in the Rodney King beating case."

When the Nazis herded millions of Jews into ghettos, boxcars and gas chambers, they obscenely claimed the Jews were "diseased." Now Clinton denounces Branch Davidian leader David Koresh as "dangerous, irrational and probably insane." Drawing up "personality profiles" of Koresh as a psychopath and sociopath, the "experts" use this verdict to justify state *murder*. Having launched the murderous February 28 raid, based on warrants that were only unsealed two months later, the feds declared the compound a free-fire zone because the inhabitants exercised their right of self-defense against the BATF stormtroopers.

Reno and Clinton say that Koresh was a religious nut, the Davidians were a crazed cult, and so, following the motto of the CIA's truly crazed mercenaries, they decided to "Kill 'em all, and let God sort 'em out!" Child abuse, guns, cultism—these are all cynical pretexts which have nothing to do with what happened on the morning of 19 April 1993. An authoritarian religious commune is not how most of us would choose to live our lives, but it's none of the state's business. The government decided that this tiny racially integrated religious group, which had done no harm to anybody and probably had fewer guns than half the households in Texas, deserved to die because they espoused "doctrines hostile to law enforcement and particularly the A.T.F." A top FBI official justified the slaughter, saying they "were thumbing their noses at the criminal justice system." Watch out, America—the government has announced its right to incinerate you in your home if you have "a bad attitude"!

We intend to sear the government's Waco holocaust into the memory of the working class. The Partisan Defense Committee, the class-struggle defense organization linked to the Spartacist League, denounced the Waco holocaust in a protest statement to Reno the same day:

> "The FBI and BATF agents had no right to be there in the first place. Now the government alibis this mass killing by

continued on page 10

Tom/Sygma | Syndication International | Tom/Sygma

Members of integrated Waco commune destroyed by government. Left: Rachael Howell and her children Syrus, 8, and Star, 6, all dead. Middle: Melissa Morrison, 6, dead. Right: Floracita Sonobe, 34, dead, with her daughter Angelica, who left compound on February 28.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 576 | 21 May 1993

Reformist Left Wallows in Democratic Party Swamp

The Clinton Quagmire

William Jefferson Clinton picked up where his predecessor Bush left off—bombing Iraq, locking up Haitians fleeing terror and poverty, demanding more "sacrifice" from workers, minorities and the impoverished as unemployment continues to soar. Now Clinton is talking of bombing Serbian positions in Bosnia and maybe even sending ground troops into the Balkan quagmire. Clinton and Attorney General Reno recently exacted the ultimate "sacrifice" from a small integrated religious sect in Waco. Yet from the moment Clinton emerged as the front-runner in the 1992 Democratic primaries, a host of supposed socialists clambered onto this yuppie racist's bandwagon. Now these fake-left "Friends of Bill" are clamoring for him to "keep his promises."

After 100 days in office, Clinton admits to being "out of focus," though increasing sectors of the bourgeoisie see the new administration as out to lunch. The *Economist* (10 April) bemoans "amateurishness" over Clinton's foreign policy misadventures. As for his campaign promises, Clinton has promised nothing but more pain and no gain for working people, minorities and the poor.

Clinton's message to the ghettos and barrios is drop dead, as he moves to slash nearly $100 billion in social benefits over the next four years, and proclaims "the end of welfare as we know it." For all the Clintons' talk of universal health care and occasional posturing against profit-gouging insurance companies, Clinton was in their hip pocket even before he got elected. His "managed competition" scheme is the brain child of insurance giants like Blue Cross and Prudential, who combined in an "Alliance for Managed Competition" last fall.

Clinton has more millionaire representatives of big business in his Cabinet than even Reagan and Bush had. His call for "equal sacrifice" spells higher taxes for the middle class and working people; his labor secretary Robert Reich is dead-set against any increase in the subpoverty-level minimum wage. Clinton's only sop to organized labor, the so-called "striker replacement bill" which would ban the hiring of *permanent* scabs, is in fact a corporatist measure designed to force all industrial disputes into mandatory arbitration.

The Mother's Day 1985 bombing of the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia was the signature of the Reagan years. Democrat Clinton waited only three months to etch his signature into the collective consciousness, with the coldblooded, televised incineration of 86 men, women and children in the Branch Davidian compound in Waco. With two Southern Baptists at the top of the administration, it's no surprise that they'd move to clean out an offbeat religious group in this Zion of the Texas Bible Belt. Clinton found himself an attorney general who was ready to go out and kill babies. So Reno "made her bones" at Waco.

To the downtrodden masses of the world—at home or abroad—the Democratic "lesser evil" represents no less murderous and oppressive a "New World Order" than its Republican predecessor.

Massacre in Waco, Saber Rattling over Bosnia

Ficara/Newsweek

Imperialist commander in chief Clinton greets troops returning from U.S. "humanitarian" invasion of Somalia.

Buying the "Death of Communism"

Twelve years of Reagan and Bush have taken such a toll on the ostensible American left that they have devalued even their standard nickel-and-dime reformist expectations of a Democrat in the White House. Tailing the Democrats is nothing new for these outfits, but in the old days it was done with a nudge and a wink and talk of "all out to fight the right." Now their support to the yuppie Dixiecrat in the White House is open and unabashed.

The Democratic (Party) Socialists of America (DSA), of course, called on their supporters to be "enthusiastic partisans of Clinton's victory." Even as the trial of the racist cops who beat Rodney King was becoming the launching point for a massive police-state buildup in Los Angeles, the Communist Party's *People's Weekly World* (27 February) declared that "The new administration marks a change in the struggle against racism because we will not be dealing with the Reagan-Bush open defense and promotion of racism, racist brutality and discrimination."

But what's new and noteworthy is that a number of left groups are closing up shop to become Democrats pure and simple. In the past year, the political landscape has been littered with a growing number of corpses of reformist groups and periodicals. When it came to communism or socialism, these outfits never walked the walk, but nowadays they don't even talk the talk.

Last July the *Guardian*, that self-proclaimed "independent radical newsweekly," ran a front-page fund appeal entitled "The Last Guardian?" Well, almost—it actually turned out to be the next to last. Following the November election, its social-democratic equivalent, *In These Times*, headlining "Opportunity Knocks" under a photo of Clinton, changed its format to suit its desired role as house organ of the new administration. They hope to follow in the footsteps of their mentor, DSA founder Michael Harrington, who hired on as an adviser to JFK. And at the time of the inauguration, the *Nation* proffered its radlib advice in a special issue of "Memos to Bill," yearning for "a new faith that government can help people's lives."

Among various self-styled communist groups, there was a stampede into oblivion. Gus Hall's Communist Party USA suffered a major split in late 1991, reducing it to an ossified sect as a whole layer of social-democratic elements split to form the red-white-and-blue "Committees of Correspondence" (CoC). A tiny Stalinist offshoot, the Communist Labor Party, dissolved itself this January, forming the equally true-blue American "National Organizing Committee." And the Marxist-Leninist Party, former cheerleaders for Albania's Enver Hoxha, is openly discussing whether to be or not to be. Meanwhile, the Fourth Internationalist Tendency, followers of Ernest Mandel, also bit the dust, with most of

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The Rise and Fall of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY

SEE PAGE 8

Pirkle Jones

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Free Mondo and Ed Poindexter!

On March 9 Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa (David Rice) appeared before the Nebraska parole board, which for the first time recommended that the Board of Pardons commute Mondo's life sentence to a term of a set number of years. This makes Mondo eligible for parole after 22 years in prison, framed up under the FBI's racist COINTELPRO vendetta against the Black Panther Party and its supporters.

Mondo and Ed Poindexter were Black Panther Party supporters and former leaders of the Omaha, Nebraska Committee to Combat Fascism. They were convicted of the 1970 killing of a cop in a bomb explosion on the perjured testimony of a scared 15-year-old, Duane Peak. After initially stating he acted alone in placing the bomb, Peak was threatened with the death sentence, and was offered a deal in which he pleaded guilty to juvenile delinquency in exchange for framing Mondo and Poindexter. Although Peak named four others as well, the prosecuting attorney, Art O'Leary, said he was only interested in Mondo and Poindexter. At a 1970 deposition O'Leary told Peak, "It doesn't make any difference what the truth is concerning you at all."

Five volumes of FBI COINTELPRO documents obtained through the Freedom of Information Act revealed that evidence was intentionally withheld because Omaha's deputy police chief believed it would be damaging to the prosecution. Among the withheld evidence was information concerning deals made between the prosecutors and Peak, as well as the tape recording of the phone call which brought the cops to the bomb site. A 1970 FBI memorandum baldly stated, "Assistant COP [chief of police] GLENN GATES, Omaha PD, advised that he feels that any use of tapes of this call might be prejudicial to the police murder trial against two accomplices of PEAK...."

Mondo is an award-winning writer and artist, and has a monthly column carried in the *Lincoln Journal*. Poindexter's case will be reviewed by the Parole Board in June. We urge readers to send letters now to the Board of Pardons, P.O. Box 94754, Lincoln, NE 68509-4754, calling for Mondo's immediate release. Write the Nebraska Parole Board, 801 W. Van Dorn Street, Lincoln, Nebraska 68522, to demand freedom for Ed Poindexter.

Nat Weinstein

Committee to Free Rice/Poindexter

Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa (David Rice), left, and Ed Poindexter, jailed supporters of the Black Panther Party.

Black Power and Class Power

TROTSKY

LENIN

In the mid-1960s, under the impact of the defeats of the civil rights movement in the North and disillusioned with the Kennedy-Johnson White House, black militants raised the slogan of "black power." Recognizing the potentially revolutionary impulse behind this slogan, our organization sought to link the black revolt against the "white power structure" to working-class struggle against the capitalist system. As against the radical nationalism then current among black militants, we raised the program of revolutionary integrationism, *the fight for black equality by the multiracial American working class under communist leadership.*

The adherents of "black power" are usually the most militant elements who have adopted the term partly because of its militant sound and partly because of its repugnance to white liberals. Thus the "black power" movement contains a number of radical points and methods which have caused the bourgeois press to shower vicious abuse on it. Some "black power" advocates profess to reject middle-class values and desire to serve "human" values; they generally favor independent political action such as the Black Panther Party in Lowndes County; they see the connection between the Negro struggle at home and anti-imperialist struggles abroad, as in SNCC's recent statement on Viet Nam; and they discuss the use of armed self-defense against racist terror. In short, the "black power" movement is raising questions whose answers lie *outside* the framework set up by the capitalist class.

However, as yet the movement has not become consciously anti-capitalist. It has rejected what it knows as liberalism but is unsure of how to go further. Lacking a conscious orientation towards the working class, and constantly surrounded by bourgeois propaganda, the movement may yet fall prey to bourgeois politicians with radical phrases or else become hopelessly isolated and demoralized....

The victory of the socialist revolution in this country will be achieved through the united struggle of black and white workers under the leadership of the revolutionary vanguard party. In the course of this struggle unbreakable bonds will be forged between the two sections of the working class. The success of the struggle will place the Negro people in a position to insure at last the end of slavery, racism and super-exploitation.

—"Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom," *Spartacist* supplement, May-June 1967

Supreme Court Murder

At 4:39 a.m. on May 12, Mexican American Leonel Herrera was injected with lethal chemicals. Ten minutes later he was dead—a "legal" state murder that exemplifies the bloody injustice of America's Halls of Justice. Three months earlier on January 25, the Supreme Court declared that new evidence of his innocence did not entitle Herrera to a hearing before execution. In his final statement Herrera insisted, "I am an innocent man and something very wrong is taking place tonight."

The Rehnquist court had already pronounced Herrera dead in February of last year, when it agreed to hear his appeal but refused to stay the execution. If a state court had not intervened to issue a stay, Herrera's body would have been long cold before the Supreme Court ever decided whether or not he had a right to a new hearing! Happy to put the nails in the coffin they built for Herrera over a year ago, Rehnquist & Co. rejected four late-hour appeals in Herrera's final hours.

With legal constraints disappearing and bipartisan legislatures expanding the list of crimes punishable by death, the death toll grows higher each year. Thirty-one people were executed in the U.S. last year, the greatest number since 1962. With Clinton in the White House the death row speedup has accelerated, with executioners churning out corpses at nearly one a week. Already next week, the state of Texas has scheduled the execution of another Mexican American, Pedro Solis Sosa.

Just hours before Herrera was executed, the PDC sent the following protest to Governor Ann Richards:

"The case of Leonel Herrera is particularly infamous. It is with this case that the state of Texas insists that it has the right to execute even those who are innocent. In a blood-curdling decision the Supreme Court agreed, ruling that new evidence which may prove his innocence is not grounds for a new trial. Even Justice Blackmun has called this 'perilously close to simple murder.'

"The Mexican government among others has protested the scheduled execution. Mr. Herrera's case illustrates once again the racist nature of the death penalty. Mexican American Leonel Herrera was tried by a jury which included a police detective who had investigated the case, and friends and relatives of the dead police officers. Poor and Hispanic, like many of those on death row, Mr. Herrera was pronounced dead by the Texas judicial system as soon as he walked into that courtroom eleven years ago—so the state of Texas sees no need to consider new evidence of his innocence now.

"Texas harbors a sordid history of innocent men on death row who only through desperate luck were able to escape excruciating and horrifying death. We have only to mention Randall Dale Adams and Clarence Brandley, who even now the state is vindictively pursuing for child support he couldn't pay during his nine years on the Row.

"The coals have barely cooled outside of Waco, and bodies of still more victims remain to be shoveled into bags. Yet the state of Texas along with the federal government continues to feed the judicial machinery of death.

Leonel Herrera

"The Partisan Defense Committee demands: Stop the execution of Leonel Herrera!"

Around the world, opponents of the barbaric, racist death penalty are rallying to the call to save death row political prisoner and former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal. To join the campaign for Jamal we urge readers to contact the PDC.

* * *

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. You can aid the program to support class-war prisoners and other activities by becoming a monthly sustainer. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 576 **21 May 1993**

On the Communalist War in Bosnia

Dear Editor:

I have been reading *WV* for many years (almost 20) and must comment about your coverage of ex-Yugoslavia. I believe that there are some unexplained inconsistencies in *WV*'s position concerning the conflict. To begin with, unless the bourgeois press is completely overestimating the danger of annihilation of the Bosnians, shouldn't the Spartacist League be in favor of self-defense of the Bosnians? At what point will the Spartacist League be in favor of military support to the Bosnians? The press never seems to report Bosnian atrocities against other populations, it is true, but militarily it looks evident that the Bosnians are definitely the weaker force.

I'm writing this April 24, and it may be that tomorrow the U.S. will bomb the Serbs or let the Bosnians have arms. Nevertheless, this does not put an end to the practical questions I am trying to raise in this letter. Marxists can't politically support nationalists, either the Serbs or the Bosnians. It could change tomorrow, and the Bosnians, with U.S. support, could do to the Serbs what everybody else is doing to them. But for at least a year now it seems to me that one has to be a bit of an ostrich not to see that the Bosnians are getting the worst of it.

Isn't Bosnia looking more and more like the situation with the Ibo tribe in Nigeria—Biafra? Wasn't the Marxist position no political support to nationalism but in cases where whole populations are being threatened with extinction Marxists extend military support to defend the beleaguered population? The Spartacist League had a (retrospective) position of support for Hebrew workers in 1949, didn't it, because the SL believed (erroneously) that the Jews were in danger of being thrown into the sea? The SL supported the Hebrew workers militarily even though there was no working class political axis to support and Jewish terrorists were indiscriminately killing Palestinians. The reason for abandoning this position was new evidence that Hebrew workers were not under any real threat of extinction at the time. Nevertheless, the logic of the SL position, extending military support for populations under threat of extinction, still holds, does it not? The support for the Hebrew workers in 1949 was done despite the fact that imperialist intentions in the area supported Israel.

On the other hand, no such military support was extended by the SL to the Greeks living on Cyprus when Turkey invaded. Is it because the Turks made it known they were after only half of the island? What would have happened if they decided to annihilate the Greeks?

In the U.S. the SL has a position of supporting armed self-defense of blacks threatened by the Klan. Is this position only for the U.S.? Isn't self-defense a basic democratic right? It applies to Alabama in the 1960's but not to Bosnia in the 1990's?

It is obvious to anyone who reads the papers that the main reason the Bosnians are being slaughtered is because they don't have the arms necessary for defense. The SL has a very well-defined position against gun control. Relatively speaking, gun control is in effect in Bosnia. They can't defend themselves. Everyone else can. Does this mean that the SL position against gun control applies only to the U.S. and not anywhere else in the world?

From where I sit the SL has a problem with this and I really would like to see something cogent written about this in your press. In a military conflict like this an arms embargo is a death sentence. How will it serve the working class if the Bosnians are slaughtered because the SL has a position concerning interpenetrated peoples and there is no side to choose? Why is the SL blurring the distinction between military support and political support in this instance? Does this represent some sort of pacifism?

A Reader

WV replies: In our last issue (*WV* No. 575, 7 May), the front-page article "U.S./NATO Hands Off the Balkans!" restated and explained our position: "Revolutionary Marxists take no sides in the bloody communalist/nationalist wars ripping apart the former Yugoslavia as an outcome and motor of capitalist counterrevolution." The bourgeois media, in contrast, have been whipping up sentiment for U.S. intervention by harping on the theme of supposed Serbian "genocide" against "the Bosnians." "A Reader" premises his arguments on this war propaganda. Nevertheless, the questions raised are worth answering.

Adapted from (London) Independent Map

In the first place, Bosnia is not a nation and there is no Bosnian nationality. As a province in the Ottoman and then Habsburg empires, Bosnia was a region of three very closely related South Slavic peoples who became thoroughly intermingled in the course of many centuries. Forty-five percent of the population in this former Yugoslav republic are Slavic Muslims, a third are Serbs and 17 percent are Croats, all speaking the same language (Serbo-Croatian). No region within Bosnia is close to being ethnically homogeneous. Even the border areas with the greatest concentrations of Serbs and Croats had large Muslim minorities.

A resolution adopted by our party in 1974 stated: "the democratic issue of self-determination for each of two nationalities or peoples who geographically interpenetrate can only conceivably be resolved equitably within the framework of the proletariat in power" (quoted in "Birth of the Zionist State: A Marxist Analysis, Part 2," *WV* No. 45, 24 May 1974). This referred to the situation of the Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples in Israel and is equally relevant to the case of Greeks and Turks in Cyprus, also cited by the writer. Under capitalism, attempts by one of any such interpenetrated peoples to consolidate a nation-state will inevitably be at the cost of the other(s), whether in the form of forced population transfers, military occupation or other kinds of oppression.

With the breakup of the Yugoslav bureaucratically deformed workers state, the Bosnian Muslims in April 1992 declared Bosnia independent of what was now a de facto Greater Serbian state. The Serbs and Croats rejected being minorities in a Muslim-dominated statelet and fought to attach regions they dominated to Serbia and Croatia. Under bourgeois-nationalist leadership, the division of Bosnia under the guise of self-determination has necessarily led to massacres and brutal population transfers, now called "ethnic cleansing." This is a war for territory. It is of no concern to the contending nationalists whether those they are trying to push out live or die—they just want them somewhere else. To compare this to the Nazi Holocaust (the current refrain of the Western media) is to diminish Nazi genocide, which was aimed at *completely exterminating* Jews, Gypsies and other "*Untermenschen*" (subhumans).

The Montenegrin liberal Aleksa Djilas, unlike Western liberals who scream "genocide," proposes a bourgeois-democratic solution for the three contending peoples:

> "The solution to the Bosnian tragedy is therefore division into three units: Muslim, Serbian and Croatian. Serbian and Croatian units should be allowed to join Serbia and Croatia respectively. Of course, the Muslim unit, situated in central Bosnia, should be much larger than at the moment either Serbs or Croats are ready to accept."
>
> —*New York Times*, 16 April

However, the bourgeois-nationalist leadership of the Muslims, too, is unwilling to accept the democratic rights of the other two peoples.

Right now the Muslims are, as "A Reader" puts it, "getting the worst of it." But if the Milosevic regime in Serbia, under pressure from the Western imperialists, cuts off support to the Bosnian Serb militias and if the Muslim army receives heavy weaponry as Clinton favors, the military balance of force can quickly be reversed. In that case the Muslim army will move to retake the land they've lost, driving out the Serbs and Croats in their own version of "ethnic cleansing."

Our reader draws an analogy between the Bosnian Muslims and the Ibos in the Nigerian civil war of 1967-69, when we gave military support to the Biafran army. Wherein lies the difference? Nigeria was (and is) a neocolonial state cobbled together by British imperialism from among ethnically diverse and geographically separated peoples. At the time of the Biafra secession in mid-1967, the nine million Ibos of Nigeria were concentrated in the Eastern Region. An independent Biafran state in no way meant oppression of the Hausas of the Northern Region or the Yoruba of the Western Region. The Hausa-dominated Nigerian Federal Army aimed to subjugate the Ibos, and killed at least two million people to force the surrender of the Biafran army.

Rather than Nigeria, the situation in Bosnia more closely resembles Lebanon or Northern Ireland (Ulster), where attempts to find a bourgeois solution to the "national question" among interpenetrated peoples, ethnic and religious groupings have resulted in decades-long bloody and intractable conflict.

In arguing for military support to the Bosnian Muslims, our reader also appeals to the democratic right of individuals or small communities to defend themselves against violent attack. The analogy of blacks attacked by Klansmen in the American South has no bearing on what is happening in Bosnia. The combatants there are not isolated villagers and local bands of racist terrorists. They are *armed forces*, numbering in the tens of thousands, linked to and supported by two newly formed bourgeois states (Serbia and Croatia) and a bourgeois proto-state (Muslim Bosnia).

Likewise, the issue of the international arms embargo has nothing to do with providing the civilian population with small arms. There are plenty of AK-47s and other automatic rifles in Bosnia. The Muslim leaders want to acquire heavy weaponry like artillery and tanks for their army. We are not for the imperialist arms embargo, but to agitate for lifting the arms embargo is tantamount to giving military support to the Bosnian Muslim army, which, should it gain the upper hand, would wreak vengeance on the Serbs and Croats. This is *not* a progressive solution.

Refusing to support one side militarily in this all-sided ethnic butchery is hardly "pacifism." As we wrote in the last issue of *WV*: "Trotskyists fight to build proletarian-internationalist communist parties that will wage uncompromising struggle against all forms of nationalism, and put an end to 'ethnic cleansing' once and for all in a Socialist Federation of the Balkans." ■

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Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

For a National Coal Strike!

CHICAGO, May 17—Two thousand coal miners walked off the job at a handful of mines in Illinois and Indiana a week ago in what United Mine Workers (UMW) president Richard Trumka called "strategic, selective strikes" against the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). During a tour of the striking UMW locals last week, Trumka blustered that all 60,000 miners covered by the expired contract might end up on strike if the bosses didn't "come to their senses." But he quickly added, "I hope that doesn't happen."

A national UMW coal strike is urgently needed *now!* By striking only Amax, Zeigler and Arch Minerals, Trumka is playing the bosses' game, calling out a tiny fraction of the union while the rest of the BCOA outfits replace the lost profits of the handful of struck companies. In Boone County, West Virginia, "Trumka" and "selective strike" are curses—these miners went out during February, before being ordered back without a contract by the UMW chief. And now, after a 60-day contract extension, another set of UMW locals are left to go it alone.

The *Chicago Tribune* (11 May) gloated that "Analysts doubted whether the limited strike would have much effect on the nation's slumping coal industry because of the ample amounts of stored coal at mines and utilities." UMW members must *stop the flow of coal* to cut off all the mine owners' profits. This means demanding that union rail, barge and longshore workers "hot-cargo" (refuse to handle) all coal shipments. It also means sending *roving pickets* to shut down unstruck and non-union mines, like miners did during the great coal strike of 1977-78.

Then there were 18,500 miners producing almost 60 million tons of coal in Illinois. Now only 8,830 workers mine the same amount of coal. Less than 30 percent of coal mined in the U.S. today is from UMW-organized pits. BCOA operators use "double breasting," the opening of non-union subsidiaries, to wipe out hundreds of UMW jobs. Scores of miners die each year in miserably paid jobs at non-union mines from West Virginia to Illinois. These are the fruits of 20 years of pro-Labor Department "reformers" in the UMW, from Arnold Miller to Trumka. In fact, Trumka's 1988 contract *encourages the coal bosses to shut down union mines*, as they are only required to hire three out of every five miners from the ranks of the UMW.

As the companies' labor costs per ton plummet and worker output soars, Trumka pleads, "We are simply asking that...UMWA members get a fair share of the new jobs they helped create through their hard work." But the profit-hungry coal barons aren't interested in Trumka's pipe dream of "cooperation." Not appeals to the bosses, but *union power* is the key to reversing the bosses' attacks on labor. The UMW must launch an aggressive organizing drive based on militant action: mass pickets, secondary boycotts, sitdown strikes. The first step today is a solid UMW strike against the whole BCOA and its "independent" satellites.

Greyhound: A "Model" of Betrayal

Their strikes were a symbol of the 1980s—*twice* Greyhound drivers, mechanics and clericals struck against a company intent on wiping out the union. The first strike, in 1983, was marked by a huge outpouring of support from unionists across the country—and by the grotesque betrayal of the union tops who hung the strikers out to dry for 47 days. The second strike against Fred Currey, the archetypical corporate raider, began on March 2, 1990. The 9,000 strikers endured hundreds of arrests, RICO charges, injunctions, jail sentences and even the murder of picket Robert Waterhouse in Redding, California. But again they were sacrificed to class collaboration, amid consumer boycotts, empty "solidarity" rallies and appeals to the capitalist state to "outlaw" scabbing—the kind of "militant" window-dressing specialized in by NYC Local 1202 head (and Workers World darling) Harold Mendelowitz—as the strike was frittered away.

Now, *after more than three years*, the AFL-CIO bureaucrats in Washington, and their reformist toadies like the Communist Party's *People's Weekly World*, are proclaiming "Victory for Greyhound Strikers!" On April 20, Amalgamated Transit Union president James La Sala called the *six-year* contract "a model for labor-management relations in our country." It's a model all

WV Photo

Greyhound union militants in San Francisco stop scab bus at 1990 rally to honor labor martyr Robert Waterhouse.

right—for betrayal. Of the 9,000 strikers, *550* will be recalled to work—alongside the scabs who took their jobs and have been given superseniority. (Another 1,500 strikers had already gone back, most after union sanctions against returning to work were lifted last May.) Many strikers charged for strike activities are still being targeted by the capitalist courts, including driver Roger Carthwa, who is facing a second trial in Connecticut.

The much-ballyhooed $22 million in back wages to settle ATU labor board charges is less than one-tenth of what the company was liable for. One financial analyst bragged that the settlement was of "no cost to the company," while it guaranteed labor peace through 1998. It is not surprising that even after three years out of work, 43 percent of the strikers voted to throw this back in the ATU bureaucrats' face.

In 1990 we warned that "the Greyhound strikers are being set up as the next 'strike martyrs' by the cynical and cowardly union bureaucracy." Rather than looking to Democratic Party mayors, governors, Congressmen and now the president—who are one and all enemies of the workers—there must be a fight to forge a class-struggle leadership fighting for a revolutionary workers party and a workers government. The working class will not forget the pro-capitalist traitors who engineered this bitter defeat—nor the cheerleaders of the reformist left who greased the skids for them.

Labor Must Come to the Aid of Bessemer, Alabama Strikers!

ATLANTA, May 16—Combative Steelworkers at Trinity Industries have been on strike for eight months, defending their health benefits and the very existence of the union at the Bessemer, Alabama rail car plant. The more than 500 strikers, members of United Steelworkers Local 9226, have stayed solid, refusing to buckle to the company's demand that they abandon 57 workers fired for defending their picket lines. More than 30 strikers face frame-up charges in the bosses' courts. Now Trinity is threatening to close the plant on June 3, and is already removing machinery from the factory and moving work to its other plants.

At a March 6 "solidarity" rally dominated by the USWA tops, a striker angrily told *WV* that if the strikers "had kept doing what we did in October, the strike would have been over in a week." He was referring to the mass picket which toppled the guard towers of the company goons and shut the plant down tight. But the USWA tops, echoed by the misnamed *Militant* newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party, hailed the strike-breaking injunctions handed down by a local judge. As one striker told the International reps, "You guys are telling us to cool out. You're drawing $60,000 a year—I'll take the $60,000, you walk the line, then I'll cool out."

Birmingham labor, especially steel workers and coal miners, must come to the aid of the integrated Trinity strikers with mass pickets and a plant occupation to keep the machinery in Bessemer. Led by black and white Communists, steel workers used the sitdown tactic to win a dramatic CIO victory in Birmingham in 1936. Trinity employs 10,000 other workers at scores of plants across the U.S., including one organized by the UAW in Greenville, Pennsylvania which has worked throughout the Bessemer strike. On the strength of a militant sitdown, Bessemer strikers can appeal over the heads of the UAW bureaucrats for other Trinity workers to back their strike *in action*. Trinity recently signed a big contract to deliver 150 rail cars to Burlington Northern by July. Railroad workers must hot-cargo Trinity products! A victory in this battle in the "Pittsburgh of the South" would be a spur to organizing integrated labor throughout the open-shop South.

Victory to Jersey Supermarket Strikers!

MAY 17—United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local 1262 is locked in a battle with supermarket bosses across northern New Jersey and counties north of New York City. *The* issue for the workers, many of whom earn only $6.00 an hour for part-time work, is defending their health care benefits. As the strike by Local 1262 spread to 58 stores last weekend, the employers responded by locking out workers at another 72 stores. The 28,000-strong local, mainly women and minorities, represents workers at 312 Shop Rite, Grand Union, Pathmark and Food Town stores in New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania. It is the largest private-sector union in New Jersey.

Workers had been without a contract since April 10, but the UFCW didn't pull anyone out until May 7. As the strike spread and lockouts mounted, the union tops let the bosses order union workers to train the same scabs who were to replace them! Despite a federal court injunction limiting pickets to four, and heavy intimidation and harassment by cops and rent-a-goons, the spirited strikers have received widespread support

Ibarra/Jersey Journal

Picketing New Jersey grocery workers protest lockout by Pathmark bosses.

from workers in the community. When a *WV* sales team joined the picket line, a striker with the bullhorn chanted "What do you get when you have a class-struggle strike?" and the pickets yelled "Victory!"

But the union bureaucrats' reliance on a consumer boycott is a dead end—instead the power of labor must be mobilized through secondary boycotts and strikes. Right now, Teamster drivers are "observing" the picket lines by leaving their trucks outside the stores to be unloaded. This is playing by the bosses' rules. UFCW strikers: Throw up pickets at the warehouses and shut down all 312 stores now! Victory to the supermarket strikers!

Airline Unionists: Don't Let Kitchen Workers Be Thrown to the Wolf!

SAN FRANCISCO, May 8—More than 1,000 unionists rallied at the San Francisco International Airport today to protest United Airline's threatened layoff of kitchen

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East German Metal Strikers in Uproar Over "Compromise" Deal

BERLIN, May 18—For the last two weeks, some 40,000 east German metal and steel workers have been on strike against the bosses' tearing up of a 1991 pay agreement which would have raised wages to 82 percent of west German levels on April 1. After two months of demonstrations and "warning strikes," the IG Metall union called unlimited walkouts in Saxony and the Baltic coast state of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern at the beginning of May. In spite of 50 percent unemployment in the east and even more in the metal sector, workers voted overwhelmingly (85-90 percent) to strike. The bourgeois media noted that fighting sentiment was surprisingly strong.

Striking metal workers block scab trucks at Henningsdorf steel plant outside Berlin. East German strikes must be spread to West where Ruhr steel workers have protested closures and layoffs (above).

At first the head of the employers association, Gesamtmetall, blustered that the union "can strike until it's dead if it wants." But when a vote for a full strike was held in the other east German states, posing the prospect of 350,000 workers in the streets, suddenly a "pilot deal" was struck under the supervision of the Christian Democratic prime minister of Saxony. Wages would gradually rise to 80 percent of the western level by the end of the year, and parity would be delayed until 1996. "Hardship" clauses could delay that until 1997 or allow companies to drop out, while formally maintaining a region-wide contract. Nothing is said of the real hardships faced by east German workers, of course.

Overall, various escape clauses amount to a whopping 6 *billion* D-marks ($3.9 billion) lifted from the workers' pockets to fill the bosses' coffers. East German metal workers are understandably enraged. This comes after their bitter experience with Chancellor Kohl's vote-hustling lie in the 1990 East German elections, that reunification would soon produce a "blooming landscape." Instead capitalism has brought with it a wasteland of shut-down industry, mass joblessness and rightist terror. So while strikers in Saxony voted to accept the deal, steel workers have turned down the pact, and metal workers in Brandenburg angrily denounced the "pilot sellout" and "shit compromise."

When comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) went to the giant Hennigsdorf works yesterday, the steel strike was solid and a warning strike and rally had been called at the locomotive plant. Today another warning strike was called and buses took several hundred Hennigsdorf workers to Berlin where they besieged the negotiators. The German ruling class is worried that this struggle, the first major strike in the east since capitalist reunification, and indeed in the last 60 years, could "get out of hand" and become a lightning rod for rampant discontent, leading to a generalized class upsurge.

What the bosses fear most of all is an extension of the strike to the core sectors of the industry in the west. In February and March, steel workers and coal miners repeatedly demonstrated in the Ruhr, and last week Mercedes Benz workers in Stuttgart staged a wildcat two-hour work stoppage. IG Metall chief Franz Steinkühler has been careful to limit action in the west to symbolic gestures. But now his credibility has been shot down by reports that as a member of the board of Daimler-Benz he gleaned 100,000 D-marks from insider stock purchases!

Noting that amid a capitalist economic crisis, with mass layoffs and plant shutdowns, isolated strikes cannot achieve much, a May Day leaflet by the SpAD headlined "Metal, Steel, Mines: Full Strike Now, East and West!" and emphasized "Workers Must Fight for Power!" It called for solid picket lines and elected strike committees. The leaflet denounced the treacherous role of the Social Democracy in collaborating with Kohl's wage-gouging, job-slashing offensive, including the call by SPD leader Björn Engholm (who has since resigned in another scandal) for a "second labor market"—i.e., a low-wage region—in the east:

> "Down with Kohl/Engholm/Steinkuhler's 'solidarity pact,' which is being used to frontally attack the working class. Extending the struggles from the strategic metal sector to the militant public workers could lead to a general strike against the capitalist regime."

The public workers strike in May 1992, while ultimately sold out by the ÖTV union tops, shook the Kohl government. Throughout Europe, as the counterrevolutionary wave has swept the east, the imperialist bourgeoisies have launched a broad attack, hitting in particular immigrants and minorities, women and children, the sick and elderly. From Rome to London to Frankfurt, the capitalists want to put an end to the social benefits of the postwar "welfare state," and drive the standard of living of the working class down to the lowest level. German industrialists, paying an average of $26 an hour in wages and benefits, increasingly threaten to move production to low-wage areas like Czechoslovakia, Mexico...or the U.S.

Such a full-scale capitalist offensive can only be fought by a determined class-struggle mobilization of the workers. But the social-democratic union misleaders are wedded to the bourgeois state through the institutionalized class collaboration of the "German model" ("co-determination," union-management "plant councils," etc.). Seeking to prevent a linkup by the combative east German workers, who are far less under the thumb of the SPD, with the economic power of the west German workers, Steinkühler uses every opportunity to whip up anti-Communism. On April 24 in Leipzig he railed against "60 years of dictatorship"—grotesquely equating the DDR with Hitler's Third Reich—but none of the workers applauded. They see around them the devastating results of the destruction of the bureaucratically deformed East German workers state.

Having sold out the DDR to the Frankfurt bankers, the social democrats of the second mobilization of the ex-Stalinist PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism) are likewise pushing a class-collaborationist "solidarity pact"—as in 1990, they just want to bargain for "better" terms for the sellout. Even as metal workers were protesting the "pilot deal," on Saturday the PDS' *Neues Deutschland* (15 May) trumpeted a "breakthrough" in the conflict, a "partial victory" making it possible for the strike to be "set aside." But by Monday they discovered that "new hurdles" to an agreement had "surprisingly appeared."

Steinkühler & Co. also seek to divide workers from their class brothers and sisters internationally, pushing German nationalism in the form of protectionist poison. But no "German steel concept" will save the tens of thousands of jobs that are now on the chopping block in the Europe-wide steel crisis. That will require instead, as the SpAD said in its leaflet, "workers revolution bringing about real internationalist economic planning in the framework of a Socialist United States of Europe."

The key to victory lies in uniting all sectors of the proletariat around a revolutionary program. As the SpAD leaflet noted:

> "In particular, the militant Turkish and Kurdish workers, who are strategic to west German industry and have few illusions in the pro-capitalist ideology of the SPD, are on the front lines in strikes. The fight against layoffs must be linked to defense of immigrant workers. Militant strike committees and strike pickets can also be the basis for defense of immigrant worker and refugee hostels and form the core of a future workers militia....
>
> "The growing fascist attacks, which have escalated on the basis of the German nationalism and devastating economic destruction produced by counterrevolution, have also produced strong resistance. A new generation of radical youth has taken to the streets to defend immigrants and refugees against the Nazi terrorists and attacks by the state. The most powerful and best-organized working class in Europe can be mobilized and crush the Nazi scum like stepping on an eggshell. But here again, the decisive factor is a revolutionary leadership, which as a tribune of all the exploited and oppressed links the struggles of minorities, women and youth with the class struggle of the workers." ■

Berlin, April 7: Spartakist Workers Party protests deportation of "foreign" workers from Germany, demands full citizenship for all immigrants.

Cordula Kropke

Der Spiegel

German women ministers at Croatian nationalist meeting in Zagreb: looking to the Bundeswehr to "pacify" Bosnia.

Fourth Reich Feminists for Blitzkrieg in the Balkans

The following article is translated from Spartakist *No. 103 (May 1993), published by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).*

Daily the imperialists are beating the drums louder for intervention in the Balkans. The Bonn government sends off a "humanitarian" Afrikakorps to Somalia, and Bundeswehr troops man AWACS planes as spotters to bomb Serb positions. U.S. president Clinton calls for air strikes and prepares an expeditionary force of 50,000-plus troops to Bosnia. But now there is something new on the Western front: the feminists and Greens are in the first row beating the drums for the imperialist warmongers. Already during the Persian Gulf War, [German chancellor Helmut] Kohl commanded: no "anti-Americanism," and in the very next "antiwar" marches demonstrators carried "We Are Not Anti-American" signs—until the bombing started, whereupon the demonstrations stopped completely. Even some ostensible leftists supported the carpetbombing of the Iraqi population in the name of defending Israel. But now petty-bourgeois "progressives" and erstwhile pacifists have become the *advance guard* in the imperialist drive to send German troops back to the front.

In a debate moderated by *Der Spiegel* (1 February), the Green leader in the Hamburg parliament, Conny Jürgens, attacked retired Luftwaffe general Manfred Opel (of the Social Democratic Party, SPD) for rejecting the Greens' call for military intervention (made in common with such champions of "human rights" as Prince Oskar of Prussia and Prince Ferdinand von Bismarck): "But when the chips are down, then you chicken out, Herr General." She also demanded that "UN troops should be deployed almost as policemen" in the Balkans. A "police action" is what they called the "UN" (in reality U.S.) war in Korea in 1950-53, that killed *six million Koreans*. But Jürgens et al. are pushing for the deployment of *German* troops, for the Fourth Reich to take up where the Third failed even after the massacre of 1,700,000 Slavs in Yugoslavia: "Precisely because of their old guilt the Germans have a special obligation.... The Bundeswehr should participate in such pacification measures." Now their slogan is "Make peace with arms."

The bloc of the Green "Realos" and feminists includes such prominent figures as NDR (North German Radio) Hannover boss Lea Rosh, Rupert Neudeck (of Radio Germany and the "human rights" group Cap Anamur), Claudia Roth, Waltraud Schoppe, Ralf Fücks and Daniel Cohn-Bendit (known as "Danny the Red" in 1968 and now the Frankfurt city government official in charge of multicultural affairs). Roth, too, calls for using "semi-'police' possibilities for intervention" to disarm the Serbs and try their leaders as war criminals. Greens such as Eva Quistorp, a European parliament delegate, called last year for the UN to bomb Serbian airports and arms factories. And Neudeck, who has made some of the most strident statements on mass rapes, said straight out in January, "What do we have an army for if we don't want to use it?"

The "alternative" *tageszeitung* also knows which side it's on as interimperialist rivalries sharpen, writing on April 17: "Unfortunately hardly any notice is taken in the German public that the construction of a Greater Serbia is by no means encountering disapproval in France and Great Britain, particularly in light of the fact that Germany's increased influence in Eastern Europe is regarded with suspicion...."

The battle cry the feminists have taken up here is mass rape by Serbian forces in Bosnia. There is no doubt that there have been horrifying attacks on non-Serb women, particularly by so-called "Chetnik" bands; as their models they look back to the Serb royalists who fought against the Communist Partisans in World War II. Thousands of women have been raped, concentration camps have been set up; there have been brutal mass population transfers. But the feminists and Greens are exploiting the issue of widespread rape for even more obscene purposes. Posing as "humanitarians" they are using it as an ideological club to morally rearm the Fourth Reich and prepare the German population for sending in the Bundeswehr.

To that end, on February 6 a conference of some 600 women met in Zagreb, retailed as "International Women's Solidarity" but demanding military intervention to stop the rapes in Bosnia. It was organized by Lea Rosh, whose feminist rhetoric also earns her a sympathetic hearing in *taz*. In TV talk shows, Rosh, who specializes in "coming to grips with the past," has been urging "reunited Germany" to own up to its "responsibility" and stop hiding "in the shadow of the past."

AP

Evacuation of Bosnian Muslims fleeing Srebrenica. German imperialists precipitated bloody breakup of Yugoslavia.

Look at the rogues' gallery of German-nationalist politicians they invited. Rosh bragged on SAT-1 TV, "We are going to Zagreb...with a lot of German women ministers." Christian Democratic Bundestag president Rita Süssmuth was one of the sponsors. (Even Hillary Clinton sent a letter of greeting.) There was a bevy of SPD bigwigs including Herta Däubler-Gmelin, Regine Hildebrandt, Cornelia Schmalz-Jacobsen, and Greens such as Waltraud Schoppe and Eva Quistorp, one of the most rabidly militarist. There were Niedersachsen women ministers, an Austrian woman minister, and none other than Jutta Limbach (SPD), the rabid anti-Communist witch-hunting Berlin minister of "justice," jetting into Zagreb fresh after the flop of her show trial against former DDR head of state Erich Honecker.

From the beginning this orgy of bigotry was a Croatian war propaganda show. All Serbs were banned from attending. The conference couldn't agree on a declaration because the Croatians insisted that only the Serbs be named as guilty of rapes and "ethnic cleansing." When the *only* Serbian woman present (an opponent of the Milosevic regime) managed to sneak up to the microphone, over 100 Croatian women marched out—even though she also condemned *Serbian* soldiers.

What hypocrisy the Fourth Reich feminists show! The German sponsors and their parties were the ones who along with FDP foreign minister Genscher screamed "self-determination!" for Croatia and Slovenia, and pressured Bonn's European allies to back this, thereby dismembering Yugoslavia and igniting bloody ethnic war in the area. Then through "constitutional" racism they slashed the right of asylum in Germany, barricading the borders to the war's victims. Bonn has even required women to present *written proof they have been raped* before they can enter the country!

During World War II in Yugoslavia the populace, particularly women and minorities, knew that when Tito's Partisans with the red star came to town you were safe. In contrast, the Croatian Ustasha committed savage genocide against the Serbs. The Chetniks also did their own "ethnic cleansing," when they weren't busy killing Communists. Today in the Balkans, atrocities are being committed not only by the Serbian nationalists but by *all* sides; the truth, however, is not convenient in Bonn's vengeful policy against the Serbs.

Left and right, the press took up the imperialists' cry last summer about concentration camp conditions in Serbian POW camps, but the 40 similar camps known to be run by the Croatian nationalists were assiduously ignored. The feminists claim that 60,000 and more Bosnian Muslim women have been raped, basing these claims on Croatian ultranationalist women's organizations. In January 1992 a special Common Market commission of investigation declared that there were 20,000 cases, but their "evidence" too is shaky. Even Amnesty International has sharply criticized the extensive exploitation of the mass rape reports as a propaganda weapon.

In the March issue of *konkret* magazine, Horst Schneider trenchantly ex-

U.S. Feminists Beat Imperialist War Drums

Is there nothing the American feminist establishment won't do for Bill and Hillary Clinton and the bloody aims of the U.S. ruling class? As the new administration threatens to send bombs, guns and troops to the remnants of the former Yugoslav deformed workers state, some of the loudest war cries are coming from the liberal wing of the American capitalist class. And leading the charge are the imperialist feminists. Cheering on Attorney General Janet Reno, who proved by ordering mass murder in Waco that she can run the killing machine of domestic repression, now imperialist feminists are screaming "bombs away" over Bosnia.

Exploiting the hideous reports of mass rape and sexual brutality in Bosnia and Herzegovina, they're calling for the American jackboot to "save" the Bosnian Muslims from the terror of the Serbian nationalists. Feminist bookstores circulate form letters to Clinton calling for "strong, meaningful action,... NOW to protect the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina." Liberal *New York Times* columnist Anna Quindlen tags the Pentagon "the Rescuers" and calls for Bill Clinton to adopt "a clear mission, a clear plan" to do the "right thing" in Bosnia. Supposedly more militant feminist groups like the rad-lib Women's Action Coalition demand "a strengthened U.N. peacekeeping force" in the Balkans.

But the most grotesque of the feminist warmongers is lawyer Catharine MacKinnon, the queen of the anti-pornography witchhunt against sexual privacy over the past decade. Along with the National Organization for Women Legal Defense and Education Fund, MacKinnon has filed suit in a New York court against Serbian president Radovan Karadzic, charging him with ordering the widespread raping of Bosnian women as part of "ethnic cleansing." By calling on the court to issue an injunction against Karadzic, they're taking Washington's line that the U.S. has "supersovereignty" throughout the world...and establishing a "legal" pretext for U.S. military intervention, like Bush's invasion of Panama to get General Noriega.

In her zeal to mobilize the forces of U.S. imperialism, MacKinnon has been playing the numbers game on rape in the former Yugoslavia. She was reported in the *Washington Post* as putting "the total at more than 50,000 women and girls raped, and another 100,000 killed." Human Rights Watch executive director Aryeh Neier admonished, "Citing inflated numbers that are not based on firm evidence could depreciate the horror of the crimes if it turns out that 'only' 2,000 or 5,000 rape victims can be identified" (*Nation*, 1 March). In a January 1993 report, Amnesty International also cautions that:

> "the issue of the rape of women (and of other atrocities committed in the conflict) has been widely used as a propaganda weapon, with all sides minimizing or denying the abuses committed by their own forces and maximizing those of their opponents."

In a letter to the *Nation* (3 May) MacKinnon smears all concern for the truth of the matter as "ignoring rape" and shamelessly baits Neier: "After reading his column, would you report your rape to this man?"

But "men" are not the only ones raising questions. A letter in the rad-lib feminist *Off Our Backs* (May 1993) by Tanya Renne of the Center for Women in Zagreb, Croatia notes that MacKinnon is representing the Croatian nationalist women's group Kareta which focuses exclusively on Serbian war atrocities: "I understand the distinction MacKinnon is making between the Serbs who are raping systematically and 'ordinary war-rape,' MacKinnon does not, however, mention the fact that Croat and Muslim forces are engaging in this 'ordinary war-rape behavior'."

This issue of *Off Our Backs* has a 16-page pullout on "Serbia's War Against Bosnia and Croatia," which is one big call for U.S./UN intervention. The "left" wing notes that given the U.S.' "history of imperialism many of us instinctively cringe at the mention of intervention," but urges readers to "conceptualize the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina in feminist terms." This means sending arms to the Bosnian Muslim government and coming out for "just intervention" by "our government." But the bulk of the special pullout is on the attack by four Bosnian women's groups represented by MacKinnon on a tour on "Rape in War" sponsored by the Washington, D.C. women's group MADRE. Their central accusation is that MADRE didn't talk about "specifically genocidal rape" in Bosnia.

In attacking Neier, MacKinnon also talks of "genocidal" rape. Are she and her clients referring to killing of rape victims? Not at all, what they are referring to is "the forcible impregnation of non-Serbian women" in order "to produce what Serbs regard as 'chetnik' babies." The suffering of women subjected to the horrors of rape and other forms of sexual violence is not what concerns these ultra-nationalists—they're only concerned about what Southern segregationists called miscegenation, "race-mixing," or as Hitler called it "race polluting." (Rabid Croatian nationalists have also denounced Croatian feminist writer Slavenka Drakulic as a "witch" for lacking "a sufficiently nationalist world view," as shown by her having married Serb men!)

In addition to blatant racism, these latter-day Ustashi lionized by the imperialist feminists are virulent anti-communists. Kareta and the other Croatian nationalist women's groups also attack the MADRE tour for including speakers who were "empowered during the communist regime to speak for women," and one who wrote for a "Yugoslav pornography magazine" (she was another of those labeled "witches").

So German "pacifist" Greens, anti-Serb nationalists and the American feminist establishment (along with their rad-lib "sisters") are all looking to the agencies of international imperialism to save Bosnian women. NOW even called for sanctions by the IMF (International Monetary Fund), the hated international bankers' cartel which for decades has subjected hundreds of millions of the Third World poor to brutal starvation policies and which is now doing the same to the Soviet working people suffering the lash of counterrevolution.

The craven political services performed today by American feminists for the goals of imperialism underline yet again that feminism is a political movement of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois women whose "concern" extends only to removing barriers to their own success within this stinking capitalist society. With Hillary Rodham Clinton and Janet Reno basking in positions of power at the top levels of government, bourgeois feminist organizations like NOW and their frenzied attack dogs like MacKinnon exercise their new political clout by calling for bloody war by the most rapacious ruling class on the face of the earth. ■

no credit

Under protection of Nazi Wehrmacht, clerical-fascist Croatian Ustasha (above) massacred Serbs, Gypsies and Jews in World War II.

posed the militarist use to which the topic of mass rape in the former Yugoslavia has been put by the Greens and feminists. But *konkret* editors Gremliza and Schneider also beat the war drums for the U.S. "Desert Slaughter" and supported Israel. Now they complain that the Greens/feminists were silent then about the rape of Kuwaiti women by Saddam Hussein's troops—one of the "atrocities" invented by the mass media as imperialist war propaganda.

How is it that these "peace" movement veterans are now the hawks? In the later '70s and early '80s the strengthened German imperialists strove to undermine the workers states *economically*. That was the point of the SPD's *Ostpolitik* (eastern policy) and the objective basis for the pro-imperialist "peace" movement in West Germany. Reflecting this shift the Greens and other "left" satellites of the SPD openly embraced resurgent German nationalism—in leftist coloration. These forces cheered everything that smelled of counterrevolution—from the SPD/church-supported "peace" movement in the DDR and clerical-reactionary Solidarność to the feudalist mujahedin "freedom fighters" in Afghanistan. (Today the plight of Afghan women at the mercy of the murderous Islamic fundamentalists interests them not at all.) And now that the Soviet deformed workers state is no more and German imperialism has been enormously strengthened by the capitalist counterrevolution, they are pressing for Germany to capture its "place in the sun" with blood and iron, corresponding to the dawning epoch of the "New World Order."

For congenitally anti-Soviet "left" nationalists, falling over themselves to step out of the "shadow of the past," the emotion-laden topic of mass rape is convenient as no other in touching a special nerve. The reports last fall of the mass rape of Muslim women in Bosnia "happened" to hit Germany just as feminist Helke Sander's anti-Soviet film came out about the rape of German women by the Red Army in World War II. What this means was explained by Neudeck in a TV panel discussion on January 23 moderated by Lea Rosh: "We are experiencing a terrible situation...the rape of an entire people." With his mother, grandmother and older sister, as a child "I really also experienced this terrible situation...of rape in Germany as well" (*konkret*, March 1993). For 12 years, Nazi propaganda minister Josef Goebbels deluged the German population with such filth about the "subhuman" Slavic "Ivan" who was out to "pollute" Aryan womanhood. Neudeck's picture of "history" rivals the vilest fascist "Bolshevik menace" posters with leering "Slavic" faces under the red star.

In one breathtaking blow Neudeck turns on its head the most barbaric epoch in human history. In this war *the Red Army smashed Hitler's Third Reich* and liberated Europe from the fascist nightmare—of *genocide and "ethnic cleansing"* through savage industrialized mass murder on a scale unparalleled in human history. The rapes committed by the Red Army were largely due to Stalin's nationalist policy and were fed by an elemental desire to get revenge for the scorched-earth destruction by Hitler's Operation Barbarossa. As is well known, Red Army officers shot soldiers for committing rape, in contrast to the policy of the imperialist Allies in the West.

The hostility of the Nazis' Croatian Ustashi allies—with death camps like Jasenovac, where the holocaust against the Serbs and Roma [Gypsies] was not mechanized but carried out by brute force—sickened even Hitler's officers. The Ustasha were smashed by the *Partisans under the command of Tito*. And this is the old score which a reunited German imperialism is out to settle with a little help from its feminist friends and peace movement graduates. ■

Cap Anamur: "Human Rights" Anti-Communists for Hire

One of the groups that has been most vociferous in demanding Western, particularly German, military intervention in Bosnia is the "Cap Anamur" emergency medical committee headed by Rupert Neudeck. The activities of this outfit are drawn together by a common thread of anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism. It was founded in 1979 with the aim of saving Vietnamese "boat people" and enjoyed the support of right-wing Bavarian leader Franz Josef Strauss. During the Reaganite '80s, Cap Anamur was active in Afghanistan. In Angola last year, it took on a new project: clearing mines, using former East German tanks donated by the Bundeswehr. (Of course, this operation, in which two Angolans were killed, consisted of clearing *government* mines, not those of the South African- and CIA-financed UNITA.)

In the former Yugoslavia, Cap Anamur has taken up the cause of raped women in Bosnia. Drawing on 30 million D-marks appropriated by the German federal government for treating the women victims and another 300,000 DM from the SPD-Green Niedersachsen state government, Neudeck's organization rented several houses in Croatia. But when the president of Germany's parliament, Christian Democrat Rita Süssmuth, traveled to one of these homes near Zagreb in January in order to hand over a check, according to the German leftist newspaper *Arbeiterkampf* (10 March), what she found was not rape victims but "40 armed and drunken Croatian soldiers." In their publicity, fundraising and "aid" campaigns, these "human rights defenders" are cat's paws for imperialist intervention.

The Rise and Fall of THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

A Revolutionary Marxist Analysis

Jeffrey Blankfort

We reprint below an abridged version of a talk given at a Spartacist educational in New York City on April 10, by Spartacist League Central Committee member Don Alexander.

One of the characteristics of a fighting revolutionary vanguard party is that, through its communist program, it serves as the memory of the struggles of the working class and oppressed. In this regard, a number of the racist criminals who were involved in the bloody suppression of the Panthers are busy trying to smash working people. Imperialist criminal Richard Nixon was one of the chief architects of the bloody campaign to crush the Black Panthers. Nixon today is offering his services on behalf of the capitalist class, advising Clinton as to how best to promote vicious capitalist exploitation and social misery in the ex-USSR. Desperately seeking to find a way out of the economic blind alley of moribund U.S. imperialism, Clinton and Wall Street are further propping up Yeltsin and other bloodsucking Russian capitalist exploiters, dubbed "democrats" and "reformers."

Here at home, the empty promises of this "new Democrat," who was elected among other means by signing a death warrant that sent to his death a brain-damaged black prisoner, are also reflected by the lengthening unemployment lines, the even more savage killer cuts in social services, medical care, education, along with racist police murder and terror, and the drive toward a racist police state, which is graphically illustrated in Los Angeles, and not only in Los Angeles, if we reflect on the preparations around the trial of the cops who beat Rodney King.

Now a number of the former Panthers have made their peace with this monstrously racist capitalist system. Former Chicago Panther Bobby Rush is now a Democrat in Congress. Bobby Seale publishes his barbecue books and sings the praises of self-help, i.e., black capitalism. Elaine Brown, Erica Huggins, Kathleen Cleaver are all reconciled to the rotting bourgeois social order. And Huey Newton, who was hounded by the police for years, ended up apolitical, a drug addict. He was gunned down on the streets of West Oakland by a drug dealer. Of course, this gladdened the hearts of the racist cops that oppress us throughout this country.

The people who remain unbowed and unbroken, like Geronimo Pratt and Mumia Abu-Jamal, are imprisoned because of their political beliefs and are the victims of ruling-class vengeance. In 1968, FBI director J. Edgar Hoover stated, "The Negro youth and moderate[s] must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries." And of course, during that period, the Black Panthers in particular and black radicals in general knew that you were going to be dead. The government had their "black extremist" squads, and their U2 surveillance plans, to spy and track the civil rights protesters.

Today more than ever, radical black workers and youth especially have every reason to be communists, Trotskyists, and fight alongside white, Latino and Asian workers for the expropriation without compensation of the parasitic capitalist class. The racist capitalist system is set up to exploit and kill us. The racist bipartisan "war on drugs" ensures that, for the vast majority of black and Latino youth, "head start" means long years in prison, police clubs, police bullets and early graves.

From Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown, who has ties to the Duvaliers, to "put them to death" Virginia Democratic governor Wilder, to the nationalist demagogues Farrakhan and Al Sharpton, to Jesse Jackson and the Democratic mayors like Dinkins, a sizable number of black overseers help keep the oppressed black masses down. Echoing the racist garbage of their capitalist masters, they blame black people for their horrible oppression. This small petty-bourgeois layer represents the 20 percent of the black population that benefited from the civil rights movement. Their theme song is "We Have Overcome." When the capitalists say jump, they say, how high?

Along with the racist dogs in the Democratic and Republican parties, they supported the white racist imperialist invasion and murder in Somalia, and supported U.S. imperialism's bloody massacre of over 100,000 Iraqis. One could safely entertain the proposition that, if they were alive at the time of the Civil War, they would have remained on the masters' plantations. I'm tired of hearing how these enemies of the black masses and working class supposedly can't be criticized, because they "inherited a mess." But there were Rodney Kings before Rodney King.

If workers were in power, if we had a workers government in America, what happened to Rodney King or Dr. Gunn, the abortion doctor recently murdered by a "Right to Life" fanatic in Pensacola, would *never* have happened. And if isolated instances of such madness occurred, the perpetrators would find no resting place—because the long arm of working-class justice would ensure that. We live in a class society, a capitalist society based upon the brutal exploitation of the working class by the capitalists. We don't have to go hungry and homeless—there's plenty to go around, and we have to build a fighting, racially integrated, multiracial revolutionary workers party and organize to take what's ours.

The Black Panther Party represented the best of a generation of radical black youth who wanted to smash capitalism and make a revolution. They embodied the hopes and aspirations for black freedom of an entire generation which sought to strip away the sense of powerlessness and hopelessness of the long-oppressed black masses.

The FBI's J. Edgar Hoover targeted the Panthers for destruction, calling them public enemy number one, and "the greatest threat to internal security." To kill Black Panthers, the FBI revived COINTELPRO, the counterintelligence program, which was originally set up in 1956 against the Communist Party, and unleashed the most savage and systematic campaign of racist murder in modern American history. Some 233 out of 295 FBI COINTELPRO actions against black organizations were against the Panthers. At least 38 Panthers were murdered by agents of this racist capi-

Ebony

New Times

Principal leaders of Black Panther Party from left: Bobby Seale, Huey Newton, Kathleen and Eldridge Cleaver.

talist state, through the instrument of COINTELPRO.

Robert Williams and the Deacons for Defense

Formed in 1966 by Bobby Seale and Huey Newton, the Panthers considered themselves the heirs of Malcolm X, and advocated armed self-defense against racist attacks. The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense had its roots in the failure of the liberal-led civil rights movement to eradicate black oppression. It is customary to regard as the pinnacle of the civil rights movement the 1963 March on Washington demonstration. This is a lie. Malcolm X rightly condemned that demonstration as a "farce on Washington," and a sellout of the black masses by the Uncle Tom black misleaders, from Martin Luther King to Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, and a victory for the hypocritical liberal Kennedy administration's token civil rights legislation.

Early on in the civil rights movement, black militants had challenged King's and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's philosophy of "turn the other cheek, love your enemy." In 1959, Robert F. Williams, an NAACP member and veteran, had formed a National Rifle Association club in Monroe, North Carolina to defend against Klan attacks on civil rights demonstrators. This led to his dismissal by the NAACP; Williams was hounded out of the country, and eventually went to Cuba after he was framed up for "kidnapping" a white couple. Another militant black self-defense organization was the Deacons for Defense and Justice in Bogalusa, Louisiana. The Deacons successfully defended blacks against Klan terror, and we assisted in that effort by raising money. This was captured in our slogan, "Every dime buys a bullet."

In Birmingham, Alabama in 1963, the black masses fought back against the Klan and Bull Connor's sadistic racist cops. During the protests in Birmingham, four black Sunday school girls were killed by a Klan bomb. The Klan also bombed the hotel where King was staying (he was absent at the time), and firebombed his brother's home. The blacks armed themselves and fought back. John F. Kennedy federalized the Alabama National Guard precisely

WV Photo

Spartacist League spokesman Don Alexander.

because the black masses were no longer following the nonviolent script.

In the summer of 1963, after Birmingham, street protests spread throughout the South. A Justice Department study counted 758 demonstrations in 108 cities during the ten weeks of the Birmingham crisis. In the next five years, black revolts that were spontaneous, unorganized upheavals swept city after city: Harlem in 1964, Watts in 1965, Cleveland in '66, and Detroit and Newark in '67. And when King was assassinated in '68, over a hundred cities saw black rebellions.

The civil rights movement went North in the mid-'60s, and King's SCLC organization ran into a brick wall of racist resistance. King's open housing campaign met with violent racist resistance in the racist enclave of Cicero, with American Nazi George Lincoln Rockwell leading a pack of snarling racist dogs. SNCC, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, tried to take up the challenge, but it was clear the racists had won, they had outmobilized the civil rights fighters on the streets while Democratic mayor Daley's cops stood by.

By 1966, SNCC and CORE (the Congress of Racial Equality) had embraced pseudo-nationalism, and the abstentionism of the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, which tailed behind Martin Luther King and the Black Muslims, was a terrible crime and betrayal of the struggle for black freedom. This has cost the revolutionary movement dearly in the number of black militants who could have been won at that juncture to Trotskyism, to revolutionary internationalism, to the program of world revolution.

The Revolutionary Tendency of the Socialist Workers Party—the forerunners of the Spartacist League—fought inside the SWP to win black militants to a revolutionary working-class program and perspective, for the building of an independent Trotskyist vanguard party to lead a fight for power not only in this country, but throughout the world. The Socialist Workers Party subsequently expelled us for our revolutionary politics.

Contradictions of "Black Power"

As a result of the futility of "bearing moral witness" by packing the jails, by relying on the racist capitalist government and its treacherous liberal front men—and most importantly, because of the passivity of the organized labor movement led by labor traitors—black militants, out of despair, turned to separatism and cried out for "Black Power." As a slogan, "Black Power" frightened the racist establishment, and liberals stopped their checks flowing into the coffers of the most militant civil rights organizations, like SNCC and CORE. We pointed out at the time that the "Black Power" slogan represented in part an attempt to fight for the interests of the black poor, but we emphasized that if the fight for black liberation was not posed in class terms it would serve as a bridge to the Democratic Party of imperialist war and racism.

In comparison to other black nationalist organizations of the '60s, the Panthers sought to organize independently of the Democrats and Republicans. As eclectic, contradictory radical nationalists, their outlook was variously influenced by the teachings of Malcolm X, Frantz Fanon, Che Guevara, Marx, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. Marxism became for them a kind of smorgasbord, from which one picked and chose to suit their momentary political needs. Like New Left radicals as a whole, they rejected the key Marxist contention that the working class, because of its unique relationship to the means of production, held the potential social power to smash the racist capitalist system and state.

This New Left impressionism was exploded by the powerful May-June 1968 French general strike, which was betrayed by the Stalinists. This was the largest general strike in the history of capitalism, and had the French working class taken power under the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party, the face of the world could have been changed. As nationalists, the Panthers looked to the lumpenproletariat—the brothers on the block, the ex-pimps, the hustlers—as the vanguard of black liberation, who, in Fanon's words, represented the "wretched of the earth." Fanon was a West Indian intellectual and champion of the Algerian independence struggle. Fanon's book, *The Wretched of the Earth*, was a political fad in radical circles.

Fanon's emphasis on the cathartic role of violence became for the Panthers the basis for their talk of urban guerrilla warfare. As a ghetto-based revolutionary nationalist organization, the Panthers

AP

May 1967: Armed Panthers at Sacramento State Capitol protest racist gun control bill.

believed that the most oppressed were the most revolutionary, that social revolution would happen as a result of radicalized peasants in the countryside encircling the white European nations, whose proletarians were "bought off" and incapable of making a revolution. So the task, simply put, was to "pick up the gun" to electrify the internal "black colony" in the U.S. They hawked copies of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, and they had a song that they sang a lot, "There's a pig upon the hill, if you don't get him, the Panthers will." They had a lot of "off the pig" rhetoric.

The Panthers self-consciously regarded themselves as a vanguard party. But they were not a vanguard party. They were New Left sectoralists. That is, their program was that blacks would liberate blacks, Hispanics would liberate Hispanics, and so on. A sectoralist program, which is a strategy for dividing the ranks of the future proletarian army fighting for state power.

A Leninist vanguard party, that is, a tribune of the people, fights against all aspects of social oppression on the basis of an internationalist revolutionary program. We in the International Communist League are fighting to build that party, like Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party that in 1917 led the multinational working class to a victorious socialist revolution. Our fighting program of revolutionary integrationism shows the road forward to the assimilation of black people in an egalitarian socialist society.

We believe that the fight against racial oppression is key, strategic for a workers revolution, and without militant, united, integrated class struggle against all wings of the capitalist exploiters, the proletariat cannot seize political power. The American workers revolution needs black leadership. Black workers are crucial components of the multiracial American working class, and can lead a fight on behalf of all of the oppressed and exploited for workers revolution, and for smashing imperialist domination from Puerto Rico to Latin America and Africa.

Against the Cultural Nationalists

Now, the fight against racist cop terror and murder provided the impetus for the Panthers' initial organization of the black

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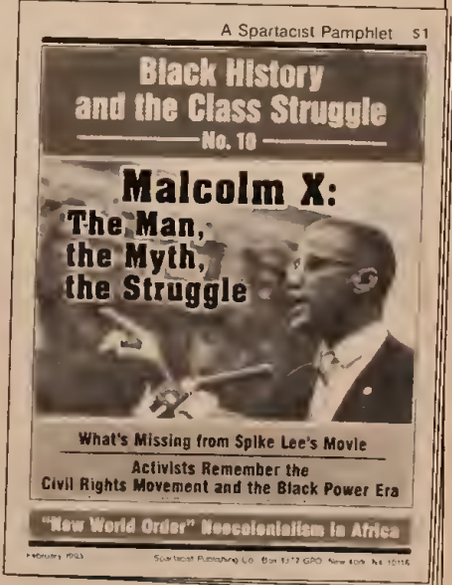


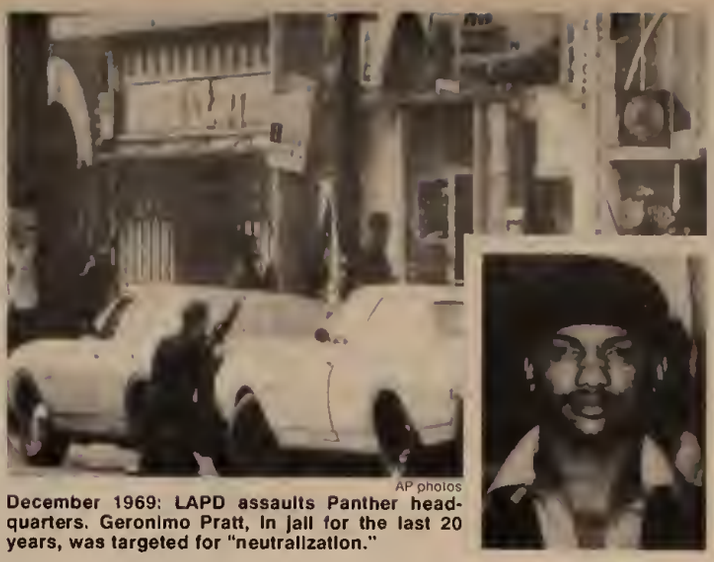
Panthers...

(continued from page 9)

masses. Newton and Seale also had to settle their accounts with the "pork chop" cultural nationalists, who argued that black people should spend their time rediscovering their African roots by donning dashikis, selling African artifacts and sitting around cussing out white people. The Panthers had to contend with other black nationalist organizations contesting for hegemony of radical black youth.

The FBI and the L.A. police would eventually find a very useful role for the cultural nationalists against the Black Panthers. In 1969, the L.A.-based organization of US (United Slaves) of Ron Karenga killed L.A. Panther leaders Bunchy Carter and John Huggins on the UCLA campus. The FBI was heavily involved in those murders, like they were heavily involved in the murders of Panthers in San Diego—in fact, more than in L.A., Panthers were killed by US members, with FBI involvement.

The cultural nationalists posed as militants. And some youth today may think that the so-called militant talk about "Afrocentricity," and voluntary self-segregation as a means of eradicating racism, is something new—it isn't. If one examines the politics of Karenga and Imamu Baraka, who was his ally during that period, the reactionary role of the cultural nationalists, of these Panther-killers, emerges as nothing more than militant-talking pro-police thugs. Ronald Reagan met with Karenga in 1968, and praised him. The *Wall Street Journal* described this meeting, remarking that Karenga is "typical of many militants who talk looting and burning but actually are eager to gather influence for quiet bargaining with the predominantly white power structure."



AP photos

December 1969: LAPD assaults Panther headquarters. Geronimo Pratt, in jail for the last 20 years, was targeted for "neutralization."

Chicago Tribune

UPI

1969: Chicago police/FBI murdered Panther leaders Fred Hampton (right) and Mark Clark in their beds.

Following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Karenga met secretly with Los Angeles police chief Thomas Reddin and played an important part in preventing an outbreak of riots in L.A. Many years ago, revolutionary nationalists (myself included then) used to wonder why we'd always hear about the Panther 4 or 7 or 21 on trial, but never the US organization. Dashikis never stopped bullets—why were they so immune to this?

What they were saying was that the first task was to liberate your mind, then fight for revolution—the main problem was that black people suffered from a lack of culture, that culture takes precedence over everything else, that racist *minds* created racist institutions, and that one fought racist ideas, *not racist institutions*. This is a profoundly idealist mystical conception, and it ignores the material economic roots and basis of racism. It had a purpose. The cultural nationalists were advocates of black capitalism—that's what *they* meant by "Black Power." And various cultural nationalists run around today, like Spike Lee—that's what *they* mean by "Black Power." This meant concretely that Karenga allied himself with militant-talking pro-capitalist hustlers, backed by white capitalists.

It was noteworthy that the ruling-class co-optation of these phony militants was very direct and forthcoming: in 1969, the head of the Clairol company gave a nod of approval to a "Black Power" conference in Philadelphia at which Karenga was present. He told his audience that at first the term "Black Power" "very frankly filled me with dread," but it was no longer the case, because he understood "Black Power" to mean "equity," and "empowerment"—that is, "ownership of apartments, ownership of homes, ownership of businesses, as well as equitable treatment for all people."

In a partial fashion, the Panthers fought the cultural nationalists' cynical withdrawal from struggle and their anti-militant program of cultural nationalism. Huey Newton, in a famous prison interview, noted some of the aspects of cultural nationalism,

> "The cultural nationalists are concerned with returning to the old African culture and thereby regaining their identity and freedom. In other words, they feel that the African culture will automatically bring political freedom. Many times cultural nationalists fall into line as reactionary nationalists. 'Papa Doc' in Haiti is an excellent example of reactionary nationalism. He oppresses the people but he does promote the African culture. He is against anything other than black, which on the surface seems very good, but to him it is only to mislead the people. He merely kicked out the racists and replaced them with himself as the oppressor. Many of the nationalists in this country seem to desire the same ends."

Since slavery, armed blacks have always struck fear in the hearts of the racist oppressors, who immediately smell incipient insurrection. The bourgeoisie fights to keep a monopoly of force to prevent the destruction of their system of democracy for the rich. Clinton and the Democrats are furiously pushing gun control legislation—the better to keep us down. From Robert F. Williams to Malcolm X and the Panthers, historically gun control laws have been used to disarm blacks and the working class. We say that gun control kills blacks! We call on class-conscious workers and fighters for the liberation of the oppressed to defend the right to bear arms, to defend the Second Amendment, to defend ourselves against the murderous ruling class and their bloody hyenas and shock troops—the cops, the Klan, the Nazis, the skinheads and the anti-abortion terrorists.

Murderous State Repression

Very early on, the racist capitalist state mobilized to disarm the Panthers. In 1968, the California legislature held hearings on the Mulford Bill—a gun control bill pushed by a California assemblyman in the Oakland-Berkeley area. His bill was known in the press as the "Panther Bill," and would have made it illegal to carry unconcealed weapons. The Panthers fought back—they appeared in Sacramento armed and wearing their black berets, black leather jackets, powder blue shirts and black boots—to challenge this assault on democratic rights. While they were marching on the Capitol grounds to the floor of the assembly, they ran into Ronald Reagan, the California governor, who was talking to schoolchildren. Reagan saw the Panthers coming around the corner, stopped talking, and reportedly started running!

Now the Black Panther Party defied the racist rulers by expressing solidarity with the Vietnamese and Cuban revolutions. The Panthers offered to send troops to fight alongside the Vietnamese against bloody U.S. imperialism. At their height, according to David Hilliard in his recent autobiography, *This Side of Glory* (Little, Brown, 1993), they had 4,000 members and 35 chapters. Immediately the bourgeoisie geared up for their destruction. Nixon, J. Edgar Hoover and the bourgeois establishment put together a program for a nationwide search-and-destroy mission. Hoover's directive was to prevent the rise of a black "messiah," and the recruitment of black youth.

Life

Wasser/Newsweek

J. Edgar Hoover and Nixon launched murderous COINTELPRO campaign, enlisting cultural nationalist hustlers like Ron Karenga (right) against the Panthers.

The Panther leadership was decimated: Huey Newton was shot, framed up for murdering a cop, and imprisoned for almost two years on that alone. Bobby Seale was jailed for his role in the Sacramento events, and was framed, along with seven others, in the aftermath of the cop riot at the Democratic Party convention in Chicago in 1968. He was also jailed for the murder of a Panther in New Haven, and that era evoked the image of Seale being bound and gagged in court. In West Oakland, 17-year-old Bobby Hutton, the Panther treasurer, was the first Panther killed—he was shot in the back by the cops. Eldridge Cleaver, who was with Hutton, barely survived. Cleaver was jailed, released and forced into exile.

Panther offices were raided and shot up in several cities. In Chicago, as I mentioned earlier, on December 4, 1969, in a predawn raid, Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were killed in their beds while they slept. Police agent William O'Neill, who was Hampton's bodyguard, provided the floor plans to Hampton's apartment. The FBI orchestrated and the Chicago police carried out this massacre.

Two days after the police killed Hampton and Clark, the L.A. SWAT squad attacked the Panthers' office, and for five hours subjected them to thousands of rounds of ammunition. The cops especially wanted to kill Geronimo Pratt, and Pratt's military knowledge saved his life and his comrades. Virtually the entire New York Panther leadership was held for nearly two years in jail, on the ludicrous charge that they had plotted to blow up, among other things, the Bronx Botanical Gardens. It really clearly underscores that fact that the courts haven't much changed since *Dred Scott*, the black slave who sued for his freedom in 1857, in which it was stated, to paraphrase, that black people have no rights that the white man is bound to respect. The white ruling class in this country, and its capitalist courts, have no justice for working people and oppressed minorities.

How did the Panthers fight this? Who did they turn to? Who did they consider their allies? Certainly not the working class, the integrated labor movement—though the basis existed, because briefly, in 1969, the Panthers formed a caucus at the Fremont, California GM auto plant. Hilliard had been a longshoreman for a while; his brother June, a party member, was a city bus driver. And the Panthers knew that there were white workers at a union oil facility, whose heads were being beaten by the scabherding cops, who took up the Panthers' characterization of the cops as "pigs." There was a basis that existed, to link the ghetto to the factories, which required a class-struggle leadership of the labor movement to wage a militant fight against the killer cops,

who are armed bodies of men defending capitalist property.

"UFAF": CP-Style Popular Frontism

But instead the Panthers established alliances with the petty-bourgeois Peace and Freedom Party, who ran Cleaver for president in 1968. This party was a pressure group on the Democratic Party. In the face of fierce, unrelenting ruling-class repression, the Panthers didn't turn to the integrated labor movement—the only social force with the power and interest to fight racist police terror—but clinked glasses with composers like Leonard Bernstein and actors like Marlon Brando, who participated in one of their police patrols. In Berkeley, they backed the formation of a self-flagellating white guilt group called "Honkeys for Huey" to fight for Newton's freedom. The Panthers were trying to augment their forces, and held negotiations with top leaders of SNCC, and briefly Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown and James Forman entered their ranks. This was a very short-lived fusion, because it exploded as Carmichael pressed them to break their ties with all whites, and this led Bobby Seale to publicly denounce Carmichael for playing the Ku Klux Klan game.

In 1969, as the bourgeois repression escalated, the Panthers organized the so-called "United Front Against Fascism" conference, in which the reformist Communist Party played a prominent role. The Panthers discovered the virtues of the counterrevolutionary reformist popular-front program: a class-collaborationist trap which has historically tied the workers to the "progressive wing" of the capitalist exploiters, and which paved the way for the bloody defeats of the working class from China in 1927, to Chile in 1973, and to the horrible bloodbath of the Maoist-influenced Indonesian Communist Party, which left over 500,000 workers and peasants dead in 1965. It also means today in South Africa that the African National Congress program of "power sharing" and a government of "national unity" paves the way for the bloody defeat of the working class. An expression of that, of course, is the assassination that we heard of today, of Chris Hani, the general secretary of the South African Communist Party. There is no possibility of appeasing imperialism anywhere.

The popular-front reformist program meant in this country that during World War II—which was an interimperialist war, and *not* a "war for democracy against fascism"—the Stalinists supported Roosevelt, backed the internment of Japanese Americans, defended the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, opposed the struggle for black rights, and broke strikes to preserve their alliance with the Democratic Roosevelt regime. At this United Front Against Fascism conference, the Panthers' program was a reformist one, "community control of the police." Today it's dressed up as "community policing," and behind it is the deadly reformist illusion that the capitalist state can be pressured into reforming itself, into dismantling its repressive state apparatus.

James/Philadelphia Inquirer

1969: Mumia Abu-Jamal, then Minister of Information for Philadelphia Black Panthers, is today on Pennsylvania death row, on frame-up murder charges.

The Panthers had a ten-point program, which was a program of mildly liberal reforms. They'd call on the government for reparations, they wanted land. Some of their demands would sound familiar today: they wanted the universities to teach the "true history" of black people and oppressed people in this country, etc. But basically it was a program to reform capitalism, a system based on the bourgeoisie striving for maximum profit, which can't be reformed. We Trotskyists put forth a revolutionary program, the Transitional Program, which is based upon fighting for the immediate, burning needs of the masses for jobs for all, for decent education, free medical care, etc. And all of these elementary transitional demands immediately pose the question of fighting for power, of linking the struggle around these immediate needs to the struggle to smash capitalism.

UPI

Elaine Brown

Former BPP leaders David Hilliard and Elaine Brown have recently published autobiographical accounts of the Panthers.

The Panthers used gangster tactics to silence their leftist critics, which we vigorously denounced at the time. There were Maoists in the Students for a Democratic Society, and other fake-leftists, who uncritically tailed behind the Panthers and their nationalism—they were vicarious cheerleaders. We fought against their nationalist program, explaining that blacks are not a nation, but an oppressed color-caste forcibly segregated, in this racist capitalist society, at the bottom, although integrated into the political economy. Historically, blacks formed a significant component of the reserve army of labor. Increasingly that's not even the case today, because of the deindustrialization of this country by the rapacious capitalists.

Glorification of Lumpenism, Male Chauvinism

It is tragic that the Panthers were destroyed by bloody state repression, and there was not the communist intervention of a revolutionary party sizable enough to win the best of these radical black youth. With their military posturing, the Panthers were easy pickings for the mass murderers of U.S. imperialism. You can't build a revolutionary party on the basis of hero worship and glorification of a street-gang mentality. Hilliard admits as much today, that they consciously built up a cult of personality around Newton. He admits that their glorification of lumpenism caused them a number of problems, and here's one graphic example:

> "We send some Panthers in our Panther truck—a contribution from a support group, it has a picture of a springing black panther and the words 'The Black Panther' painted on the side—to San Francisco on a distribution run. Couple of hours later we get a telephone call. Our Panther truck is in a shoot-out. The driver pulls up at a gas station. One guy—Bill Brent—goes to the john while the others gas up. Some time passes. The tank is full, still no Bill Brent. The members look around. Where's Bill? Oh, there's Bill: he's robbing the attendant. The guys in the truck are amazed. They don't know what to do, get him or leave? At that moment the third party arrives: some police drive by, see Bill with the gun, set off their sirens. Freaked, Bill forgets about the attendant and fires on the cops. The rest is pandemonium. Finally, a bullet grazes Brent and everyone's arrested; the Panther truck is seized. Next thing we know, the five o'clock news claims the Party has tried robbing a gas station in broad daylight for the grand sum of seventy-five dollars."

So it's not an abstract question when we insist upon the centrality of the proletariat in fighting to abolish the racist capitalist system.

In 1971, the Panthers suffered a split between the more overtly reformist, pro-Democratic majority Newton wing, and the urban guerrilla warfare Cleaver wing—a split characterized by murderous internal factionalism, and inflamed by COINTELPRO provocations. The corruption of top Panther leaders nailed down their destruction, like Newton's luxurious Oakland penthouse overlooking Lake Merritt. Both of the factions sent their factional members into the streets to murder each other. By 1973, Bobby Seale in Oakland was running as a Democrat in the city elections.

In her autobiography, *A Taste of Power* (Random House, 1993), Elaine Brown is ecstatic on the role of the Panthers in organizing the black vote for ex-judge Democrat Lionel Wilson, the city's first black mayor. Brown talks about the role they played in Jerry Brown's campaign in 1976 for president, and she tells how the Panthers degenerated into criminal thugs holding up after-hour bars and pushing dope.

The physical assaults on Panther women are laid bare in all of their sickening, raw, brutal, bloody and frightening forms. Brown ends her book literally running to the airport in fear for her life. She makes this characterization of her experiences in the black power movement:

> "A woman in the Black Power movement was considered, at best, irrelevant. A woman asserting herself was a pariah. A woman attempting the role of leadership was, to my proud black Brothers, making an alliance with the 'counterrevolutionary, man-hating, lesbian, feminist white bitches.' It was a violation of some Black Power principle that was left undefined. If a black woman assumed a role of leadership, she was said to be eroding black manhood, to be hindering the progress of the black race. She was an enemy of black people."[1]

From Stokely Carmichael's (Kwame Ture) statement that the position of women in the movement is "prone," to Eldridge Cleaver's "pussy power" chauvinist filth, to Farrakhan's Nation of Islam segregation of women, the nationalists seek to keep women in their place as baby factories, opposing birth control and abortion as genocide, and women's equality as "the devil's concept"—those are Karenga's words.

From Harriet Tubman in the Civil War to courageous Fannie Lou Hamer, who fought the rabid segregationists in Mississippi, to many women in the Panthers, black women have been in the forefront of the fight for black freedom. Revolutionary black women belong in our party, and we say to any of you who want to put an end to racial, sexual and class oppression by fighting for international workers revolution: you should join the Spartacist League, which has no interests separate from those of the working class and oppressed. ■

[1]Editor's note: To her credit, while denouncing the rampant male chauvinism in the BPP, Elaine Brown defends the Panthers against the vile attack by black liberal feminist Alice Walker, who dismisses revolutionary struggle in favor of "self" and gay-baits the Panthers as nothing but macho "punks" (see "Black Panthers or Black Punks," *New York Times*, 5 May).

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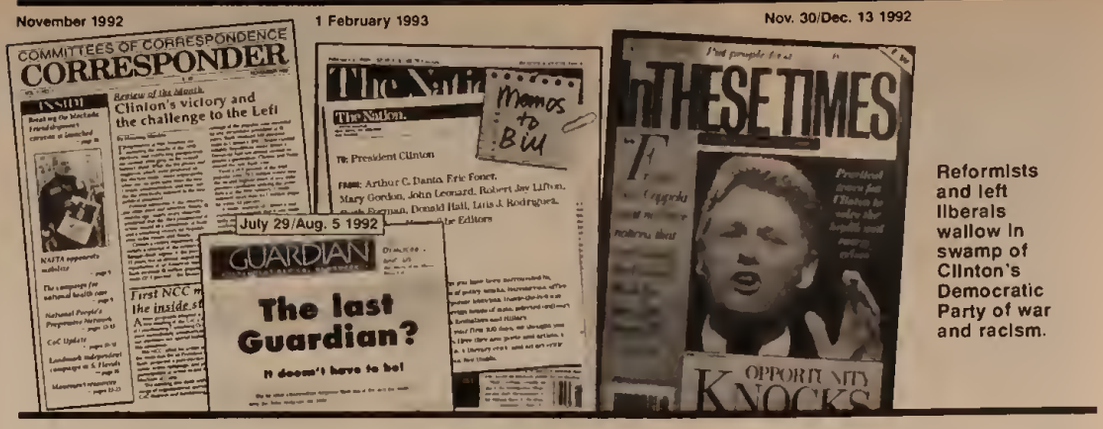
Quagmire...

(continued from page 1)

its members heading into the "third camp" Solidarity swamp.

Solidarity leader and veteran Shachtmanite Kim Moody moaned that "the left in the U.S. has decayed beyond the point where a regroupment of some or all of its elements holds out much hope as a perspective in creating a socialist movement in the U.S. in the foreseeable future" (*Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*, April 1993). In the same vein, a CoCer pointed to "a crisis of confidence among socialist-oriented activists in the West" (*Dialogue & Initiative*, Spring 1993).

At bottom, what is behind this mass dissolution into the Clinton camp is the destruction of the Soviet Union, the homeland of the Russian October Revolution. Riding the counterrevolutionary tidal wave that inundated East Europe and the USSR, the bourgeoisie crows that "communism is dead." We Trotskyists reply: Stalinism is dead, but communism lives—in the class struggle of the international working class. But the already rickety fake-lefts, whose real politics never went beyond popular-front lesser-evilism, and many of whom tailed the anti-Soviet war drive for the last decade and more, have bought imperialism's short-lived triumphalism hook, line and sinker. The bourgeoisie told them that communism is dead, so they are rolling over and dying.



Reformists and left liberals wallow in swamp of Clinton's Democratic Party of war and racism.

From Alf Landon to the Last *Guardian*

It's a familiar scenario in American capitalist politics: a Republican administration wears out its welcome in the White House and the Dems move in to spruce up ruling-class rule. The precedent for reformist support to the capitalist politicians of the Democratic Party versus the capitalist politicians of the Republican Party goes back to the '36 elections, when the CP ran party boss Earl Browder for president as a stalking horse for Roosevelt. The CP's campaign slogan was "Beat Landon at all costs!"—meaning, of course, "Elect FDR at all costs!"

Stalin's nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" meant a futile search for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism abroad. Reeling from Hitler's unchallenged march to power in 1933, the Kremlin openly embraced class collaboration with the People's Front, ordained at the 1935 Seventh Congress of the Communist International. Trotsky called it the "Liquidation Congress" of the Comintern, and eight years later, Stalin liquidated it entirely, to reassure his World War II imperialist allies of his firm opposition to Lenin's program of world revolution.

Preaching that "Communism Is Twentieth Century Americanism," the CPUSA carried this liquidationism to its ultimate logic in 1944, rebaptizing itself the Communist Political Association. (But with the first whiff of the coming Cold War the next year, Browder was unceremoniously dumped as a "liquidationist.") By 1948, with Democrat Truman leading the anti-Soviet crusade, the CP tried to resuscitate the popular front in a new guise by pushing the "Progressive Party" of FDR's former vice president Henry Wallace.

The *Guardian* came out of the Wallace campaign, the petty-bourgeois component of this popular front of liberals and Stalinists. The Wallace "third party" soon disappeared, but the *Guardian* carried on as a voice of "peaceful coexistence," passing from Moscow-line Stalinism to Maoism to Third Worldism and back. But with the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, there was no longer any need for peaceful coexistence—or for the *Guardian*.

In Clinton's Times

The unofficial voice of the DSA, *In These Times*, which parades its credentials as a child of the Carter presidency, celebrated the change in administrations with a change in its paper format. An editorial in the 30 November 1992 *ITT* announced:

> "The change is more than cosmetic. It is designed to help us meet the challenge of new opportunities created by the election of a president and new members of Congress committed to a reordering of government priorities....
> "We will look at the new administration's programs to see whether they are consistent with campaign promises."

What promises do they have in mind? Ending welfare? Putting 100,000 more cops on the streets? Wielding the imperialist "big stick" against Serbia?

Meanwhile, they have made themselves chief lobbyists for Clinton's "managed competition" health care scam and provide a platform for DSAer Ron Dellums, now head of the House Armed Services Committee (but "a self-described pacifist," we're told) to pontificate on "A New, Improved World Order" (*In These Times*, 22 March). Perhaps taking to heart Marxist criticisms that opportunists are looking for get-rich-quick schemes, these opportunists have even issued an *In These Times* Gold MasterCard—now you can go further into debt the "PC" way!

For its part, the CoC (not to be confused with the Chamber of Commerce despite the similarities in political outlook) hailed Clinton's election, and launched a mass postcard campaign offering Clinton "Congratulations on your victory and on your pledge to provide all Americans with universal, affordable health care." The CoC has now become a pole for a social-democratic regroupment of revisionist has-beens, never-weres and wannabes. They are pursuing "liaison" discussions with the DSA and providing a home for various Trotskyoid burnouts, like former Socialist Workers Party leaders Peter Camejo, Barry Sheppard and Malik Miah and a chunk of the Freedom Socialist Party. Meanwhile, the FSP, Socialist Action and Solidarity are all sniffing around the CoC.

In West Europe, erstwhile Stalinists sitting atop a mass base can divine a future for themselves in a reshuffled social democracy. In the U.S., however, there is no mass reformist labor party, so CPers, ex-CPers, DSAers and demoralized ex-pseudo-Trotskyists are driven to liquidate into the Democratic Party outright. Those that gag a bit at being open Clintonites pursue one or more of the numerous ephemeral "third party" hustles, from Rainbow Coalition honcho Ron Daniels' presidential campaign to the Labor Party Advocates, NOW's 21st Century Party, the "New" Party, etc., ad nauseam—all of them back doors to the Dems and exits to oblivion.

This unenviable vista makes the American reformists more than a little sensitive to criticism from authentic Marxists. Writing in the Committees of Correspondence *Dialogue & Initiative* (Spring 1993), one CoCer warns that this new popular-front project could come to nought:

> "As long as we have a left that remains vulnerable to the accusations and criticisms of, say, the Spartacist League, we're not going to build a left with genuine mass appeal....
> "Being honest in our politics doesn't require painting ourselves bright red....
> "It is a fact of American left and social-movement history that the most successful strategies—those that won mass support and achieved valuable political and social gains—have been those most 'right' and most scorned by 'left' critics. Strategies such as the Popular Front of the CP...."

"Bright red"? The CoC et al. barely register somewhere between pale pink and red-white-and-blue on the political spectrum.

The purpose of the popular front was, and remains, to derail revolutionary upsurges of the proletariat. In the 1930s, the Stalinists directly suppressed the Spanish Revolution, opening the door to Franco, while in the U.S. they channeled the massive working-class revolt which created the CIO industrial unions into Rooseveltian liberalism and support for the imperialist war.

Having spent their entire political lives following the lodestar of "peaceful coexistence," these orphans of Stalinism don't even have a distant memory of what communism means. So in the raw winds of Cold War II, they were really bent out of shape, unable to deal with direct confrontation between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet Union. Rather than defending the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, they largely ignored it. When the Polish Stalinists cracked down on Solidarność counterrevolution in 1981, all the CPUSA could do was inanely say, "Poland Heeds Unity Call—Nation Goes Back to Work." When the Soviets shot down Reagan's KAL 007 spy provocation, the CP denied that the jet had been downed.

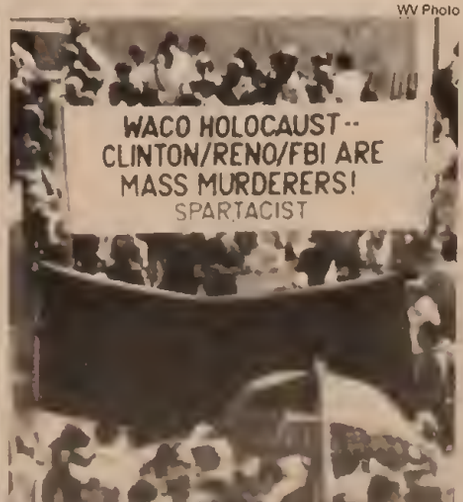
Eight years later, as the Stalinist bureaucracy in the DDR was collapsing and tens of thousands of East Germans were leaving for the West, Gus Hall claimed it was just like the annual spring exodus to Fort Lauderdale! And when a bunch of Gorbachev's top lieutenants pulled a botched coup in August 1991, the Gorbachevite would-be social democrats decamped from Gus Hall's party en masse. As the Reaganite Cold Warriors stepped up the pressure, prospects for reviving a popular front became increasingly remote. And with the demise of the Soviet Union, they no longer felt any split loyalties to the "socialist motherland" and their "own" bourgeoisie, and became "God That Failed" social Democrats.

Fundamentally, these petty-bourgeois reformists do not believe that the working class can take and hold on to state power. For them the Russian Revolution is at best an idealistic dream that was doomed to failure, or a misguided assault on bourgeois "democracy." They can seek their niche in Clinton's capitalist America, but the many millions of workers and oppressed minorities have no recourse other than to fight or die.

With the reformist left in throes of disintegration, having bought the bourgeois lie of the "death of communism," it's now more clear than ever that the Spartacist League represents the continuity of revolutionary Marxism. So if you are now or ever want to be a genuine communist, join us. ■

Reuters

WV Photo



Clinton/FBI's massacre of Branch Davidians in Waco, Texas (above); Spartacist banner at April 25 Washington demo for gay rights in the military.

MOVE 1985–Waco 1993

On 13 May 1985, eleven members of the predominantly black MOVE commune in Philadelphia were murdered when the government bombed their home, unleashing a firestorm that destroyed an entire neighborhood. Black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode gave the order, the FBI supplied the C-4 explosives, Philly cops dropped the bomb, and then continued their fusillade of machine-gun and rifle fire to drive those who sought to escape back into the flames.

The MOVE commune had already been targeted by the state—in 1978, 600 Philly cops massively assaulted their home and a cop got killed. The vindictive state slammed nine MOVE members in jail then, and MOVE continued agitating for the release of their jailed comrades. The 1985 massacre was calculated racist state terror, a message of intimidation to black people—and everyone else in the government's sights—that if you get out of line, you could be next.

When the government slaughtered the Branch Davidian religious group in its home outside Waco on April 19, the parallels to the MOVE massacre were inescapable. On May 1, *WV* spoke with Ramona Africa, who was imprisoned for seven years by the government for the "crime" of surviving the MOVE massacre. We print below excerpts from her statement.

Ramona Africa:

The issue that caused the May 13th confrontation has yet to be resolved, that is, the ongoing imprisonment of my nine innocent sisters and brothers for a murder they didn't commit. MOVE's priority is bringing our people home and getting them out of jail. We want people to understand that we were bombed and massacred because we refused to accept injustice, because we refused to sit back quietly and watch our innocent family members rot in prison.

MOVE, for over 20 years now based on the wisdom given us by John Africa, has told people how brutal and insane those that are running this system are. MOVE has told middle-class white America that they are not exempt from the brutality and insanity of this government. There have been a few examples throughout recent history, for example the slaughter of students at Kent State.

WV Photo

Ramona Africa, survivor of 1985 MOVE massacre, denounced WACO holocaust.

The recent situation in Waco, Texas, is an even more blatant situation. MOVE does not know a lot about the Branch Davidians. We have nothing in common with them, really, except one thing—the brutality and insanity that the government has vented on them, just like they have vented on MOVE.

Any time you have an entire United States government and they perceive a problem with a group, whether it be the Branch Davidians or MOVE, and the government cannot resolve the problem without the death and destruction that we saw in both situations, then something is seriously wrong. The level of brutality and insanity that this government vented on both groups is just unbelievable.

But it is past time that people start believing how out of control those that run the system are. These officials tell people that this is supposed to be a government by and for the people—well, it's time that people took them up on that and really demonstrated that, because it is obvious that those that are running this system don't know what they're doing and are insane.

Ernest Mandel Accepts Debate Challenge

We print below an exchange of letters between United Secretariat leader Ernest Mandel and the International Communist League. The 24 February letter from the ICL referred to by Mandel was published in WV *No. 571 (12 March).*

Brussels
29/4/1993

International Communist League
New York, N.Y., USA

Comrades,

This is in response to your letter of February 24, 1993.

1. You tried several times to profit from our audiences—audiences which we called—to state your political positions at length.

   We challenged you to let us do the same before your own audience.

   To hold such a meeting in Berlin, London or Paris is no answer to that challenge. In those towns you have no audience of your own. Even if it would be you who formally call for the meeting, the people attending would be nearly exclusively our audience, not yours.

   The only country where you possibly have an audience of your own (at least till events show the opposite) is the USA. So the only positive answer to our challenge would be you accepting to hold the meeting in New York. We do not want to impose any financial burden upon you, so we propose to hold the debate during my next visit to New York.

2. We do not agree with limiting the topic of the debate to the "Russian question." This is already begging the question. We propose as topic "Building the F.I. today," or "The dynamics of world revolution today." These two topics are identical for us. The so-called "Russian question" should certainly be dealt with in that context.

3. As for the technical side of the meeting, we propose:

   (a) Thirty minutes for each side's report.

   (b) Fifteen minutes for each side's summary.

   (c) Ninety minutes for interventions from the floor, which means a maximum of twenty persons speaking 4 minutes each.

   (d) Reports and summaries following the pattern A-B, B-A. I would prefer to be A (to speak first), but if you have strong objections, we can draw straws on it.

   (e) Two co-chairpersons guaranteeing that the interventions from the floor are fairly distributed between both sides (and third parties if they ask for it).

   (f) The right for each party to tape the proceedings and reproduce them if it considers this useful, but without unilaterally introduced changes of what was actually said at the meeting.

This is no final position and we are quite willing to examine possible counter-proposals of yours. But we have to tell you that on (1) and (2) we are not likely to change our position.

Revolutionary greetings,
Ernest Mandel

New York
17 May 1993

Ernest Mandel
Brussels, Belgium

Dear comrade Mandel,

We have recently received your letter of 29 April 1993.

We accept your proposal to debate in the United States on your next visit. There is no question that you would encounter a substantial audience of our supporters at a meeting held in New York, Chicago or the San Francisco Bay Area. Within that context, we leave the choice of venue to you.

As for the topic, we would propose the title: "The struggle for world socialist revolution today." For our part the Russian question will necessarily be dealt with under such a title—as well as the reforging of an authentically Trotskyist, democratic-centralist Fourth International, raising historical questions going back at least as far as the Third World Congress of the Fourth International.

The overall technical framework you put forward is acceptable to us. We would prefer to have the order of presentations (and the consequent reverse order of summaries) decided by the toss of a coin. We would add one point: that the 90 minutes reserved for interventions from the floor be divided into successive rounds, with one speech in support of the first speaker followed by one from a supporter of neither tendency, followed by a speech by a supporter of the second presenter.

It would be helpful if you could give us early notice of your next planned visit to the U.S., to assist in the organization, preparation and publicizing of the debate.

We are faxing this letter to you, and will also send you the original in the post.

Yours fraternally,
Alastair Green
for the
International Communist League
(Fourth Internationalist)

Prometheus Research Library Book

James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism
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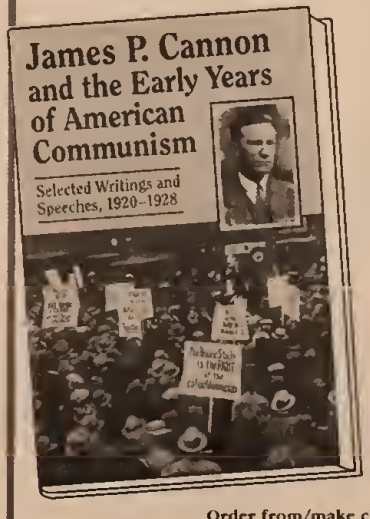

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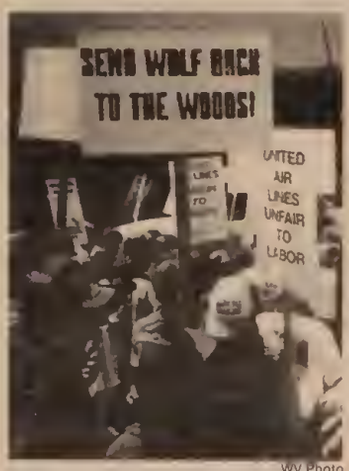
Hardball...

(continued from page 4)

workers organized by the International Association of Machinists (IAM). In one of a series of rallies held around the country, Machinists, flight attendants, pilots and other trade unionists came out after years of seeing the airlines attack one union after another and demand concession after concession. A *WV* sales team got a friendly reception, selling over 80 pieces of literature to the crowd.

The kitchen workers who prepare airplane meals are mostly female and minority—black, Latina and Filipina—and are among the lowest-paid airport workers, earning as little as $7 to $10 an hour. Unless the IAM agrees to wage and work-rule concessions, United is threatening to sell a total of 17 kitchen operations to non-union contractors paying starvation wages. This will wipe out 5,800 union jobs, including 850 in the Bay Area.

But the union tops who organized the SF rally offered only racist protectionism, appeals to Democrats and consumer boycotts to counter the company attacks. Flight attendants carried signs reading "Invest in US," opposing the hiring overseas of *union-organized* attendants. Democratic Congressman Tom Lantos



WV Photo

Over 1,000 unionists rallied May 8 to defend United Airlines kitchen workers threatened with mass layoffs.

grotesquely denounced workers from Taiwan and Mexico, a racist insult to the Latina kitchen workers. One union misleader blustered that the IAM would launch an organizing drive "the first day" after the kitchens are sold, cold comfort to the union members who would be out on the street.

There was talk of a useless consumer boycott while an effigy of United CEO Stephen Wolf, a wolf "mascot" wearing a dunce cap, was paraded with a rope around its neck. Wolf is a greedy bloodsucker (he "earned" $18 million in 1991), one of the pack of capitalist wolves who run the airline industry and whose appetite for profits is insatiable. Ever since PATCO, from Continental to Eastern, the airline bosses have been slashing jobs, busting unions, and extorting concessions—more than $7 billion in the last three years.

Labor's got to draw the line—and this attack on the kitchen workers, who the bosses perceive as the weakest link in the union chain, is a good place to start. The IAM, which organizes 27,000 United workers nationally, including vital maintenance workers, clearly has the power to shoot down this union-busting threat by *shutting down United*. IAM Local Lodge 1781, which organizes the kitchen workers here, has over 12,000 members. What is needed is a class-struggle leadership that is willing to *use* this muscle, that knows that playing by the bosses' rules means defeat. For mainly white machinists to fight side by side with women and minority food workers to save their jobs would have a big impact throughout the airline industry. Defend the kitchen workers! ■

UCLA...

(continued from page 16)

on trumped-up *felony* charges of vandalism. A former counselor for the Chicano studies program said, "They treat us like wetbacks in our own campus. [Chancellor] Young is the Daryl Gates of the UC system. This is apartheid in Aztlan." The Los Angeles Spartacus Youth Club immediately issued a leaflet demanding, "Drop the Charges Against the Ethnic Studies Protesters! Cops Off Campus!"

Over 1,000 outraged students, faculty, campus workers and L.A. unionists staged a very integrated and militant rally on campus the next day. Many anxious students came in search of news of their roommates who had not been heard from since falling into the clutches of the LAPD. The heavily Latino "Justice for Janitors" Local 399 of the Service Employees International Union heard of the arrests of Chicano students, and responded by dispatching a contingent of 100 unionists from their picket line at the Federal Building to march on campus and join the student protest with their signs raised. Union organizer Rocio Saez noted the support they had consistently received from UCLA students, and his members' desire to return the solidarity: "Wherever we see something that is unjust, we have a responsibility to fight it, not only in the workplace, but for students too."

The attacks on minorities in California are escalating as the ruling class tries to balance the budget by sucking blood from the poor. Budget proposals including draconian cuts in public education and health care are pushed through by "liberal" Democrats like Assemblyman John Vasconcellos who chillingly stated, "when you have to starve babies and close universities, you don't have much to hope for."

Latino youth are not accepting this "future" of life on the scrap heap. In April over a thousand high school students, predominantly Latinos, marched out of ten Oakland schools to protest the racist degradation they experience at the hands of the authorities. Last month a protest against the cuts in ethnic studies at UC Berkeley was broken up by cops, who maced the crowd and arrested 46 students. A reactionary anti-immigrant bill before the state legislature would prohibit any person who is not a legal resident from enrolling in the state's public colleges. As UCLA student and SYC member John Barnard said at the rally on May 12:

> "In this system, it is useless to appeal to the racist bourgeois Regents and administration. The only way to ensure quality education for all is to place the university under the control of the workers, students and faculty! For open admissions, free tuition and a living stipend for students! The bourgeoisie is especially aiming its attacks at immigrants.... Last April, during the unrest in L.A., 1,600 immigrants were summarily deported. Haitians are seized on the high seas and either sent back to a brutal military regime or confined in inhuman conditions in the imperialist enclave at Guantánamo Bay. The recent anti-Arab hysteria which was whipped up after the bombing of the World Trade Center has been used to further crack down on Arab immigrants. We demand full citizenship rights for all immigrant workers and their families!"

The protests at UCLA and UC Berkeley have narrowly focused on establishing ethnic studies departments and multicultural curricula. But students who seek to fight the marginalization of working-class and minority youth must take this struggle beyond the campuses, and fight to change history, not just the history books. Joe O'Connor, brother of Irish rock star Sinéad, wrote, "LA is an Orwellian nightmare, the rich swilling and luxuriating on one side of the wire, the poor living on the leftovers, while the men with guns keep the two worlds apart.... If ever I saw an argument *for* communism, it is Los Angeles. You take one look at the city of the angels and you wonder just how much longer the poor will put up with their lot" (Irish *Sunday Tribune*, 9 May).

As the L.A. Spartacus Youth Club stated in their leaflet issued to the mass protest on May 12:

> "The cops, armed to the teeth, are going after students the same way they went after blacks and Latinos during the L.A. upheaval a year ago and striking Hispanic janitors in 1990. The slap-on-the-wrist King verdict has only emboldened the racist thugs in blue. The LAPD is the local arm of the same racist state that carried out the mass murder of 86 people, members of an integrated religious sect, in Waco for, as the government put it, 'espousing doctrines hostile to law enforcement.' The imperialist U.S. ruling class treats the working population of this country the same way they treat Iraqis, Somalis, and the way they now want to treat the Serbs: as inmates to be beaten into passivity and killed if they resist.... The U.S. ruling class smashes workers and minorities in this country the better to act as top cops of the world, exploiting workers and markets abroad in competition with their imperialist rivals.
>
> "The social power to take on the racist bourgeoisie and win lies with the organized, integrated working class—the labor movement. Students who want to fight racist cop terror and struggle for decent education for all must look to forge links with the powerful unions in this city—longshore, aerospace, city workers—in a fight to get what we need. We've got to build a multiracial workers party to lead that struggle on the road to a socialist revolution, that will rip the wealth of this country out of the hands of the exploiters, so we can begin to build a socialist, egalitarian society on an international scale. Winning students and youth to this struggle is what the Trotskyist Spartacus Youth Club is all about. Join us!"

* * *

In response to the protests, many of the arrested students' charges have been reduced to misdemeanor offenses, but they are facing an urgent and costly legal defense. We urge our readers to send contributions to: UCLA Student Legal Defense Fund, Asian-American Studies Center, 405 Hilgard Ave., 3230 Campbell Hall, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA 90024. ■

Keep the Scum on the Run!

Nazis Routed in Vancouver

Spartacist Canada

VANCOUVER—On May 6, an integrated demonstration of 60 people—blacks, Asians, Jews, unionists, leftists, gays, youth—came out on less than one day's notice to protest and stop a meeting of the fascist "Canadian League of Rights," a gang of Canada's most notorious white-supremacists and anti-Semites. Organized by the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste and the Partisan Defense Committee, the protesters chanted, "No Nazis in Vancouver! Fascists off the streets!" We closed down the meeting hall for well over an hour, repelling repeated fascist provocations, including one Hitlerite's attack with an iron bar. One anti-fascist suffered a crushed toe. But the Nazi ended up later with a yellow streak painted down his back and his head stuffed into a garbage can.

The demonstrators sent a clear message to the Hitler-lovers that Vancouver is a labor and minority town, not a Nazi town. In response, the cops hauled four of the anti-fascist protesters off to jail, holding them there until the fascists had "safely" ended their meeting several hours later.

Following extensive TV and radio coverage, anti-fascist protesters were warmly greeted at work, in restaurants and on the streets with hearty congratulations. Many in Vancouver remember January 22, when thousands of determined anti-fascists, including militant representatives of the powerful British Columbia labor movement, drove a gang of skinhead stormtroopers off the streets of this city. As the TL's call for the May 6 demo said: "Let's keep the Nazis on the run! Labor/minorities have the power!"

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May Day in Havana...

(continued from page 16)

a rapid decline beginning with Yeltsin's countercoup in the USSR, and accelerating impoverishment in recent months.

These days, there is *nothing* to buy for pesos. The stores—except for hard-currency stores reserved for tourists—have *nothing* on the shelves. Many average Cuban workers and youth confirmed this. Increasingly it is necessary to turn to the black market to get basic foodstuffs, let alone "luxury" items like clothes, toothpaste, bicycle tires. Workers are given ration cards at work, but these are often not sufficient. Even a bag of rice, a liter of cooking oil, some beans, some sugar might be available only through the black market.

Cubans eat at their workplaces (usually lunch) but more and more often this is their only meal each day. Rice and beans may be the only food people get for days on end. The ration for eggs is now three a month. The state is trying to make sure people get a minimum nutritional balance.

Vitamin supplements are now being distributed free of charge, all over the country, in part to fight an epidemic of optic neuritis which has caused many cases of blindness. Cubans proudly told us that even in this "Special Period," not a single hospital or medical facility has been closed. There are drastic shortages, but no homelessness and medical care is still free.

The dismantling of the Soviet workers state precipitated the current freefall in living standards. Cubans have a deep hatred of Gorbachev and Yeltsin. In the wake of the disintegration of the Soviet Union the Castro regime is desperately seeking to expand ties with the international capitalist market and end the blockade. Great hopes are also placed in building up tourism, as well as other industries like biotechnology, pharmaceuticals, and a plethora of goods produced from sugar cane.

To garner hard currency, the Cuban government is trying to build up the tourist industry. Tourism is now so big that a union of tourism workers was inaugurated the week we were there. What struck us was that foreign currency was undermining the peso, the national currency. It is a telling sign of the isolation of Cuba and the effect of U.S. imperialism bearing down. You can sense the population responding accordingly, i.e., having to hustle in the black market for goods, hustling tourists, and the prostitution—the hustling to survive in a tourist economy.

To feed the population, it has become necessary to dramatically increase the voluntary work which most Cubans have to do in agriculture. Reportedly the entire Foreign Ministry was sent out to the fields after getting into trouble with Fidel. Just about everyone takes part—spending weekends or several weeks picking vegetables, cutting cane or doing whatever to make up for a steady loss of agricultural manpower over the years.

WV Photo

Havana: Schoolchildren outside the Museum of the Revolution.

This "time off" normal work is facilitated by the fact that thousands of factories, workshops, etc., are grinding to a halt for lack of fuel, electricity, spare parts, raw materials. This has led to chronic underemployment.

There is groping for straws. An economist from the Cuban CP Political Bureau told us he thinks the Clinton administration includes several individuals with "new thinking" on ending the blockade. *Granma International* runs articles advising Washington that closing down Guantánamo would save a lot of money! There is much talk about how ending the blockade would be "mutually advantageous," that it is "irrational" and "uncivilized." Of course, the new Democratic administration, vying with the Bush/Reagan camp for support among the most rabid, foam-flecked *gusanos* in Miami, hasn't the slightest intention of giving up the military base the U.S. illegally occupies on Cuban soil. In addition to the military threat, they find it a handy place to imprison HIV-infected Haitians fleeing the bloody terror of the Tontons Macoutes.

The minimal aid which Cuba is receiving from international support groups is greatly appreciated, but it's only a drop in the bucket of what's needed. The Castroites see it as part of the propaganda campaign to get the blockade lifted. But many participants have scarcely disguised counterrevolutionary motives. One of the most touted groups, the "Basta!" flotilla from Miami, was a bunch of businessmen yacht-owners who explicitly say the best way to bring down Castro and the Cuban Revolution is by lifting the blockade.

Internationalism and the Race Question

We were struck by the contrast between our experiences in racist America and life in an integrated, anti-racist workers state (albeit bureaucratically deformed). One young black woman told us, "You see this skin—here in Cuba I know I'm equal and in solidarity with my comrades of all shades of skin. That's the power of our revolution." Everywhere we met guys our age, light-skinned and dark-skinned, who volunteered to fight in Angola against the racist South African army and UNITA. They saw many of their schoolmates killed. But we didn't meet anyone who had regrets. They're pissed at what's happening now in Angola, but they're proud to have done their internationalist and anti-racist duty.

At a reception, one of us presented the head of the Cuban Workers Federation with two videos about the combative, largely Latino workers of the Justice for Janitors union organizing drive in Los Angeles, who have courageously defended their strikes against the brutal repression of the LAPD and *la migra*. We said:

> "The question of organizing immigrant labor in the U.S. is key to struggle against the racial divisions that are fostered among the working class. This issue of racism brings up the issue of the liberation of the black population, key in the U.S. If you touch the question of black liberation in the U.S., you touch the question of socialist revolution.
> "So the tasks are to fight for a workers party based on the unions, to fight for a socialist revolution to bring down capitalism. In this we can defend what has been won and gained here in Cuba."

At a ribbon-cutting ceremony for a new pharmaceutical plant, we struck up a conversation with two electricians. Their construction contingent was receiving a "Vanguard of Labor" award for their hard work in completing the plant and also doing 50,000 hours of voluntary labor. They clapped politely as the union leaders gave themselves awards atop the podium, but they were more interested in talking with us about Nicaragua, Waco, El Salvador, the ex-USSR, the prospects for class struggle in the U.S. One of them fought with the Vietnamese in the early '70s, and recounted laughingly how frightened he was when the U.S. rained bombs down on Hanoi, praising the bravery of his Vietnamese comrades. That kind of internationalism and high consciousness lives in the Cuban working class.

Any U.S. invasion of Cuba would be met with ferocious resistance. Everyone, men and women, in the country receives military training and periodic drills. Several young people we spoke with said they certainly don't want to fight (no bravado here), but that they will fight if there is an invasion.

It will be much harder, though, to prevail against imperialism's other tactic, of slow strangulation with its starvation blockade. Isolated, the Cuban Revolution cannot survive: "socialism on one island" has no future. The bureaucratic leadership of the Cuban deformed workers state is driven to seek accommodation, "peaceful coexistence," with "enlightened" capitalism. But what the working people of Cuba need instead is a Leninist-Trotskyist leadership to replace the bureaucratic regime with democratic organs of proletarian power. And only a perspective of workers revolution, of proletarian uprisings across Latin America and beyond, into the belly of the imperialist colossus, can offer a road forward for the Cuban masses, who have suffered so much and fought so valiantly in the struggle to realize their revolutionary aspirations. ■

Agencia de Informacion Nacional (Cuba)

"Marianao Will Resist!" pledged this neighborhood contingent of May Day marchers. U.S. invasion of Cuba would meet ferocious resistance.

Alps/Santa Monica Outlook

WV Photo

Justice for Janitors campaign faced racist LAPD terror in their union organizing fight (left). Cuban trade unionists were interested to hear the story of their struggle (right).

WORKERS VANGUARD

Defend Cuba Against Yankee Imperialism!

May Day in Havana

WV Photo

Eyewitness Report

The following is a report by two trade unionists who recently returned from a trip to Cuba with a solidarity delegation of North American trade unionists.

Nearly one million people marched through Havana in the official May Day march this year. We watched from the reviewing stands: it was an impressive sight as factory contingents, neighborhood groups and youth came to proclaim their defiance of the siege conditions imposed by Washington's vindictive blockade and fostered by the destruction of the Soviet Union. Thousands carried pictures of Che Guevara with the slogan "¡Hasta la Victoria Siempre!" (Ever Onward to Victory). Others brought signs saying "On Our Knees...Never!" and "Socialism or Death!"

There were sports skits and dancers in spandex, funky floats and thundering chants: "¡Viva la Revolución Cubana! Patria o Muerte—¡Venceremos!" Both speeches and slogans had a nationalist thrust. No pictures of Marx, Engels or Lenin—instead there were lots of references to José Martí, Che and, of course, Fidel. Cuban flags and red banners were everywhere. People seemed to be having a good time, but we also got the sense that the mass of the Cuban people really *do not want to go back*. They do not want to return to capitalism. The revolution is something their fathers and mothers fought for. The revolutionary determination of the Cuban working class has not been sapped.

But their fierce determination today is facing its most difficult test, as Cuba is threatened with starvation. This is not entirely obvious from the vantage of the tourist sector, which along with the bureaucracy and its invited guests, does not "go without." The bureaucracy and tourism are themselves corrosive to the enormous gains of the Cuban Revolution. But the *starvation siege* by U.S. imperialism—a total blockade which has lasted three decades, through five administrations, and recently intensified by the Torricelli Act—is the most destructive counterrevolutionary weapon today. No one knows how long the Cubans can hold out.

The economic blockade is a useful tool for the imperialists, helping to create a black market, a dollar economy, driving a wedge between the masses and the privileged elite. One Cuban journalist remarked, "The truth is that we're still in shock. We've fallen so far, so fast. It's been too sudden to fathom how the achievements of our revolution could be replaced by hunger pangs."

In trips around Havana, one still doesn't find the poverty and degradation of nearly all the rest of Latin America and the Caribbean. In fact, people look well-fed and healthy. But there has been

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LAPD Unleashed Against Minority Students—Cops Off Campus!

Protests Rock UCLA

LOS ANGELES—Fed up with an administration that wouldn't even meet to listen to their concerns, on May 11 some 500 students at University of California/Los Angeles marched on the Faculty Center to protest a *70 percent* cut in funding for the Chicano studies library and to demand that Chicano studies be upgraded to full departmental status. Over 100 students seized the building while hundreds more rallied outside. Vice Chancellor Andrea Rich (a.k.a. the "Ice Queen") responded with a massive police assault, including over 200 thugs from the notorious LAPD. The students were suddenly surrounded by SWAT teams in full riot gear and armed with pepper gas as "blue thunder" helicopters hovered overhead.

Demonstrators were dispersed by club-wielding cops, and ten students who didn't move fast enough were arrested and charged with trespassing—on their own campus! The SWAT teams then stormed the student-occupied Faculty Center. Chained together in groups of six, 83 students were thrown in jail

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Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth Club joins protest against cop attack on student demonstrators.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 577

4 June 1993

South Africa: Apartheid Stormtroopers Mobilize

MAY 31—Following the April 10 assassination of Communist Party (SACP) leader Chris Hani, South African society is rapidly polarizing. The black townships exploded in anger, "moderate" African National Congress leaders Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki were booed, and apartheid police opened fire on the crowds. Now there are ominous signals that right-wing whites are consolidating their forces.

The day after the massive funeral for Hani, SACP general secretary and former head of the ANC's military wing, Afrikaner reactionaries, including five hardline generals, met to form a new umbrella group. On May 6, the "Afrikaner Volksfront" (AVF) announced its existence at a "white power" rally, openly threatening civil war. Last weekend in Pretoria, the "respectable" generals who head the AVF joined a march of 3,000 armed neo-Nazis of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB). Wearing black masks, the fascists paraded with swastika banners, chanting "Kill the blacks!"

Meanwhile, F.W. De Klerk's apartheid regime, after making only three token arrests in the obviously government-linked conspiracy to assassinate Hani, last week launched a mass round-up of the black nationalists of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

Following the arrest of anti-Communist Polish immigrant Janusz Walus for Hani's assassination, the disclosure that the murder weapon was stolen in a 1990 fascist raid on an air

continued on page 11

Fascist Firebomb Kills Turkish Women and Girls

Germany: Ban on Refugees, Green Light for Nazi Terror

BERLIN—On May 26, the Christian Democrats (CDU), Free Democrats (FDP) and Social Democrats (SPD) voted in the Bundestag (parliament) in Bonn to gut the right of asylum, and thus in effect to drive all refugees out of Germany. Three nights later, fascists "celebrated" their victory by burning down a home of Turkish families in the Ruhr industrial city of Solingen. Two young women and three girls died a grisly death in the inferno, while three more Turkish children are in grave condition, covered with burns they suffered as they desperately sought to escape the flames. Neighbors reported seeing a group of skinheads leaving the scene after scrawling swastikas at a nearby playground.

In Solingen on May 29 thousands of outraged demonstrators greeted federal interior minister Seiters with cries of "Murderer!" Our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) issued an emergency statement with a call for worker/immigrant mobilization to stop the Fourth Reich's murder gangs (see page 8).

Also on the night of May 28-29 there were Nazi arson attacks against a house in Munich containing Turks, Afghans and Angolans, as well as in Hannover, Chemnitz, Cuxhaven and Wolfsburg. These were not the acts of "rowdies" run amok, but a calculated military operation. "Foreigners Out!" has long been a war cry of the fascists, particularly with the upsurge of nationalist chauvinism since the capitalist reunification of Germany which destroyed the DDR (East German) deformed workers state. And as the "respectable" bourgeois and social-democratic politicians whip up fears of the country being "inundated" by immigrants, the Nazi terrorists are emboldened in carrying out their murderous deeds. After the murder of three Turks by young Nazi firebombers in Mölln six months ago, the state announced it was "cracking down" and outlawed several fascist groups. But the killing goes on.

Anti-Racist Protesters Surround Parliament

AP

Fourth Reich's riot cops face off against demonstrators who converged on the Bundestag May 26 to denounce elimination of the right of asylum.

All the hypocritical expressions of sympathy and commiseration from CDU federal chancellor Helmut Kohl and Nordrhein-Westfalen's SPD prime minister Johannes Rau the day after the massacre can't hide that *the racist all-party coalition in Bonn instigated this deadly terror.* The bourgeois and social-democratic politicians no less than the fascists have made "foreigners" scapegoats for the mass unemployment and other hardships that have transformed reunified Germany from a mythical "economic miracle land" into a seething hotbed of racist hatred. Already last August, the pogrom in Rostock came on the same weekend the SPD agreed behind closed doors to "amend" (eliminate) the right to asylum.

On Sunday, Turkish demonstrators chanted "Nazis, we will find you!" and a group of protesters blockaded the

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Sit-In Breaks Racist Color Bar at Sydney Pub

Australia

SYDNEY—On May 26, an integrated group of forty forcefully broke a racist ban against the right of Aborigines to enter and drink at an inner-city nightclub in the Student Prince Hotel here. Aborigines, trade-union members, communists, Maoris, Asians, and students from Sydney University and Tranby Aboriginal College entered the club as a disciplined and determined group. Three members of the Redfern All-Blacks (a local all-Aborigine rugby club) bellied up to the bar and demanded to be served. The other protesters made it clear that the bar would do no more business until they were, whereupon management opted to serve them.

As the victory party commenced, the protesters spoke to the roughly 100 other patrons on hand (unplugging the jukebox over management protest in order to be heard) and asserted:

> "We are here tonight to ensure that everyone—regardless of the colour of their skin—gets served and that the racist exclusion imposed by the Student Prince Hotel management is not repeated."

Among the speakers were All-Blacks captain Shane Phillips (brother of Tanya Phillips, a victim of the hotel's ban on May 8), two spokesmen of the Spartacist League, and Barbara Davis, another Aboriginal victim of the hotel's ban.

An hour later, after cheers and toasts from hotel patrons, many of whom were Sydney Uni students, the group left in good order. One Aboriginal former building union militant noted with satisfaction: "I've always been on the other side...outside the pub. This time I was on the inside, on the winning side."

This action, modeled on the sit-ins by black students in the American South in the early 1960s to integrate lunch counters and other facilities long segregated under Jim Crow, was initiated by the Spartacist League of Australia. The club at the Student Prince, a few blocks from the Aboriginal ghetto in the Sydney community of Redfern, was becoming a popular drinking spot for Aboriginal youth when club management established a racist, anti-black quota, enforced by bouncers at the door who began turning away young men and women with filthy racist epithets.

The issue became public on May 11 when ABC (Australian Broadcasting Corporation) television aired footage of two young Aboriginal women being excluded by the white bouncers at the door three nights earlier. The ABC reporter told *Australasian Spartacist* that she had personally witnessed six other Aboriginal youths being denied entrance that night; one of the victims told us she and some 20 other blacks were excluded within a one-hour period in an earlier incident on April 24. Breaking this disgusting and dangerous racist ban was a small but significant victory for Aborigines and all working people in Australia.

Townsville Bulletin

Townsville, Australia—Integrated strikers of the meat workers union fought back against the racist firing of Aboriginal stockman Eddie Alley in February.

The ban at the Student Prince Hotel comes in the context of a decade of Labor Party rule which has brought on a sharp rise in racist hysteria and murderous oppression of Aborigines. In 1987 the rate of black deaths in police custody was already 13 times higher than in South Africa. Since that time the jailing of Aborigines in Australia has increased by 25 percent and in New South Wales, whose capital city is Sydney, it has increased by 80 percent. Incidents of police torture and killing of Aboriginal prisoners have increased accordingly.

Along with direct state repression, there are the effects of social and economic oppression. The death rate for black children is now two and a half times that for white children; for adult blacks the rate is three times that for white Australians. Preventable disease ravages Aboriginal communities, where tuberculosis has reached epidemic proportions.

The successful action at the Student Prince points to the centrality of working-class power in the fight against White Australia racism, and against the hideous oppression of Aborigines in particular. The action was joined by unionists from over half a dozen industries—including construction, maritime, hospital and postal—who have also experienced vicious Labor government attacks over the last ten years.

On a larger scale, the power of the working class in struggle against racial oppression was shown by the hard-fought, integrated meat workers strike in Townsville, Queensland in February. The strikers were defending Aboriginal stockman Eddie Alley, who was sacked for standing firm on the union principle of seniority and upholding union safety conditions. The strike spiked this racist anti-union attack and resulted in Alley's full reinstatement.

The Spartacist League was the only left organization to respond to the racist atrocity at the Student Prince Hotel. The two Laborite left organizations prominent on nearby Sydney University campus, the Cliffite International Socialist Organisation and the Democratic Socialist Party (formerly the Socialist Workers Party), ignored the issue altogether. As SL spokesman Chris McCarthy told protesters on May 26, we fight to forge a revolutionary workers party to lead the workers and all the oppressed, a Leninist party which is the tribune of the people, exposing and combatting capitalist attacks on the rights of all sections of society.

For workers revolution to smash the racist Australian capitalist order! For a racially integrated workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia! ■

Remember the Rosenbergs!

TROTSKY

LENIN

Forty years ago, on 19 June 1953, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were executed as alleged Soviet spies. The legal lynching of these two heroic Jewish Communists marked the climax of the McCarthyite witchhunt. While self-styled "civil libertarian" groups like the ACLU, the Anti-Defamation League and Cold War liberals like Max Lerner supported the witchhunt and joined the government's murderous chorus against the Rosenbergs, the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party issued a sharp denunciation of this anti-Communist murder.

No one breathed bigger sighs of relief when Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were finally electrocuted than many of the so-called liberals. The Rosenberg case was a distinct embarrassment to them. They were fully aware of the brutal and relentless determination of the government to make an "example" of the Rosenbergs, regardless of their innocence or degree of guilt. They also knew that world opinion by and large considered the execution of the Rosenbergs a monstrous crime. Yet they feared to take a forthright stand in defense of the Rosenbergs lest they be accused of "protecting Communist spies."

This feeling of relief that the Rosenberg case would not plague the liberals anymore finds veiled expression in the June 28 column of Max Lerner in the *N.Y. Post*. He calls it "my balance sheet of the Rosenberg case and my farewell to the whole topic"....

Lerner may think he is rid of the Rosenberg case and now that he has said his "farewell to the whole topic," the rest of us will do likewise. But there are tens of millions here and abroad who recognize this case for what it was—a bestial act of capitalist class terrorism intended to help intimidate into silence all who would criticize or oppose Wall Street's policies abroad or at home. These millions will yet say the last word on the Rosenbergs and the evil class system that committed their murder.

—"The Last Word on Rosenberg Case Is Not Yet Spoken,"
Militant (6 July 1953)

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No. 577 **4 June 1993**

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Walesa/IMF Austerity Regime in Turmoil

Strikes Sweep Poland

WARSAW, May 29—Less than a year after it took office, the government of Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka, known as the "Iron Lady" of Poland for her Thatcherite austerity policies, was brought down by a vote of no confidence in the Sejm (parliament) yesterday. This is the fourth government in as many years since Lech Walesa's Solidarność was handed the reins of power by the discredited Stalinist bureaucracy in 1989 and launched its "shock therapy" drive to restore capitalism. In response, President Walesa announced today he was dissolving the Sejm and the Suchocka government would rule by decree until new elections in the fall.

Ironically, the latest anti-government motion was initiated by the Solidarność union representatives in the Sejm, miffed at Suchocka for refusing to allow wage increases for teachers and other state employees. In desperation, the anti-Communist Suchocka even appealed for support from the Democratic Left Alliance, the largest parliamentary bloc, dominated by the ex-Stalinist Social Democrats (SdRP) and OPZZ trade-union leaders. The born-again Social Democrats were more than willing to play ball with Suchocka, but balked when she refused to cut a deal over a handful of face-saving demands.

The infighting and disarray among the numerous factions which issued out of Solidarność counterrevolution reflects the new bourgeoisie's incapacity to deal with a virtually uninterrupted wave of workers' struggles. The Suchocka government was almost brought down twice earlier as a result of strike action, by copper miners and metal workers last summer and coal miners in December. Scarcely a day goes by without a strike in some part of the country. A week before the parliamentary vote, a solid transport strike in Warsaw paralyzed the capital for a day. In late April, the ex-Stalinist ZNP teachers union staged a widely supported one-day walkout over wage demands. To maintain some credibility, the Solidarność teachers union, one-third as big as the ZNP, then called its own "indefinite" strike two weeks later, which folded after several days despite appeals to health workers to join in a "general strike" of all workers paid by the state budget.

Three years after Walesa assumed the presidency, sealing the victory of capitalist counterrevolution, the working class of Poland is experiencing attacks on its living conditions as never before in postwar history. Unemployment now officially averages 14 percent and has risen in some areas to half of the workforce. Abortion, which used to be easily obtainable and affordable, has now been criminalized by a draconian new law. Salaries lag far behind price rises, with inflation running at 40 percent, while many unemployed and pensioners have to pick through garbage cans for food. The government's plan for wholesale privatization of the state sector, which was finally passed by the Sejm in late April with the SdRP's support, will mean still sharper attacks on living conditions and workers organizations.

Economist

Polish miners struck for three weeks last December. Strike wave brought down the government last week.

Meanwhile there is an increasing clamor for a "strong hand" at the helm. The start of criminal proceedings recently against former Stalinist president Jaruzelski and several generals involved in the December 1981 crackdown which spiked Solidarność' power bid has signaled a renewed anti-Communist furor. The fascistic Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) of Leczek Muczulski, which has placed its members on "internal alert" and is preparing blacklists for future purges, put forward its own candidate for prime minister immediately after the no-confidence vote. On May 18 an ultrarightist, anti-Walesa faction of the Mazowsze Region (Warsaw area) Solidarność leadership marched on the Belweder presidential palace calling for "God, Honor, Fatherland" and a purge to "cut the state from its Communist roots." The demonstration was permeated with anti-Semitism and included a contingent of skinheads from the fascist NOP.

The same week, pro-Walesa Mazowsze Solidarność head Maciej Jankowski called for a "general strike" around a series of economic demands capped by the bonapartist call for a "crisis government above parties." The Warsaw area WPZZ supported the strike call with a cover of "common economic demands," but the central OPZZ leadership distanced themselves from what they called a "family" conflict. In the upshot, the strike call was widely ignored, even by the bulk of workers in Jankowski's own base at the Lucchini steelworks. The strike was called off after Walesa warned against "playing with fire" in a private meeting with Jankowski, while insisting afterward that he would not allow the parliament to "meddle with the operation of the government." Walesa, this would-be Pilsudski, has barely disguised his bonapartist ambitions, repeatedly threatening to dissolve parliament and form a "government of experts." Now he is carrying out step one of his plans.

Walesa is justifiably cautious about wanting to mobilize the working class behind a bonapartist power bid. The new capitalist regime is brittle, and Walesa enjoys even less popularity than Suchocka. An upsurge of proletarian struggle could easily sweep away the entire ramshackle capitalist state apparatus. In Poland, as nowhere else in East Europe and the ex-USSR, a revolutionary struggle for proletarian power on the basis of authentic soviet democracy is a palpable possibility. Yet the SdRP and OPZZ misleaders, having taken their bankrupt politics to their logical conclusion by handing the bureaucratically deformed workers state to Walesa & Co., today strive for nothing more than to be loyal labor lieutenants of capitalism. The SdRP conference in March enthusiastically welcomed Walesa's greetings, while today they wish him "to be successful" in not letting "Poland burn" (*Trybuna*, 22-23 May).

The treachery of the SdRP and OPZZ bureaucrats provides an opening for sinister outfits like the KPN, Fighting Solidarity and Solidarność 80—led by anti-Semitic nationalist Marian Jurczyk—who employ economic militancy to promote a vicious chauvinist program. Meanwhile, various self-styled "revolutionary" and "Trotskyist" groups who backed Solidarność' initial counterrevolutionary power bid to the hilt tail behind reactionary outfits like Solidarność 80. The Cliffite Socialist Solidarność, the *Dalej!* group (followers of Ernest Mandel) and the Morenoite-connected "Initiative Group for a Workers Party" all mingled shamelessly with the ultrarightist protesters on May 18. The Mandelites even had a leaflet for this anti-Communist demonstration.

The Polish proletariat is well-placed to play a leading role in reversing the counterrevolutionary tide which has immiserated the East European workers. To do so, it must reclaim its history of revolutionary, internationalist struggle—from the days of the tsarist empire to the anti-bureaucratic uprisings of 1956, 1970 and 1976. We Spartacists uniquely called in 1981 to "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" Today the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski is fighting to build a party like the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky: a "tribune of the people" which recognizes the intrinsic link between the workers' economic conditions and the defense of women, Jews, Roma, gays, and all the oppressed. For socialist revolution to sweep away Walesa and all the new exploiters! ■

Platforma Spartakusowców

Spartacist Group of Poland in May Day demonstration last year called for "Worker/Minority Mobilizations to Smash Fascist Attacks."

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—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Zionist Fingermen for Apartheid, Salvador Death Squads

ADL's Massive Spy Operation

SAN FRANCISCO—The unfolding revelations of its secret ties to various political police agencies have exposed the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL) as spies for some of the deadliest regimes on the planet. Last October, an SF cop and former CIA agent Tom Gerard abruptly fled the country after the FBI questioned him. According to his buddy, local "art dealer" Roy Bullock, the two had been selling information on anti-apartheid activists to South African agents to the tune of some $18,000. But when the story hit the newspapers in January, it came out that for decades, Bullock has been a paid spy for the ADL, an organization allegedly devoted to fighting anti-Semitism (see "ADL Connection to CIA/FBI Exposed," *WV* No. 570, 26 February).

In April, after months of delay, the San Francisco district attorney finally released a 700-page mass of documents seized in December raids of Gerard and Bullock's premises and ADL offices in San Francisco and Los Angeles. Even the D.A.'s carefully selected revelations have blown the cover off the ADL's extensive network of agents (paid and unpaid) working closely with local police, the FBI and the BATF (Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms) of Waco infamy. The documents reveal a surveillance operation worthy of a medium-size imperialist intelligence service. Bullock and the ADL had accumulated some 12,000 dossiers, targeting more than 950 organizations. The files were broken down into five categories: "Skins," "Right," "Pinkos," "Arabs," "ANC."

Despite the ADL's carefully groomed public image of fighting right-wing extremists and anti-Semites, fascists like the KKK and Nazis are minor players in the ADL spy files. Fully a quarter of the list consists of Arab Americans. Others among the 12,000 include *Los Angeles Times* Johannesburg correspondent Scott Kraft, former Republican Congressman Pete McCloskey and political scientist Yigal Arens, the liberal Zionist son of the former Israeli war minister.

Organizations on the ADL's hit list range from the San Francisco Labor Council and International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Locals 6 and 10 to the ACLU, the NAACP, the National Lawyers Guild and even the Simon Wiesenthal Center. Numerous gay rights groups and practically every left-wing organization in town is in the files. We're listed three times: under the FBI's preferred misspelling "Sparticist," the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) and the Spartacus Youth League. McCloskey and other targets have launched a class-action lawsuit against the ADL charging violation of privacy.

ABC-TV

Pedilla/NY Times

RB PINKO
ORGANIZATIONS

560	SOUTH AFRICAN INTER.STUDENT CONGRES	INITIALS: SAISC
561	SOUTH BAY NICARAGUA SOLIDARITY COM.	INITIALS: NICAR
562	SOUTHERN AFRICA LIB.SUPPORT COMMTT.	INITIALS: APART
563	SOUTHERN AFRICAN MEDIA CENTER	INITIALS: APART
564	SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE	INITIALS: SYL
565	SPARTICIST LEAGUE	INITIALS: PDC
566	STEVENS,HINDS AND WHITE ATTORNIES	INITIALS: N29
567	STOP THE US WAR MACHINE ACTION NET.	INITIALS: PAX
568	STUDENT COAL.AGAINST APART.AND RAC.	INITIALS: SCAR
569	STUDENT PUGWASH	INITIALS: MICA

Ex-SF cop and Salvador CIA operative Tom Gerard (left) and Roy Bullock: ADL spies targeted thousands of Arab Americans, leftists, blacks and anti-apartheid fighters.

"Fact Finders" and Fingermen

That the ADL's "fact finders" would go after leftists, Palestinian rights activists, and anyone else they perceive to be an enemy of the Israeli Zionist state, is not news. But as the "ANC" category makes clear, the Zionists' spooks also placed a heavy emphasis on tracking the anti-apartheid movement, as well as groups opposed to U.S.-backed military dictatorships in Central America. Bullock spied on South African Communist Party leader Chris Hani—recently gunned down by a fascist fanatic—when Hani visited the Bay Area in 1991. He also habitually searched the trash of the Christic Institute, a liberal group with a record of exposing U.S. support to Central American death squads and the Iran/Contra scandal.

The ADL and its allies are seeking to control the damage by getting official investigations squelched. Unaccustomed to being under the spotlight itself, the ADL has deluged op-ed pages and letters columns with a wave of defensive non-denial denials. Typical is a *New York Times* (28 May) piece by ADL national director Abraham Foxman headlined "It's a Big Lie, Hailed by Anti-Semites." The pro-Israel *Times* so blatantly blacked out the story for months that even the *Washington Post* tweaked them for it. Another reply by Foxman in the *Village Voice* (18 May) pleaded that the ADL's "fact finders" are "directly analogous to investigative journalists" and swore that "ADL's primary concern is still the far right." Let's see.

The vast scope of this spy network is detailed in an extensive article by Robert Friedman in the *Village Voice* (11 May). Bullock is a fanatical anti-Communist whose career choice was inspired by reading *I Led Three Lives*, the epitome of Cold War trash propaganda. In 1957, three years before going on the ADL's payroll, he decided to go off to Moscow to do a report for the FBI on the World Youth and Student Festival.

His sidekick Gerard left the SFPD for three years to work for the CIA as a "demolitions expert" in El Salvador. The FBI, another of Gerard's former employers, is investigating him for possession of a secret CIA document found in a briefcase he had left behind before escaping to a remote Philippine hideout last October. The briefcase also included passports made out to Gerard under ten different names, a CIA "Interrogation Training" manual and grisly mementos of the death squads, like a black cloth hood and photos of chained and blindfolded men. Gerard was arrested at the SF airport as soon as he returned to the country on May 6. He now threatens to "blow the whistle" on "illegal CIA support of Central American death squads if he is indicted and tried for his suspected role" in the ADL spy scandal (*Los Angeles Times*, 27 April).

Bullock has his counterparts in a number of other American cities, including New York, Atlanta and St. Louis. The Chicago ADL office runs at least three undercover informants who, Friedman reports, not only monitor the large Arab community in the Midwest, but even videotape Palestinian funerals to identify those who attend. In Washington they have one Mira Boland, who graduated to the ADL after a 14-month stint in the CIA. L.A. "fact finder" David Gurvitz told the FBI that ADL files were filled with info on anti-apartheid groups—going back to the late '70s—when he signed on in 1989.

At the pinnacle of this massive spy operation is ADL chief "fact finder" Irwin Suall, whose department, writes Friedman, has become the "heart and soul" of the ADL. Friedman's description of him as a "repentant Trotskyite" to the contrary, Suall, today a diehard "neocon," got his start as national secretary of the State Department Socialist Party in the Cold War '50s. Liberal muckrakers Dennis King and Chip Berlet recall conversations with Suall some years ago where he ranted "that the chief domestic danger to American Jews was the American left—especially black leftists—backed by the Soviet Union. He argued that right-wing extremists, even those with high-level connections, were insignificant by comparison" (*New York Times*, 28 May). What the ADL means by "black leftists" can be gauged from the fact that Martin Luther King was also one of their targets.

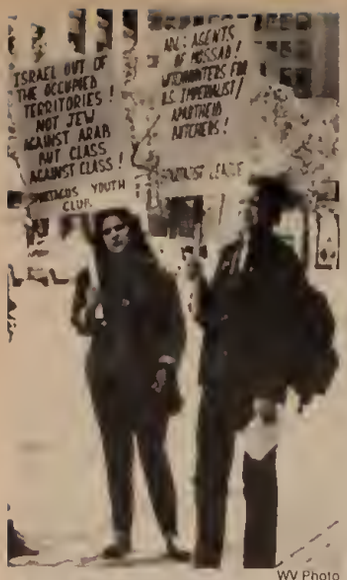
In a transparent apologia for the ADL in the *Wall Street Journal* (7 May), professional anti-Communist Stephen Schwartz claims that the ADL was simply "keeping files." But these files do not merely gather dust in musty archives. The ADL admits to sharing information with the FBI and other police agencies. Take the case of the L.A. Eight—seven

AP

Seisel/NY Times

Avakian/Woodin Camp

ADL director Abe Foxman (center), overseer of massive spy operation on behalf of apartheid butchers (left) and Israeli state terror against Palestinians.



WV Photo

San Francisco, May 6: Spartacists join demonstration outside ADL office to denounce spy operation.

Palestinians and a Kenyan studying in California, who face deportation as "subversives" for the thought crime of distributing political literature sympathetic to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The ADL first investigated them in 1987 and turned their names over to the FBI, who in turn got the INS to initiate deportation proceedings. Or how about Chicago grocer Mohammad Jarad, who was arrested on bogus charges while visiting his family in the West Bank and is still in an Israeli dungeon? His name was in the ADL files, too.

As the tens of thousands of Palestinians who have passed through concentration camps like Ansar III or the families of those who "mysteriously" died while in Shin Beth (political police) custody can testify, "due process" is not high on the list of Israeli legal practices. And it takes little imagination to figure out what happens to anti-racist activists and leftists returned to the tender mercies of the apartheid butchers or Central American death squad regimes.

The Tel Aviv-Pretoria Axis

To understand why a self-proclaimed "Jewish defense" organization would spy on South African and Central American activists, you have to look at what the big Zionist spymasters in Israel are up to. ADL Bay Area honcho Richard Hirschhaut claims "that the ADL is not affiliated with any governmental organization (domestic or foreign)" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 3 February). We don't know what Hirschhaut means by "affiliated," but as far back as 1961 ADL head Benjamin Epstein bragged that "Our information...has been of great value and service to both the United States State Department and the Israeli Government."

Former B'nai B'rith official Saul Joftes admitted in 1970 that "more often than not" the ADL does "the bidding of the government of Israel," while ex-CIA spy Victor Marchetti says bluntly that the ADL-Mossad connection was "common knowledge" in the Company. We ourselves have written about the extensive connections between the Israeli state and the ADL and other Zionist organizations in our articles, "ADL Redbaiters Defame Anti-Klan Protest" (*WV* No. 465, 18 November 1988) and "Alan Dershowitz: Lawyer for Zionist Lies and Spies" (*WV* No. 481, 7 July 1989).

And *what* is the bidding of the Zionist state? In his pamphlet *Israel's Global Role—Weapons for Repression* (1982), valiant Israeli anti-Zionist Israel Shahak, a survivor of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, pointed to "the most important ties which exist between the State of Israel and any other country, with the exception of the U.S.: South Africa." These ties go back well before the right-wing Begin government in 1977, contrary to most accounts of the ADL scandal. "Labor" Zionist and first Israeli president Chaim Weizmann had a "deep friendship" with racist South African leaders like Jan Smuts. Begin's Irgun terror gang also had links with the South African regime in the 1930s, and Begin was later head of the Israel-South Africa Friendship League.

In 1976, South African prime minister Vorster visited Israel, after a trip to Pretoria by Israeli "Labor Party" leader Shimon Peres, to sign an extensive array of military and economic agreements. By 1980, the tiny Zionist garrison state was the world's seventh largest arms exporter, and the apartheid garrison state was a prime customer. Estimates of annual arms sales to Pretoria in the mid-'80s range as high as a billion dollars. Bank Leumi, owned by the World Zionist Organization, had extensive investments in South Africa, and the Zionist state was instrumental in developing South Africa's Armscor weapons industry.

During the sham international boycott of the apartheid regime, Israel was a major transshipment center for goods to and from South Africa. In turn, Israel imported South African raw materials, including uncut diamonds, about half of Israel's coal needs and...enriched uranium. After Israel conducted an A-bomb test off the South African coast in 1979, the *Washington Post* (13 September 1980) reported the existence of an "informal" nuclear alliance of South Africa, Israel and Taiwan.

Which brings us to Central America. Israel, of course, achieved notoriety as "Country 1" in the Contragate scandal. In 1976, three Israeli generals were fêted by the Argentine death squad regime—and one by Pinochet as well—in the space of a month and a half, even as liberal Argentine Jews like Jacobo Timmerman were being tortured in dungeons bedecked with swastikas. By the late '70s, Latin American dictatorships had become a major market for Israeli arms and "anti-terrorist" training. In 1980, Israel accounted for fully 83 percent of El Salvador's arms purchases and, in its waning year, for *98 percent* of the Nicaraguan Somoza dictatorship's weapons. Salvador's Colonel Sigfrido Ochoa, right-hand man of death squad leader D'Aubuisson, attended counter-insurgency courses given by Israeli trainers—as well as political warfare studies in Taiwan.

Taiwan and South Korea are the main sponsors of the World Anti-Communist League, headed by key Contragate operative Gen. Singlaub, who oversaw Israeli arms shipments to the Nicaraguan contras. A driving force in WACL is the sinister Moonie organization, which is connected to South Korean intelligence. Moon owns the *Washington Times*, which appears to have a curiously intimate relationship with the ADL. It was ADL "fact finder" Mira Boland's use of a stolen FBI dossier on the Nation of Islam for a *Washington Times* op-ed article which, according to Friedman, finally pushed the feds to move against the Zionist organization.

The Moonie paper has been even more tight-lipped about the ADL scandal than the *New York Times*. And when the ADL launched a massive smear campaign against a 1988 PDC-initiated labor/black mobilization against the Nazis in Philadelphia, it repeated violence-baiting slanders leveled by the *Washington Times* against a similar SL-initiated action in Washington in 1982 (which they were forced to retract by a PDC libel suit).

In addition to its profitable military-economic relationships with anti-Communist dictatorships, there was also an ideological affinity, particularly in the case of South Africa. As General Van De Berg, head of the South African State Security Office, put it: "You are surrounded by millions of enemies and so are we. The Arabs want to throw you into the sea. The blacks want to drive us out of Africa" (*Davar*, 20 February 1987; translated by Israel Shahak). This is the murderous logic that leads an organization which does the bidding of the Zionist state to spy not only on Palestinian and black organizations in the U.S., but on opponents of apartheid and of the Central American death squads.

WV Photo

WCAU-TV

ADL spokesman launched vicious smear campaign aimed at sabotaging PDC-initiated Philadelphia mobilization against KKK and Nazis, November 1988.

ADL's War on the Left

Former ADL leader Arnold Forster says ADL spying goes back at least 50 years. With the onset of the Cold War, the ADL worked hand in hand with the FBI and the McCarthyite witchhunters of the House Un-American Activities Committee, inviting McCarthy himself to a secret "gin rummy" confab in 1951. The ADL's role in this division of labor was to especially target *Jewish* leftists, notifying HUAC in a secret memorandum that "The files of the ADL and AJC [American Jewish Committee] should be consulted about such witnesses" (*Jewish Life*, September 1953). Even as other Jewish groups distanced themselves from the blatant anti-Semitism of the witchhunt and denounced the legal murder of the Rosenbergs, the ADL sneered that "the cry of anti-Semitism may be the last refuge of insincere Communists."

As we noted earlier: "These defamation experts seek to be the 'authoritative' intelligence source against the left." In a February 1985 letter to San Francisco State University police, an ADL official wrote: "I hope we will be able to continue working on the Sparticus [sic] Youth League's activities" to "enhance the information we have already collected." A dozen SF State student groups were found in the ADL computer files, apparently spied upon by members of the campus Hillel Foundation, the B'nai B'rith youth group. Three years later the ADL went all-out to spike our Philadelphia action *against Nazis*. ADL New England Regional Executive member Alan Dershowitz took to the airwaves with a deliberate smear that the Spartacists "are as fascist and as racist and as non-civil-libertarian as the Ku Klux Klan." Philadelphia regional director Barry Morrison echoed Dershowitz's slander and urged the city to let the Klan "go ahead with what they plan to do."

We got the same treatment following a similar anti-fascist mobilization in Atlanta two months later. Professional redbaiter Harvey Klehr, who had prepared a 1988 "report" for the ADL on *The American Radical Left Today*, wrote an insidious piece in the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* (29 January 1989) to insinuate that rather than stopping the Klan, the SL and PDC were pursuing "another agenda." An internal memorandum to Suall dated the following day talked of "shared information" and "close contact with our friends in law enforcement," ominously noting: "The Spartacists are known to ADL for their participation in the recent demonstrations against the Klan in Philadelphia and Washington."

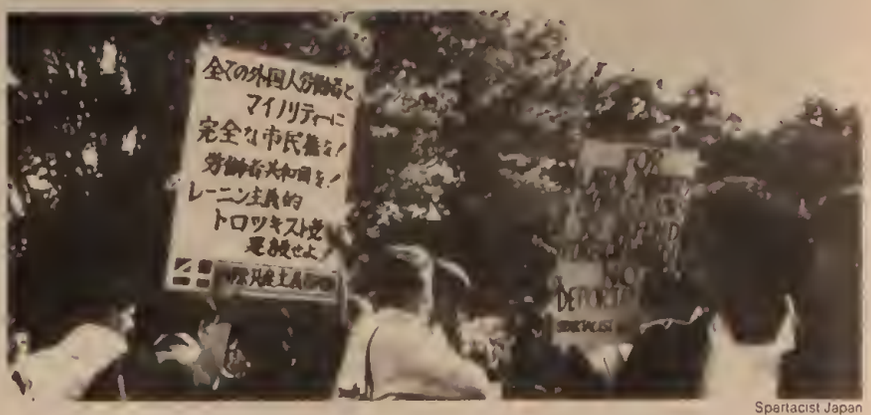
Replying to the ADL's smears in 1988, we commented: "The reason they choose to target the Spartacist League with their vile defamation is because, unlike practically all the left, with their impressionistic tailing after nationalism, we are the living refutation of their self-serving lie that anti-Zionism equals anti-Semitism. We defend the Palestinian people against the terror of the Israeli state, which is in the process of working up to trying genocide, *and* we oppose the Arab nationalist calls to 'drive the Jews into the sea.' The Trotskyist program of international socialist revolution offers a future to the Jewish people; Zionism has never offered anything but a deathtrap."

In the early 1950s, even some ADL members cautioned that it was becoming "an adjunct of the Israeli embassy, an agency of a foreign power." The ADL replied that American and Israeli interests could never conflict. But as Jonathan Jay Pollard, sentenced to life for spying for Israel, learned, the American ruling class only allows "dual loyalty" to go so far. (Interestingly, Pollard, whose sympathies lie with the fascistic Gush Emunim anti-Arab terrorists, was also connected to South African intelligence.) Now the ultra-respectable, "mainstream" ADL is finding its offices raided by the FBI, with whom it has collaborated for decades against their common "enemies" on the left.

This "Anti" Defamation League aids and abets some of the most racist, murderous forces on the face of the earth—from the Zionist stormtroopers in the Occupied Territories to the apartheid butchers and sadistic Central American death squads. But liberals and leftists who are now calling for the FBI to investigate the ADL are appealing to an even more murderous ruling class, whose butchery extends from the killing fields of Vietnam to the prairies around Waco, Texas. Accounts will be settled with all these mass murderers when the working class takes power and puts an end to the system of capitalist exploitation they defend. ■

Stop Attacks on Foreign Workers in Japan!

Tokyo May Day Leaflet



Spartacist Japan

Demonstration against cop roundup of Iranian immigrants in Tokyo's Yoyogi Park. Spartacists demand "Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign Workers!"

TOKYO—Foreign laborers, especially Iranians, are in the Japanese government's cross hairs as the current recession has rendered the more than 250,000 estimated undocumented workers expendable targets for harassment and deportation. On April 28, the Tokyo police quarantined the section of Yoyogi Park used by Iranians as a social center for more than three years. The cops expanded their Sunday patrols and carted off 102 foreign workers for arrest on May 9.

The government crackdown and media scapegoating of "illegal" immigrants (the *Japan Times*, for example, described Yoyogi Park as a gathering place for Iranians, "many of whom are suspected of being illegal laborers in Japan or of dealing in marijuana, opium and counterfeit telephone cards") have encouraged fascists to spew their racist poison. In the Nakano area, home to many foreigners living in Japan, a xenophobic right-wing flyer was postered calling for the expulsion of "bad foreigners" while demanding (in English), "Destroy Redneck Jewish America."

The number of immigrant workers in Japan, while fewer than in Europe, has grown sharply in recent years. Foreign laborers in Japan, the overwhelming majority of whom are undocumented, have come from more than 75 countries. Large numbers come from poorer Asian countries—the Philippines, Thailand, South Korea, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Myanmar (Burma)—as well as from Nigeria and Ghana. The newest groups are Peruvians and Brazilians of Japanese descent, and Iranians. One Iranian laborer expressed the growing fear among the immigrant community here: "I'm terrified to think that what is happening in Europe may also happen in this country."

The attack on these workers is part of a growing conservative climate, fueled by the economic downturn, in which the organized working class is taking a beating. The government has dispatched the military twice to Cambodia and now to Mozambique. The death penalty is being carried out again and, after a 20-year legal battle, the Education Ministry has won its fight to eliminate critical references to Japan's militaristic imperialist history from school textbooks. Now all media eyes are focused on the upcoming royal wedding, featuring an educated woman (a former student of Harvard boy Jeffrey Sachs, architect of "shock treatment" starvation policies from Bolivia to Poland and Russia) giving up her high-level career to become a devoted imperial wife.

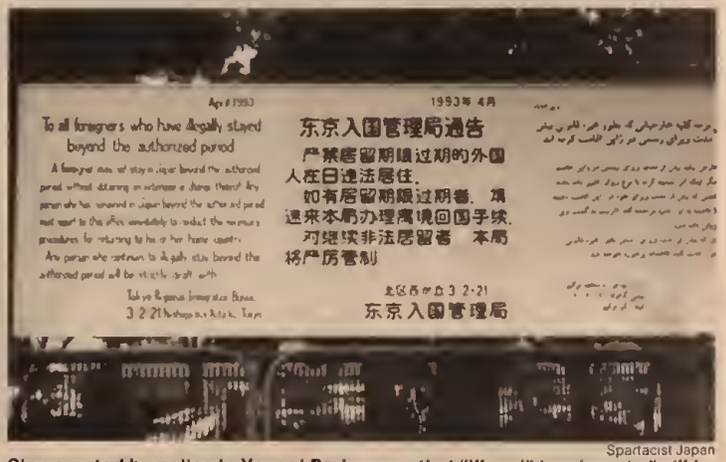
Most Japanese leftists and the labor movement have criminally ignored the responsibility to defend immigrant labor, some for shameful chauvinist reasons. A small section of the Zenrokyo labor federation, led by the left-wing social democrats of Kyokai-ha, recently held a meeting to publicize the issue, but their policy is to organize foreign workers into tokenistic separate unions, which will be incapable of defending their members while mirroring their segregation from the big battalions of labor in basic industry.

The parochialism and outright chauvinism of most of the left (which in the interests of tailing the sellout labor bureaucrats also ignores the desperate needs of other specially oppressed strata of the working people, like women workers and minorities born in Japan) renders them incapable of fighting for integrated industrial unions, full citizenship rights for foreign laborers, and labor/minority mobilizations to defend the oppressed. Even some liberal groups, like the young activists of Inoken, have taken a more forthright public stand against racism than most purported leftists. But a "go it alone" strategy, divorced from the social power of the proletariat, cannot successfully defend foreign workers.

The Spartacist Group of Japan leaflet translated below was issued on May Day. Nearly 5,000 copies were distributed at two labor rallies held on May Day, despite attempts by Stalinist goons to prevent the expression of our communist views.

Stop the Harassment of Foreign Workers! No Deportations! For Labor/Minority Mobilizations to Defend Foreign Workers

On April 28th the government stepped up their attacks on foreign workers by closing down "Little Teheran" in Yoyogi Park. This provocative and racist action was ostensibly done to "protect" newly planted azalea trees, but everybody knows its real purpose is to drive Iranians out of the park in preparation to drive them out of the country. As the economy continues to deteriorate, foreign workers are being scapegoated. The quarter of a million immigrant laborers here are denied basic civil rights, work the lowest paying 3-K ["hard, dirty, dangerous"] jobs and are easy targets for the government, which sees them as expendable. If labor doesn't stop the government from driving Iranians out of the public parks to set them up for deportation, then who's next? Fascist posters, with a swastika prominently displayed, have been put up in many of Tokyo's parks calling for the expulsion of foreigners. That the fascists felt emboldened enough to venture outside of their sound trucks, and spew their filth unmolested in public parks, is indicative of the escalating attacks on the entire working class. The Japanese labor movement must make a strong and decisive stand because defense of immigrant labor is defense of all workers in this country.



Spartacist Japan

Sign erected by police in Yoyogi Park warns that "illegal" immigrants "will be strictly dealt with."

This issue has been virtually ignored by all three labor federations and by most of the left. This insularity and chauvinist indifference to the plight of immigrant laborers plays right into the hands of the government's strategy to divide and weaken the working class. Minority workers like burakumin [Japan's "untouchables"] and Koreans, *arbeiter* [temporary] women workers, and foreign laborers must be organized into common industrial unions with other Japanese workers. Japanese labor must champion the fight for full citizenship rights for all non-Japanese workers. Integrated industrial unions could break the racist exclusion of minorities from basic industry and reverse the past two takeaway *shuntos* [spring labor negotiations]. But standing in the way are the pro-company union bureaucrats and their fake-left tails. Their strategy is to beg for crumbs from the corrupt Liberal Democratic Party government and only mobilize their base to pressure the reformist parliamentary opposition, who think they can administer the capitalist state better than the capitalists. We need a genuine Leninist party that as a tribune of the people fights for a workers republic that would welcome the contributions made by foreign workers to this society.

May Day is our holiday and a militant, united rally should have been organized in Yoyogi Park, where the fences could have been easily removed and all working people could enjoy the parks under the protection of the labor movement. The Spartacist Group Japan (SGJ) sees mobilizations of labor, minority groups and foreign workers as the key weapon to spike these escalating government attacks, and prevent the rightists from organizing the kind of neo-Nazi terror that has reared its ugly and murderous head in Europe. These growing attacks on foreign workers are an example of what the New World "Disorder" means for working people. With the collapse of the Soviet workers state, which held imperialism's nuclear hand at bay for decades, interimperialist rivalries are intensifying and Japanese imperialism seeks to rearm and police its economic interests in Asia and elsewhere. But standing in its way is the industrial proletariat, which wields a tremendous amount of social power. Now is the time to use it—an injury to one is an injury to all! ■

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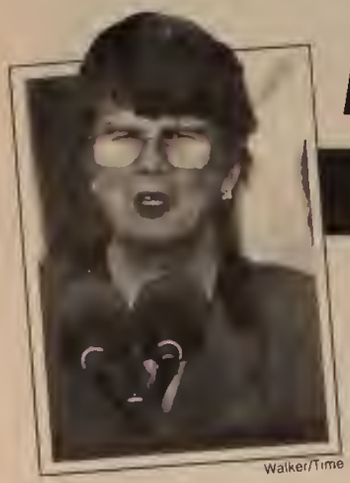
Protest Mass Murderers Reno and Powell!

Harvard Commencement



Walker/Time

Der Spiegel

We reprint here a call issued by the Harvard Spartacus Youth Club for united-front protests against Attorney General Janet Reno and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Colin Powell, at Harvard University. As we go to press the demonstrations have been endorsed by: Bill Andriette, editor, NAMBLA Bulletin; *Linda C. Bowman, member, Joint Exec. Board, SEIU Local 509*; Communist Party (Rhode Island, Central Massachusetts chapters); The Lucy Parsons Center; James H. Neil, Assistant Chief Shop Steward for Harvard Dining Services workers, Local 26, HERE*; Partisan Defense Committee; People in Solidarity with the Caribbean and Central America (Worcester, MA); Rafael Pereira, Associate Professor, Roxbury Community College*; Spartacist League; Young Communist League (Rhode Island). [*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only.]*

For Harvard's upcoming commencement of law students and the Class of '93, the administration is showcasing two of the bloodiest recipients of official crimson acclaim in recent memory. On June 9th, Clinton's new attorney general Janet Reno will be the Harvard Law School's commencement speaker, exactly 50 days since she ordered the assault on the Waco religious sect causing the fiery massacre of 86 innocent people, including 25 children. This grotesque FBI assault against the Branch Davidians was carried out, as the government put it, for "espousing doctrines hostile to law enforcement." The next day, Harvard will be giving an honorary degree to Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Colin Powell, who directed the slaughter of over 100,000 Iraqis during the Gulf War and was the architect of the U.S. invasion of Panama that left thousands of Panamanians in mass graves. Reno and Powell on campus should be met with protest from students and all decent people on June 9th and 10th!

By bringing two fresh-from-the-kill government officials to America's premier finishing school for the ruling class, Harvard faithfully pushes for public approval of Clinton's new "Politically Correct" administration. Janet Reno has "proved her bones" to the powers that be that she is just as capable as any man in carrying out cold-blooded murder of children in Waco. And Colin Powell has earned his medals for "Operation Desert Slaughter," as he carries out the Pentagon's racist subjugation of people across the globe, especially Africans, Asians and Latin Americans.

Widespread anger has erupted on campus over Colin Powell's opposition to overturning the military's long-standing ban on gays. As Marxists, we oppose anti-gay bigotry in all spheres of life, including the military. However, many supporters of gay rights are eagerly enlisting in the cause of imperialist militarism, which is a threat to all of the oppressed, especially now with the U.S. racist "white man's burden" intervention in Somalia and as Clinton gears up for terror-bombing in the Balkans.

The Spartacus Youth Club urgently calls on all organizations and individuals to join together in a united-front picket line protest against Janet Reno on June 9th, 2:00 p.m. at Austin Hall, and Colin Powell on June 10th, 1:00 p.m. at Holyoke Center, under the following slogans:

- Protest Janet Reno—U.S. Government's Top Cop, Guilty of Mass Murder in Waco!
- Protest War Criminal Colin Powell! Down with the Racist U.S. War Machine! End the Ban on Gays!

All organizations and individuals that endorse these slogans are encouraged to bring their own signs, banners, literature and have their own speaker. If you want to join and help build this protest, contact the Spartacus Youth Club (SYC) at (617) 492-3928. ■

Defend Abortion Clinics Against "Operation Rescue" Terrorists!

SAN FRANCISCO—The "right to life" terrorists of the sinister "Operation Rescue" promise a long, hot summer of harassment and violence against women seeking abortions and the doctors and clinic staffs that provide them. O.R.'s "abortion buster" manual reportedly instructs their hit squads: "think of yourself as a guerrilla warrior who strikes in the back and retreats." It was in just such a cowardly attack that Dr. David Gunn was gunned down in Pensacola, Florida. Emboldened by that cold-blooded murder, Operation Rescue now threatens to blockade abortion clinics around the country from July 9 through July 19.

In a warm-up for their summer siege, Operation Rescue converged on San Jose on May 22, hosted by right-to-life bigot Rev. Keith Tucci, who says, "'Do you know the way to San Jose?' should be the message of pro-lifers in California this summer." But "Hit the road, Jack and don't you come back" was the message delivered by a youthful crowd of some 100 abortion clinic defenders who traveled to San Jose to counter O.R.

Hundreds of women and men need to be mobilized—from the campuses to the communities to powerful contingents from the union movement—to defend abortion clinics from the god squad hit squads. But bourgeois feminist organizations like the National Organization for Women (NOW) are satisfied that *their* agenda has been achieved with the election of Bill and Hillary Clinton, and they're not about to endanger their entrée in the White House by coming out in defense of the clinics this summer. What "abortion rights" means for the Democrats and their feminist toadies is limited to them that's rich enough to afford it and old enough not to be oppressed by parental consent "squeal rules."

Addressing the clinic defenders in San Jose, Spartacus Youth Club member Skye White said:

> "Does feminism mean 'women's liberation'? No way! Bourgeois feminists only want the right to abortion for *their* class because they want an equal right to run capitalism. This does not include liberation for women at the bottom—they intend to exploit these women. Women's oppression is deeply rooted in class-divided society. Only a multiracial Leninist vanguard party can overthrow this deeply racist and sexist system."

Defend the clinics! Take a stand! Free abortion on demand! ■

WV Photo

Rally against "Operation Rescue" terrorists in San Jose, California. Spartacists say "Labor: Defend the Clinics!"

Miami: Killer Cop Lozano Walks

MAY 28—The cop who blew away two black men on a motorcycle in the Miami ghetto of Overtown, on Martin Luther King Day in January 1989, has been found innocent even of the charge of manslaughter. While killer cop William Lozano celebrated, the outrage of black Miami was met with swift, massive intimidation by cops from every police agency in the state. Riot squads in fleets of police cars descended with lights flashing wherever people gathered. A 100-block area of Overtown, Liberty City and Coconut Grove was cordoned off. The National Guard was lined up along 15th Street four-deep behind the barricades and checkpoints. So far at least 60 have been arrested.

The verdict is an insult to all of black America. As in the brutal cop assault of Rodney King in Los Angeles, the police say the motorcycle driven by Clement Anthony Lloyd, 23, was speeding. Cop Lozano claims he shot to save his life as the cycle barreled down at him. But at Lozano's first trial, five black eyewitnesses from Overtown all said that Lozano stepped into the street, tracked the motorcycle as it traveled on the *opposite* side, aimed and fired from a two-handed stance. For this deliberate slaying of Lloyd and the death of his passenger Allan Blanchard, 24, a multi-ethnic Miami jury convicted Lozano of manslaughter in 1990.

The verdict was tossed out because the government said the jury was influenced by the fear of a "riot" if Lozano was let off, which jurors categorically denied. After being shifted around the state several times, the appeals trial was finally held in Orlando, home of Disney World and a notorious bastion of "law and order" conservatism. Earlier, an Orlando jury acquitted Lozano's cop partner of perjury for her testimony in the first trial. In this Mickey Mouse trial, every juror seated had stated his or her role models were police. Lozano's attorney pleaded with the jury not to convict "one of our police officers."

In this setting, the acquittal of Lozano was foreordained. Referring to the white-flight enclave outside L.A. where a jury last year acquitted the racist cops who mercilessly beat Rodney King to within an inch of his life, many blacks called Orlando the Simi Valley of Florida. A black attorney bitterly pointed out that even a videotape of the racist cop brutality gives only a 50-50 chance of conviction. Here the testimony of live witnesses was dismissed.

Four times in the last decade Miami has exploded after cops killed blacks and got off. Miami's blacks are penned up in compacted ghettos, living hemmed in on all sides by freeways or, in the case of many of the homeless, under them. Overtown and Liberty City are not unlike the notorious Krome Avenue Detention Center (where caged Haitians wait to be deported).

Miami today, largely Hispanic, is politically dominated by the Cuban gusanos, along with the Colombian drug mafia, Nicaraguan contras and right-wing ex-dictators and their hangers-on from all over Latin America. Miami's gusano mayor Xavier Suarez runs the city in the interests of Little Havana and the money-laundering banks, fostering racial divisions and using a heavily Hispanic police force as a jackboot on the neck of blacks. But by the same token, integrated labor-centered mobilization against cop brutality in the home of "Miami Vice" would send shock waves through the continent. The multiracial working class has the power to sweep away the armed thugs of this capitalist state and its gusano henchmen.

Ghettos Under Police Siege

AP

Miami cops beat black man after acquittal of killer cop William Lozano.

Germany...

(continued from page 1)

Bonn-Cologne airport, leading to the cancellation of several flights. The two million Turks in Germany, although barred from becoming citizens, have deep roots in their adopted country. The murdered Turkish family had lived in Solingen for 24 years, and the children were born there. The father, Durmus Genc, was working night shift in a nearby plant, returning home to find his family members incinerated. The hundreds of thousands of Turkish workers like him occupy strategic positions in the heart of heavy industry, and can bring coal pits and metal plants throughout the Ruhr grinding to a halt.

Viewing the infernal scene at Solingen, some Turkish workers said: "If they won't defend us, we will do it ourselves. We will defend our children from the assassins." Fearing such an utterly just reaction, German TV repeatedly played a tape of Turkish prime minister Inonu appealing for calm. Now the media are escalating warnings "against violence," particularly a joint statement by Rau and Kohl which "warned against vigilante justice and threatened to deport rebellious Turks." As in Rostock, the police, far from "protecting" Turkish victims, will be used to go after those who would stop the fascist terror bands.

We say Turks and other immigrants must not fight alone. The SpAD intervened in demonstrations that brought out tens of thousands from Solingen to Berlin, calling for mobilizing the social power of the organized working class, including its strategic component of immigrant workers, to sweep the Nazi scum off the streets and break up the murderers' hideouts. Organized squads of workers, made up of combative unionists together with anti-fascist youth and others, must *now* take up defense of immigrant centers and hostels, and undertake well-aimed actions against the Nazi thugs. This must be combined with workers action to stop the deportations.

A forceful call for workers mobilization would find a tremendous response. In recent weeks, the Kohl government and the social-democratic "opposition" have declared war on virtually the entire working population. In addition to getting rid of the right to asylum, under the guise of a "solidarity pact" between the government and the social democrats a whole range of cutbacks have been undertaken, from unemployment insurance to social programs. The CDU/FDP coalition is planning to take back provisions for sick pay that were won by the IG Metall union in 1957 in a hard-fought 16-week strike. IG Metall has threatened to strike over the issue.

Meanwhile, the day after the Bundestag's racist asylum decision, the Federal Constitutional Court took away the abortion rights that east German women still had under the old DDR regulations. West German women are also hit by this decision, as the "compromise decision" on abortion rights worked out by the Bundestag parties last year was sharply cut back. While abortion in the first trimester will not be "punishable," it is now officially illegal. In addition to state-controlled obligatory "consultations" (brainwashing) "for the protection of unborn life," medical insurance will no longer pay for the procedure. So women who can afford to pay will be able to terminate an unwanted pregnancy, but not working and unemployed women (60 percent of all women in the east). The Spartakists fight for free abortion on demand.

Throughout East Europe, from the DDR to Warsaw and Moscow, women and immigrants have been the first victims of counterrevolution, which has brought mass impoverishment, racist pogroms and Nazi terror. But throughout Europe, the capitalist attacks have also provoked workers' resistance. It's not accidental that Bonn's full-scale offensive against the working people was unleashed immediately after the end of the solid strike by almost 40,000 east German metal and steel workers. With unemployment in the east over 50 percent, the bosses saw the opportunity to rip up the contracts calling for wages in the east to be raised to 80 percent of the west German level by April 1. But hundreds of thousands of workers, east and west, answered this provocation and the planned mass layoffs in steel with protest demonstrations and warning strikes from February on.

Just as the two-week strike was to be extended to all the states of the former DDR, and after wildcat strikes at

Worker/Immigrant Mobilization to Smash Fourth Reich Terror!

The following leaflet was issued by our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany on May 29 for an emergency protest in Berlin on the day that Nazis murdered five Turkish women and girls by firebombing a house in Solingen in the Ruhr district.

Drive the Nazis Out of Their Rat Holes!

Immediately after the Christian Democrats, Free Democrats and Social Democrats rip up the right to asylum, the fascists go into action to celebrate this decision and translate it into grisly deeds. Once again, as with the Rostock pogrom and the arson murders in Mölln last year, the "pillars of the community" in Bonn instigated the Nazi firebombers. At that time there was a wave of outrage among youth and trade unionists. Rage and mourning (the Autonom slogan) are natural, but they won't stop the Nazis—and "chains of lights" certainly won't. After Mölln there were discussions in the factories about self-defense. Now we must mobilize the power that can stop the terror gangs, above all the organized working class with its powerful component of immigrants.

Like the mass unemployment which breeds these murder bands, Nazi terror comes out of capitalist reunification, which was spearheaded by the SPD. Counterrevolution throughout East Europe and the former Soviet Union unleashed racist terror and attacks on workers, minorities, and on women and the right to abortion. In Italy the fascists have started up again with their "strategy of tension." But throughout Europe the workers are resisting. The public workers strike in May of last year and the recent east German steel and metal workers strike have shown that the workers can and will fight. It is necessary for the working class to take power in order to end Nazi terror once and for all.

As we did on January 30, the 60th anniversary of Hitler's takeover, in calling on the trade unions and anti-fascist youth in organizing the successful defense of an immigrant hostel in Berlin, it is now necessary to drive the fascists out of their rat holes in an organized and powerful way and mobilize the workers to beat back Bonn's decision on asylum. Outbreaks of impotence and despair lead to nothing. **The hour has struck for organizing well-directed workers action against the fascist murder gangs.** ■

Targets of Hitler's Holocaust and the Fourth Reich

Stop Deportations of Gypsies from Germany!

When the Bonn parliament gutted the right of asylum last week, one of its main targets were the Roma and Sinti (Gypsies), one of the largest groups of refugees arriving in Germany fleeing persecution in East European countries where the re-establishment of capitalist rule has brought an explosion of nationalism. Almost daily there are charter flights from Berlin and Frankfurt transporting Roma deportees back to Romania. Meanwhile, a treaty has been signed with Warsaw setting up German-financed "collection" camps for refugees expelled to Poland. And the Federal Border Police has stepped up patrols on the eastern borders, including establishing a corps of racist vigilante deputies.

On May 16, Roma and Sinti organizations occupied a former Nazi concentration camp near Hamburg, where they faced hundreds of police. Later in the week the symbolic occupation was threatened with violent fascist attack. Supporters of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) participated in the protest and in the defense of the encampment. In addition, the SpAD and the Spartakusowska Grupo Polski (SGP), German and Polish sections of the Internationol Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), issued the following joint declaration on May 14:

Defend Roma and Sinti Through Worker/Immigrant Mobilization!

500,000 Roma and Sinti were murdered in the Nazi Holocaust. And now in the Fourth Reich of reunified German imperialism, from the Ruhr to Rostock the Roma and Sinti are always among the first targets of the Christian Democratic (CDU) and Social Democratic (SPD) deporters, as well as of the Nazi murder bands in the streets, in Bonn, Düsseldorf, Hamburg and Saarbrücken. On May 16 the Roma National Congress is launching a series of actions to protest against the deportation policy of the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz. They will occupy the area of the former Neuengamme concentration camp near Hamburg and have announced they will be blockading the border between Germany and Poland. Neuengamme was a collection center for slave laborers holding Roma as well as Western Communists, including Belgian Trotskyists, and Red Army prisoners of war.

The SPD government of Hamburg has declared Neuengamme a "forest preserve" and surrounded it with police patrols. It threatens to stop the protest with cop terror and clear out the occupied areas, just as it brutally did with a similar protest in 1989. We have also not forgotten—and protested at the time—that Mayor Voscherau (SPD) sent hundreds of police to drag away and arrest orthodox Jews who sought to stop the desecration of a Jewish cemetery in Hamburg-Ottensen which was once destroyed by Nazis. Today, we Trotskyists solidarize with the just protest of the Roma and Sinti, whose aim is to attract international recognition of the plight of this people who were the victims of Nazi mass murder. We Spartakists appeal centrally to the organized working class to defend the Roma and Sinti. Join in the May 16 protest! Stop the deportations!

May 16 is the 53rd anniversary of the beginning of deportations of Sinti and Roma to Nazi-occupied Poland, which ended with their murder in the gas chambers of Auschwitz. The planned actions take place only days after ratification of the racist treaty with Poland, whereby the Roma will be deported to a hell of misery and pogroms, and Walesa's counterrevolutionary regime will be rewarded for its efforts with blood money from the "Federal Bank Republic." "German money will be used to arm the Polish 'border guards' in order to 'defend' the German border against Roma refugees, overwhelmingly women and children" (*Press-Info* of the Roma National Congress, 5 May). The SpAD and the SGP demand: Down with the racist German-Polish treaty! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

In Poland itself, clerical-nationalist Solidarność in power has encouraged a sharp rise in anti-Semitism and racist mob attacks on Roma. On the eve of the 50th anniversary of the heroic Warsaw Ghetto uprising, the Walesa regime grotesquely "rehabilitated" the World War II pogromist gangs of the NSZ, after pushing through a draconian ban on abortion. Hand in hand with this clericalist crusade goes the immiseration of the working class. But the Polish proletariat has awakened from its intoxication with Solidarność, and in the past two years there has been a virtually continuous series of strikes against the capitalist regime, including massive strikes by copper miners and metal workers last summer and by coal miners in December. Down with Solidarność capitalist reaction, anti-Roma racism and anti-Semitism! Workers to power!

Spartakist

German Spartakists participate in occupation of a former concentration camp near Hamburg to protest deportations of Gypsies.

The bourgeoisie of Auschwitz wants to once again make Germany "free of Roma." In the late '80s, Johannes Rau, SPD prime minister of the state of Nordrhein-Westfalen, initiated a "pilot project" to build camps in Macedonia to which Roma and Sinti could be deported. The counterrevolution in the DDR (East Germany) and the destruction of the deformed workers states of East Europe gave frightful encouragement to racist and anti-Semitic terror. Now that German imperialism has pushed through the counterrevolution, Greens like Cohn-Bendit want to send the Bundeswehr to the former Yugoslavia to demonstrate the power of reunified Germany. And now they want to set up immigration quotas to keep the victims of misery and racist terror at a distance. In the face of growing racist terror, the PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism) demands more cops, who either stand aside or, as in the case of Rostock, openly support the Nazi murderers. It was there that anti-fascists like the Nazi-hunters Beate, Serge and Arno Klarsfeld were arrested because they tried to place a plaque on the Rostock city hall commemorating the Nazi genocide of the Roma and Sinti, and because they protested against the German-Romanian deportation treaty. We Spartakists warned that capitalist reunification would sharply escalate mass unemployment and nationalism, and today as then we fight for a red Germany of workers councils as part of a United Socialist States of Europe.

Today the east German metal and foundry workers, from Eisenhüttenstadt to Zwickau, are on strike against the consequences of reunification. They can win only if this spreads to a full strike east and west. It is necessary and possible to link the economic struggles of the workers with the political demands of all immigrants and minorities. For that we need a Leninist party that acts as tribune of all the oppressed. In this struggle immigrant workers will play a key role. The strike pickets must not only defend themselves against strikebreakers, but also defend the immigrant hostels against fascist attacks and police raids. Pilots, crews and air controllers have the power to stop the deportation flights. As we wrote in 1989, when Voscherau made the concentration camp area of Neuengamme "free of Roma": "The organized workers movement, together with immigrant organizations, has the power to defend the democratic rights and the right to live for all the oppressed. This power can and must be mobilized to stop the deportations of Roma and Sinti!" ■

Mercedes-Benz in Stuttgart raised the possibility of extending the strike to the economic powerhouse of west German industry, IG Metall's SPD leadership under Franz Steinkühler suddenly called it off. The "compromise" deal touched off a revolt by metal workers in East Berlin and Brandenburg, and only two weeks later were the union tops and the bosses able to push through a slightly "sweetened" pact—over the opposition of the majority of union members (only 46 percent voted for). Under German law, it takes a 75 percent vote to call a strike, but only 25 percent "yes" votes are necessary to call it off!

Many militant workers, already irate over breaking off the strike, have now been sickened by the spectacle of Steinkühler, with his cushy positions as a member of the board at Daimler-Benz, VW and Thyssen, using his insider information (plus a million D-marks) to celebrate the sellout of the strike by making a killing on the stock market. The IG Metall leader has since resigned, but the case of this leading union chief is symptomatic of the whole social-democratic "German model" of class collaboration. Today the "German model" of "co-participation" is a thing of the past, as the German capitalists go on the offensive in the post-Cold War world. No longer constrained to offer the attractions of a welfare state to compete with the Stalinist regimes of the East, they have laid off half a million workers since early 1992 and are taking an ax to social programs down the line.

The grisly pictures from Solingen which have shocked the world are part of the all-sided reactionary onslaught by the Fourth Reich. But the fascist terror, attacks on women, mass unemployment, wage slashing and takebacks, as well as the drive to deploy the Bundeswehr from Africa to Yugoslavia, can be defeated by a concerted mobilization of working-class power, against the capitalists and the reformist labor lieutenants. It is to building a class-struggle, internationalist leadership, a Leninist-Trotskyist party to lead the fight for socialist revolution, that the SpAD is dedicated. ■

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California...

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capitalist parties. Today, fully one in seven people in the U.S. grow up speaking a language other than English, and 22 percent of California's population in 1990 was foreign-born. In the Bay Area, there is a long-established large Asian community: the 1990 census revealed over a quarter of San Francisco's population is from Asia and the Pacific Islands.

As the U.S. recession deepened in California last year and the state faced a budget "crisis," Repuhlican governor Pete Wilson launched a vicious campaign to blame it on "welfare bums," and the Democrats led by Assembly Speaker Willie Brown made a deal for murderous cuts in social services. Now the new fiscal year is coming on July 1 and the "recession" has turned into a bottomless pit, as the *official* unemployment rate hovers near 10 percent. So Wilson is gearing up for Round Two: this time the target is "illegal immigrants," who are portrayed as a "burden" on the state's shrinking treasury.

This is a call for official and unofficial racist terror against immigrant minorities. The big media guns have taken the cue. "Racists or Realists?" queried the *San Francisco Examiner* (21 March), picturing demonstrators in Los Angeles holding signs saying "Stop Illegal Immigration." In Los Angeles, following the upheaval last year over the racist acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King, right-wing candidate Richard Riordan is appealing for a backlash vote, whipping up fear of minorities, while his "progressive" Democratic opponent Michael Woo calls for the deportation of "illegals" who are "charged with felonies or serious misdemeanors" (*Los Angeles Times*, 5 May).

More than two dozen bills aimed at immigrants have been introduced into the California legislature this year, many of them introduced by right-wing Republican Richard Mountjoy, who rode into the Assembly in 1978 on the crest of the Proposition 13 "movement" to slash social services. On April 12 the state cut off funds for an array of non-emergency and post-emergency health care services for undocumented residents formerly covered by Medi-Cal. A Marin County emergency room physician said, "It's not going to save money and it's scapegoating these people.... The attitude is, 'They can wash our toilets, take care of our babies, and rake our leaves, but by God, don't let them get sick or we'll send them back'" (*San Francisco Sunday Examiner*, 11 April). And now, under Hillary Clinton's proposed "universal" health coverage program, undocumented immigrants are to be excluded!

Many of the legislature's proposed bills would try in one way or another to bar "illegal aliens" from attending public schools—one would require schools to act as cops by checking on the legal status of their students. Another bill calls for the National Guard to patrol the U.S.-Mexican border and authorizes them to arrest suspected "illegals." Other bills would make it a felony to be an undocumented immigrant, order a study to build a prison in Baja California (Mexico) for undocumented immigrants, deny worker's compensation benefits to undocumented workers, require proof of citizenship or legal residence in order to apply for public housing or obtain a driver's license. The DMV recently started requiring that applicants for a driver's license produce a valid Social Security card, a measure obviously directed at immigrants and an illegal abuse of the Social Security system.

Der Spiegel

Hated *migra* border cops round up "illegal" immigrants on California's Imperial Beach.

Post Cold War Immigration Politics

Particularly in the post-World War II era, the American ruling class promoted the image of immigrants seeking "refuge" in the "land of the free" as a propaganda weapon in the anti-Soviet Cold War. This anti-Communist policy is also deeply racist: a Cuban pilot who hijacked his own planeload of passengers from Castro's Cuba was welcomed and immediately resettled in Miami, but black Haitians fleeing a U.S.-backed dictatorship are jailed and deported by the boatload.

But with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the U.S. no longer needed to promote the "refuge" propaganda anymore. (Of course, if you're a Russian nuclear scientist, you're still welcome.) Thus the INS policies on immigration are coming under fire because, as one former Department of Labor official put it, "the fall of communism took away the political glue" (*New York Times*, 25 April).

Increasingly, immigrants are portrayed as "the enemy within." More than half of those arrested in the multiracial protests that shook Los Angeles last year were Latinos. Beginning at the height of those upheavals, from the Bay Area to the Mexican border, the INS went on a binge of deportations. Thousands of immigrants were arrested and over 900 were deported from L.A. last spring, with no outcry from the integrated labor movement—thus signaling open season on foreign-born workers and their families.

In doling out the few jobs in the motley "rebuild L.A." program, authorities played off blacks against Latinos. To intensify mass resentment against the "foreigners," Governor Wilson has invented a fictitious "imbalance" between "taxpayers" and "tax receivers." But refugee rights organizations point to the fact that undocumented workers and their families vastly underutilize public services to which they are entitled for fear of coming to the attention of the hated *migra* and being deported. And of course, as the *San Francisco Examiner* (12 January) reported on its four-month investigation:

> "In the worst cases, they are beaten, raped, treated as indentured servants. More commonly they are made to work under conditions forbidden by law, for illegally low wages. Some people hire them, then refuse to pay them, knowing the workers cannot complain to authorities."

The same *Examiner* series quoted studies showing that "the 11 million immigrants who work in America earn $240 billion a year, pay $90 billion in taxes, while taking only $5 billion in welfare."

The official backlash campaign is spawning dangerous rightist organizations, such as the Federation for American Immigration Reform, which has over half its 60,000 national membership in California. Their national director Dan Stein threatens that unless the immigration system changes, "we're going to have a bloody battle." Barbara Coe of the California Coalition for Immigration Reform, one of a network of 20 such groups of anti-immigrant bigots statewide, said, "You get illegal alien children, Third World children, out of our schools, and you will reduce the violence" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 2 April).

"Immigration control" means death for Haitians, Mexicans, Central Americans and Asians. One brutal example is the case of Dario Miranda Valenzuela, a 26-year-old Mexican father of two, who was murdered by INS Border Patrol agent Michael Elmer. Valenzuela was shot 12 times with an unauthorized semi-automatic weapon, hit twice in the back trying to run back to Mexico after attempting to cross into Nogales, Arizona. For the first time in the history of the U.S. Border Patrol, charges of first-degree murder were brought against one of their agents. In a scene reminiscent of the Rodney King verdict, Elmer was declared not guilty by a jury of eleven Anglos and one Mexican American.

Lake View Press

Chinese organizers for the Industrial Workers of the World. IWW fought for international class solidarity.

Labor Bureaucrats Back Capitalism and Bigotry

The American labor movement has a particularly sordid history on immigration questions. The few unions which existed in the late 19th century usually excluded Chinese and were involved in anti-Chinese pogroms. Jack London, who was a big "name" in the Socialist Party, was notorious for spewing "yellow peril" filth and pushing jingoist pro-imperialist propaganda on war—he supported U.S. imperialist aggression in Mexico and ended up supporting entry into World War I. In contrast, the revolutionary syndicalists of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) organized Mexican miners and farm workers north and south of the border, and tried to start the Mexican Revolution in Baja California. They were jailed by the thousands for their opposition to the imperialist war. "Wobbly" leader Big Bill Haywood fought against U.S. intervention into Mexico, and denounced the phony "partnership" between labor and capital promoted by reactionary craft unionists like AFL leader Samuel Gompers, who refused to charter an Oxnard, California agricultural union if it included Asians. On the whole the labor movement has been dominated by hoary chauvinists like George Meany and his student Lane Kirkland.

Today the U.S. is the fifth-largest Spanish-speaking country in the world, and in Los Angeles Latinos are now 40 percent of the population (but only 17 percent of the voters), officially surpassing whites as the largest racial/ethnic group. California's population is 25 percent Hispanic. Once again these immigrant workers are a force for labor militancy. While the number of unionized workers nationally has dwindled to an all-time low, the unionization of immigrant workers in service industry jobs in L.A. has shot up.

A workforce of mainly Latino janitors

S.F. Demo...

(continued from page 12)

working class against the capitalists. The millionaire-club Regents serve the same ruling class that is stopping black immigration from Haiti at gunpoint, and the same ruling class that is trying to starve the Cuban population into submission. We say *Defend Cuba!* and *Down with the racist blockade of Haiti!*"

LBL spokesman Joe Sol noted that "Anti-immigrant racism has a long and ugly history in California. Hard-working Chinese and Mexican workers were brutally exploited in the building of the transcontinental railroad.... We must fight to build a revolutionary leadership of labor, a revolutionary workers party to overthrow the bloody rule of capitalist exploiters through socialist revolution here in America and worldwide."

The demonstration was covered not only by two local TV stations but also by two Chinese newspapers, the *World Journal* and *Sing Tao Daily*. Speaking on KPIX-TV Channel 5 for the Partisan Defense Committee, Peter Aikins explained that behind the recent wave of migration from China, "what was known as the 'iron rice bowl,' that people had at least the basic necessities of life, is being shattered by their so-called market 'reforms,' and the inequalities of unemployment and corruption are being introduced into society by these pro-capitalist policies."

The fate of the American working class is intertwined with that of the Chinese and the entire world. As the demonstrators chanted, "Asian, Latin, black and white—Workers of the world unite!" ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

force arsenal in Pretoria (clearly an inside job), and the subsequent arrests of senior Conservative Party Member of Parliament Clive Derby-Lewis and his wife Gaye, the police claimed there was no evidence to support a widespread right-wing conspiracy behind the assassination!

In fact, Derby-Lewis' links with worldwide fascist networks are legion: he is the president of "Western Goals," an outfit which hails dictators such as Franco, Salazar, Pinochet, Stroessner, Somoza, Chiang Kai-shek and the Shah of Iran. Derby-Lewis was also a delegate to conventions of the World Anti-Communist League, a leading arms supplier to anti-Communist mercenaries in southern Africa, Afghanistan and Central America. Yet, in a society where the racist government and organized fascist groups have nearly all the firepower, the ANC's chief response to Hani's killing has been...a campaign for gun-control laws!

ANC Peacekeepers for Neo-Apartheid

In the days following Hani's murder, South African capitalism held its breath. The Chamber of Mines even donated $200,000 for the funeral! Shell, BP and Caltex ran sanctimonious memorials in the liberal *Weekly Mail*, admonishing the ANC to "Let today's sorrow speed the path to peace." At this critical juncture, the main "peacekeepers" for the krugerrand and the Johannesburg stock exchange are the would-be joint rulers of a "post-apartheid" capitalist South Africa, the ANC. Insisting that Hani's death must not jeopardize "power sharing" negotiations, the ANC is providing invaluable service to the apartheid state even as the police and their Inkatha cohorts shoot down demonstrators in the streets, and the Johannesburg *Star* reveals a fascist *Wit Wolwe* ("white wolves") plot targeting Winnie Mandela, SACP chairman Joe Slovo and ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba for assassination.

As negotiators were close to accord on a date for the first universal elections in a "new South Africa," on May 25 police rounded up scores of members of the Pan Africanist Congress, including its central leadership. Personal property was confiscated as well as files, computers, membership lists, financial documents, checkbooks and accounts at all PAC offices throughout South Africa. ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa said the crackdown "reminds one of the old apartheid days of Gestapo tactics, jackboot activity and wholesale detentions."

But despite this ritual criticism, the ANC made clear the arrests would not halt the talks, particularly as Nelson Mandela heads for the U.S. later this month to drum up aid and investment. In Philadelphia, Mandela will receive a joint "Liberty Medal" *together with De Klerk*, and they will both be received at the Clinton White House.

The ANC's evident willingness to turn a blind eye makes it complicit in the mass arrest of militant black nationalist opponents by the apartheid police, and speaks volumes about life for workers and the oppressed in a supposedly "democratic" South Africa. One of the ANC's main demands is for the integration of its guerrilla force, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation, or MK for short), into the "post-apartheid" state. The next time the soldiers kick down the doors of township militants, will they be carrying "MK" cards in their pockets? And what will happen when black unionists strike against the so-called "enlightened" white capitalists?

Currently, the ANC is doing its level best to "defuse the confrontation" in South Africa's schools and to quash a national teachers strike. During the last semester, students (supported by teachers) have demanded abolition of the racist "matric fees," which deny poor students the right to take exams. Militant students of COSAS (Congress of South African Students) have initiated "Operation Barcelona"—torching Department of Education buildings and vehicles—as well as occupying empty schools reserved for whites and marching through downtown Durban.

Meanwhile, the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU) has been waging "chalks down" protests and wildcat strikes over wages and layoffs in Durban, Cape Town and other regions. As teachers were voting on a strike ballot, at a rally in Kimberley, Nelson Mandela warned teachers and students that their grievances must go through "correct channels." And he threatened: "If you don't improve yourselves, better qualified people from neighbouring countries will come and fill your posts." The ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance, which seeks "unity" with South African capitalism, is an *obstacle* to the revolutionary mobilization of the workers and oppressed.

The ANC's symbiosis with the apartheid rulers has enhanced the appeal of the PAC. Combined with the notoriety of their "one settler, one bullet" slogan, a call for indiscriminate terror against whites, the arrests of the PAC leaders made them seem a more militant rival to the ANC. In reality, the PAC is no more revolutionary than the "respectable" ANC. The PAC's despicable machine-gun and grenade attacks against cafés and golf courses frequented by whites serve no purpose but to rally the racist terrorists. We protest the apartheid government's outrageous arrests of PAC members—De Klerk's murderous cops have no right to accuse anyone of terrorism! But the PAC is just as eager as the ANC to "share power" with De Klerk. PAC had to boycott one session of the talks for the simple reason that its negotiators were all in jail or in hiding, but still it stressed, "This decision applies only to the meeting of today"!

Boer Hardliners Circle the Wagons

With the date for elections now set for next April, Afrikaner hardliners are desperately trying to whip up a "go down fighting" mood. Their mentality is common to oppressor groups which can easily see the terms of oppression reversed. (Israeli Zionists and Ulster Protestants are other examples.) Feeding off the lore of *voortrekker* mythology, they see the Boers ("farmers" in Afrikaans) as the "white tribe of Africa," who unlike Rhodesian settler-colonists have nowhere to "go home" to. The farmers —especially those from the Transvaal and Orange Free State, set up as separatist Boer states after the "Great Trek" of the 1830s—are (along with the military/security forces) the hard-core *bittereinders* of South Africa's 2.9 million Afrikaans-speaking whites, regarding De Klerk as a traitor to the *volk*.

The idea of an Afrikaner *volkstaat* goes back a long way, and now it's having a revival. The head of the Volksfront, General Constand Viljoen, who led South Africa's losing war in Angola, and his compatriots (including Lt. General "Tienie" Groenewald, former head of South African intelligence), want at least 16 percent of the country set aside for Afrikaners. You can bet your last krugerrand they aren't talking about wastelands like the bantustans where they dumped millions of blacks. But within the AVF, there is disagreement about where their "homeland" should be, since Afrikaners nowhere constitute a majority.

In fact, a private Afrikaner settlement, Oranje, 75 miles south of Kimberley, was founded three years ago by the son-in-law of former prime minister Hendrik Verwoerd, the "architect of apartheid." But it's more like a ghost town than the nucleus of a mighty *boerestaat*. Poor whites were brought in to do the menial labor, but most left after a few weeks, saying they couldn't live on principles alone. What good is apartheid if you have to muck out your own stables?

Those Who Labor Must Rule!

It's utterly clear that, despite the ANC's best efforts at class collaboration with the Randlords, there can be no "national unity" under neo-apartheid. South Africa's fabulous wealth, based almost entirely on the export of raw materials, can only be maintained by the superexploitation of black workers, who produce immense profits for the bosses while being paid a pittance. The white capitalist class' thirst for profits and the disenfranchised black majority's aspirations for freedom are diametrically opposed, and headed for a collision. The liberation of the non-white masses—including coloured (mixed-race) and Indian—can only be accomplished by establishing a black-centered workers republic.

In a modern industrial state with a powerful black working class, a socialist revolution could effect a revolutionary reorganization of society, providing a decent living for all its citizens—including many whites who won't want to live (or die) in a besieged racist *laager*. But contrary to the Stalinist "stages" program of the SACP—shared by a variety of other left groups—which calls for (capitalist) "democracy" now and later (never) for socialism, in South Africa the immediate emancipation of the oppressed nation requires the dictatorship of the proletariat: those who labor must rule. To lead this revolution, an integrated Leninist-Trotskyist party must be forged in political struggle against the nationalism and class collaboration which shackle the workers to their present and would-be future oppressors. ■

AP

April 14: Angry youth near Johannesburg protest murder of Chris Hani.

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waged a militant strike in 1990 which faced down police attack and won union recognition. In the face of the deafening silence of Los Angeles union tops during martial law imposed to curb protests against the racist verdict in the Rodney King beating case, this same SEIU Local 399, representing 7,000 building maintenance workers, staged a defiant march. More recently, striking drywall construction workers, many from central Mexico, stood down Orange County sheriffs, the strikebreaking INS, the LAPD and the powerful Southern California home building industry to win union recognition.

The union-busting assaults on immigrant workers' struggles in California and elsewhere are based on a 1986 immigration "reform" act *which the AFL-CIO supported*. In keeping with the despicable heritage of these traitors, today's labor aristocracy offers foreign-born workers not class solidarity but jingoist attacks on "illegal immigration" and "exporting jobs." As the capitalists seek to build a "Fortress North America" to compete with the Fourth Reich and Japan Inc. and facilitate the looting of Mexico, the racist AFL-CIO labor tops (tailed by a host of fake-leftists) have opposed the North American Free Trade Agreement with poisonous nationalist protectionism.

Reformists like the CPUSA complain about "the shift of U.S. and Canadian jobs to Mexico" (*People's Weekly World*, 17 April). Actually, NAFTA is about *imperialist rivalry* and capitalist exploitation. It can be fought only by a *revolutionary working-class perspective*. The International Communist League fights for full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers and their families. ICL sections in Mexico, Canada and the U.S. put forward an *internationalist* opposition to NAFTA, including a perspective of cross-border proletarian struggle by the hundreds of thousands of Mexican workers in Tijuana, Hermosillo, Ciudad Juárez and the rest of the northern Mexican *maquiladora* belt, who are now exploited by such corporate giants as General Motors, General Electric, Matsushita and Sony.

From China to Mexico to the U.S., the key is building a revolutionary leadership that makes a reality of the Communist International's watchword: "Workers of the world unite!" ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

California Anti-Immigrant Frenzy

SAN FRANCISCO, May 26—Shortly after midnight on May 23-24 the Honduran-flagged freighter *Pai Sheng* slipped under the Golden Gate Bridge and debarked some 200 Chinese immigrants. But authorities had been tipped off, and as MPs, Park Police and other cops started mass arrests, the freighter was pursued by three Coast Guard cutters, two helicopters and a C-130 plane from McClellan Air Force Base. By noon the *Pai Sheng*'s crew, threatened by the Coast Guard's guns 70 miles out in international waters, was forced to turn back. An armed boarding party arrested the Taiwanese and Burmese crew a few hours later.

Already they're cranking up a modern-day "yellow peril" propaganda campaign to heef up the border cops and generate anti-Chinese hysteria, in the reactionary tradition of 19th century California. The papers are filled with stories like "International Operations Test U.S. Ability to Secure Coast" (*San Francisco Examiner*), and "U.S. Organizing to Repulse Smuggler Ship Invasion" (*Chronicle*). Now Clinton's National Security Council has assumed new dictatorial powers on immigration: according to the *San Francisco Chronicle* (28 May), one of their first actions "was to order INS districts not to release any smuggled people who are apprehended."

The much-hated Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) wants to deport all the Chinese immigrants immediately, without allowing them to be released on bond and organize their appeals. The poor immigrants reportedly had to make a down payment of $1,000 for the trip and promise to pay a total of $20,000 each, a debt which would put them into the sweatshops as a kind of indentured servant.

Ironically, this very week President Clinton made a show of lecturing China about its "human rights" record in the context of extending favorable trade status for China, because under the 1974 Jackson-Vanik Amendment such status can be given to "Communist" countries "only if they receive annual certifications by the President that they allow freedom of emigration" (*New York Times*, 25 May)! Evidently the message is, China should let its people go...as long as they don't come here.

Two hundred Chinese immigrants arrested by INS after debarking in San Francisco. U.S. bosses are whipping up a hysterical racist "yellow peril" campaign.

The sudden upswing in the number of Chinese immigrants reflects the smashing of the "iron rice bowl," the guarantee of a job in a planned economy. We Trotskyists call for internationalist aid to the Chinese workers in carrying out a political revolution to oust the Chinese CP bureaucracy, which is following the former Soviet Stalinists in selling the country back to capitalism. As for the Chinese immigrants being held by the INS, we say: They got here, let them stay here! Free the Chinese immigrants! (And release the ship and crew, who were illegally seized in international waters by Coast Guard piracy.)

• Stop Migra Raids, Deportations!

• Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

• Down with Racist "English Only"!

Immigrants Targeted as Scapegoats

The recent influx of Chinese is part of a dramatic increase in immigration over the last decade that has become a reactionary political football for the two

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S.F. Demonstrators Demand:

"Free the Chinese Immigrants!"

SAN FRANCISCO, May 28—Over 40 people answered the call of the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black League for Social Defense, on short notice just before Memorial Day weekend, to demonstrate today outside the offices of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) in protest over the mass arrest and detention of some 200 Chinese immigrants who landed under the Golden Gate Bridge last Monday. The immigrants are being barred from release on hond as part of the INS policy of deporting such immigrants before they can obtain a hearing. The PDC press release demanded: "Free the Chinese immigrants—Down with the racist INS deportations!" and "Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers and their families!"

"The racist hypocrisy of the U.S. government is boundless," said Hursey Bush of the Labor Black League. "Anti-Communist Cuban plane hijackers and a variety of death-squad killers are welcomed into the country with open arms, but not black Haitians, Latino or Chinese workers." Demonstrators from the LBL, PDC, Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club carried signs such as: "Free Haitians at Guantánamo! Guantánamo Belongs to Cuba!" "Down with Union-Busting Deportations!" "Down with Anti-Asian Bigotry!" and "Holocaust in Waco—Clinton and FBI Are Mass Murderers!"

Spartacus Youth Club spokesman Brad Daniels linked the struggle of immigrants to campus struggles against budget cuts: "The fight for justice in education is the fight of the

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WV Photo

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 578

18 June 1993

Imperialist "Peacekeepers" Get Out and Stay Out!

U.S./UN Troops Slaughter Somalis

JUNE 14—Some 70 unarmed Somalis, many of them women and children, were gunned down and 20 of them killed by United Nations troops in Mogadishu yesterday. Witnesses described a scene of dreadful carnage as Pakistani "peacekeepers," firing from sandbagged bunkers, sprayed the peacefully protesting crowd with machine-gun fire, leaving scores of dead and wounded writhing in the streets.

The day before, Pakistani troops wearing UN blue helmets had fired on Somalis demonstrating in front of a military compound, killing at least four and wounding another 20. The demonstrators were marching on the former U.S. embassy to protest the pre-dawn attack by American AC-130H gunships and Cobra attack helicopters. A massive barrage of computer-guided artillery shells was unleashed, supposedly against local strongman General Aidid's "weapons storage centers" located in a heavily populated residential area.

To cover their racist crime, the imperialists lie shamelessly. Clinton's UN delegate Madeleine Albright said she "can understand" the reaction of the soldiers who were "not able to defend themselves"! The troops supposedly had itchy trigger fingers because the rules of engagement only allowed them to fire in self-defense. The *New York Times* (14 June) claimed that the Pakistanis are easy targets because they are "without armored personnel carriers or tanks," while printing on

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AFP

Somali demonstrators gunned down in the streets of Mogadishu by UN "peacekeepers."

Balkanizing the Balkans

Imperialism Keep Your Bloody Hands Off!

In early May, the White House threatened air strikes against Serbian positions in Bosnia, proclaiming the U.S. to be "the world's only superpower." A Pentagon spokesman announced plans to send 20,000 U.S. troops into the Balkans. But when America's NATO allies called Clinton's bluff by demanding U.S. ground troops, Washington quickly backed off. As a "show of force," they have offered to put 300 "peacekeeping" troops into Macedonia, where there is at present no fighting. Two weeks ago a UN Security Council resolution authorized air strikes against Serbian forces to defend Muslim "safe havens." The Clinton administration "interpreted" this resolution to mean only the defense of the UN "peacekeeping" forces, not the Bosnian Muslim enclaves.

Now Washington's saber rattling over the Balkans has been followed...by attacks on African warlords in Somalia. The whole Somalian military adventure in the guise of "humanitarian" aid was designed to demonstrate on the cheap that the U.S. was still the cops of the world. With classic Pentagon overkill, they brought in AC-130H Specter gunships—no doubt practicing for use against South-Central Los Angeles. Even the *New York Times* (13 June) commented acidly, "Does it mean that peacekeepers will be prepared to take decisive military action only when the adversary is

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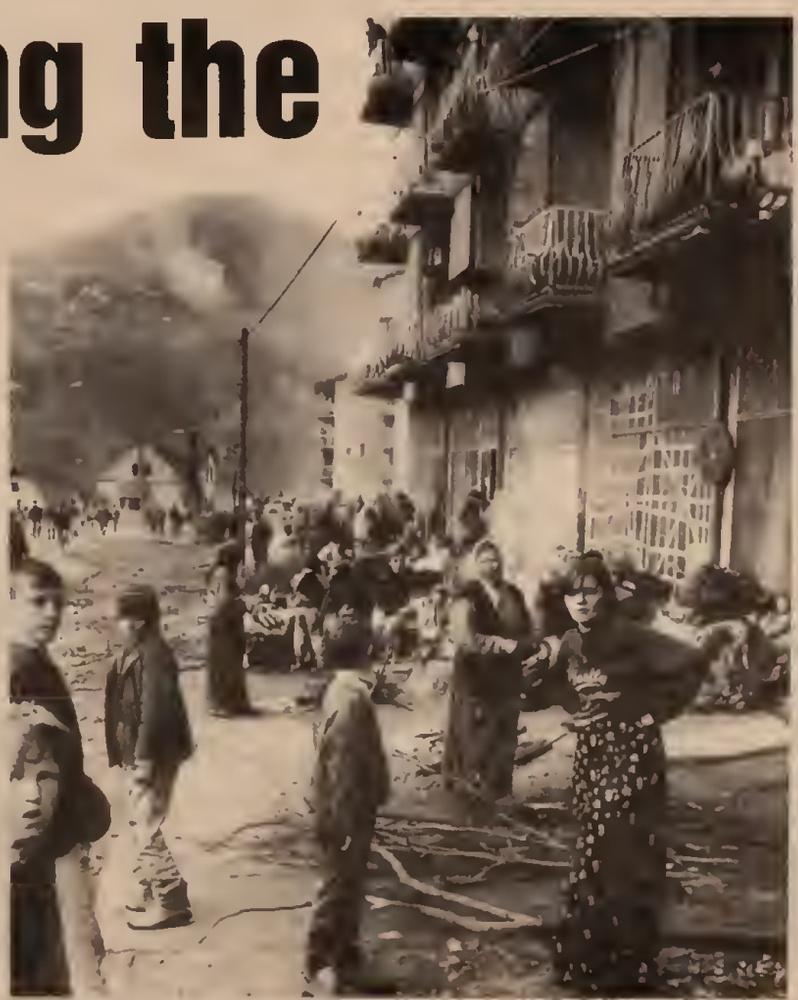

Von Hecklinghausen/Gamma-Liaison

Slavic Muslim refugees in Bosnian town of Srebrenica, victims of nationalist-communalist bloodbath unleashed by capitalist counterrevolution in Yugoslavia.

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On Counterrevolution in East Europe

April 21, 1993

Dear Comrades:

Don't you recognize the origins of the "nationalization fetish" you so vigorously denounce? (WV #573, 9 April). This is our old friend, the revisionist Deformed Workers' State theory of 1950, come back to disorient another generation of Trotskyists.

Trotsky used the famous Three Criteria (nationalized industry, centralized planning, monopoly of foreign trade) to indicate the point at which a degenerating workers' state should be considered as having reverted to its original bourgeois form. The revisionists argued that history could move backward as easily as forward, and that therefore these Three Criteria also defined the point at which a bourgeois state became a degenerated workers' state. But since degeneration cannot precede birth, they called these new creatures "Deformed" Workers' States.

They left out one small trifle: the proletarian revolution. For Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, the "sine qua non" of a workers state was the seizure of power by the working class, acting through its own organizations: proletarian party, soviets, Red Guards.

Of course, Trotsky never used his Three Criteria as a definition of a workers' state. That refinement was first used by the revisionists in connection with the eastern European countries. These small, underdeveloped bourgeois states proceeded, in the aftermath of World War II, to nationalize industries, initiate economic planning and control foreign trade. And magically became workers' states overnight. Without revolutions, without soviets, without Bolshevik parties, without the proletariat having to do anything but watch. Saying that they still needed a "political" revolution to achieve full workers' state status was a clever way of giving a revolutionary cover for a fundamentally reformist concept.

And since proletarian revolutions were no longer necessary to change the class basis of the state, the Trotskyist movement began looking for radical non-proletarian forces to tail after. Peasant-based guerrillas, national-liberationists, anti-war activists, students, all sorts of petty-bourgeois forces became the focus of its work. The slow, difficult, but absolutely essential work of establishing solid connections with the working class was set aside.

Part of the theory of Deformed Workers' States was the claim that these countries could not revert back to capitalism without a counterrevolutionary struggle. Well, the return to "market economies" in eastern Europe is far from complete, but so far there have been few visible signs of class-against-class conflict. Instead the fighting has been on a national, ethnic and religious basis.

So maybe it's time to reconsider the validity of this theoretical concept. Maybe these so-called Deformed Workers' States were simply new forms of bourgeois states, in which Stalinist regimes with communist rhetoric ran the government, much as labor parties sometimes do, with socialist rhetoric, in western Europe. And if a resident bourgeoisie was hard to find, it might be present in the role of western governments and bankers, who loaned millions to these countries in the 70s. In any event, a bourgeoisie can always be created from a thriving petty-bourgeoisie of well-to-do farmers, small traders, and thieving bureaucrats. In this basically bourgeois world, if you do not see the working class consciously taking power on its own behalf, you are looking at some form of bourgeois state.

Trotsky's Three Criteria are still valid and useful for their original purpose: to determine the progress of capitalist restoration in the former USSR. The thing to watch is not the speeches and maneuvers of bureaucrats like Yeltsin and his competitors, but whether or not major industrial plants are being privatized. When this happens, the bourgeois press will be sure to let us know. Until then, maybe it's a bit premature to hold funeral services over the first, and so far only, workers' state.

And finally, the "sine qua non" of a paper that calls itself Workers Vanguard would seem to be to use language that workers use. I'm sure you could think of a perfectly good English equivalent for "sine qua non."

N'est-ce pas?

Marion Syrek
Oakland, CA

WV replies: Marion Syrek is the victim of a hopelessly outlived "theory," used to explain a world that never existed in the first place. Surely the working masses of Eastern Europe whose countries are now being ravaged by mass unemployment, poverty, homelessness and bloody nationalist fratricide would be surprised to learn that nothing has changed—that they have always been living under capitalism! Ditto for the population of Russia and the other former Soviet republics who are to believe that they are still living under a workers state, albeit degenerated.

Syrek argues that in the absence of proletarian socialist revolutions led by Bolshevik parties, no social transformations did, or could have, taken place in Eastern Europe. Why stop here? The 1917 October Revolution did not embrace all the areas of the former tsarist empire. For example, the Sovietization of the Caucasus and Central Asia were accomplished not as the result of indigenous insurrections, but largely through the military intervention of the Red Army. By Syrek's criteria, the only parts of the former Soviet Union one could ever have genuinely considered to have been workers states are Russia and the Eastern Ukraine.

Similarly, the missing ingredient in Syrek's "analysis" of Eastern Europe is the intervention of the Red Army, whose military victory over Hitler's Nazis and their East European puppet regimes caused the former rulers to flee, leaving behind a power vacuum that was filled by the Soviet Army. Under the pressure of imperialist Cold War I, the Stalinists established deformed workers states in these countries as a "buffer zone," through cold social revolutions that were imposed from the top down.

The Soviet military forces held the decisive levers of power. Forty years later it was the Kremlin bureaucracy

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TROTSKY

LENIN

Defend Immigrant Workers!

One hundred years ago, in the summer of 1893, racist anti-Chinese pogroms swept California. Fomented by the passage of the anti-Asian Geary Act the previous year, and whipped up by anti-Chinese rhetoric from the capitalist press, racist white mobs burned out the camps of Chinese laborers in Fresno. From Napa to the San Joaquin Valley, Chinese workers were driven from the fields by the racist terror.

The labor movement had a despicable record of anti-Asian racism, which it carried into the 1900s and which was matched by the leadership of the Socialist Party. But the revolutionary syndicalists of the Industrial Workers of the World, the Wobblies, fought for proletarian internationalism against the "yellow peril" socialists.

In May 1913, the Wobblies denounced an article in the Socialist Party's California newspaper for its scurrilous protectionist line that Japanese workmen in California undercut white American labor:

It is not enough for this socialist writer to play into the hands of the capitalists by dividing the workers on an alleged "yellow peril," but she must do so in the name of internationalism.... Of course, it comes from the same source and is on a par with the actions of the Job Harriman brand of socialists, who clamor for working class solidarity and then vote in their dinky little craft unions to raise the initiation fee so as to get a tighter cinch on the jobs.

The person who thinks that the Japanese or Chinese are inferior in intellect or ability to the average Missourian or the Connecticut Yankee is a stranger to the facts. All workers can be organized, regardless of race or color, as soon as their minds are cleared of the patriotic notion that there is any reason for being proud of having been born of a certain shade of skin or in an arbitrarily fenced off portion of the earth....

This tendency to look down upon the workers of the "far-off" lands is foolish, for we venture to remark that the United States is just as far off from Japan as Japan is from the United States.

On this one point the I.W.W. is confident. There are but two nations—the exploiters and the exploited; but two races—the robbers and the robbed. We want to see the exploited organized solidly and we welcome the Japanese to membership, but when it comes to a fight we will wage just as relentless warfare against a Japanese employer as we will against a star-spangled American labor skinner.

If the workers need fear any "yellow peril," it is from yellow socialists of the Social-Democratic stripe.

—*The Industrial Worker*, 15 May 1913

WORKERS VANGUARD

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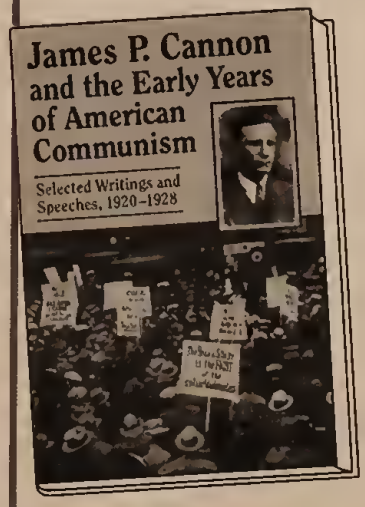

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Elke Pirdszun

Spartakist

1957–1993

The following article is translated from Spartakist *No. 104, June 1993, published by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).*

Our beloved comrade Elke Pirdszun died of cancer on May 19 in Duisburg, Germany. Elke was tragically only 36 years old, but she had fought in the ranks of our International for over half her life. When she died, Elke was a member of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD); earlier she had worked as a leading member of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTd'I) and the Spartacist League/Britain. Elke's death has left comrades in many countries around the world in personal grief and pain.

In 1975, when she was 17 years old, Elke became an active sympathizer of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) and worked with our organizing committee in Cologne. She joined the party and moved to Berlin in October 1976. As she studied basic Marxism, Elke helped shape the other young comrades we recruited from the fairly lumpenized New Left and Pabloite milieus, showing through personal example that part of the seriousness of being a professional revolutionary is learning a trade, leading a disciplined, stable existence and reserving most of one's energy for the party.

Elke was a quiet, thoughtful comrade who preferred and advised thinking through questions before engaging in a fight, and her years in the TLD were indeed years of hard, painful fights to forge a German section. In 1979, as the treasurer of the Berlin branch, she was elected to the Berlin local executive; in January 1981 Elke moved to Frankfurt and began to play a more important role in the leadership and in editing the paper.

Elke's literary capacity was recognized by all comrades who worked with her. From the summer of 1981 Elke was a member of the editorial board of the German section's newspaper, *Spartakist*. She was dedicated to the German-language edition of *Spartacist*, theoretical and documentary journal of the international Spartacist tendency, now the International Communist League. In the winter of 1981-82, as a member of the *Spartacist* editorial board she traveled to New York to assist in the final editing of its edition No. 10, centering on the Russian question, particularly on Poland and Afghanistan.

In 1981-82, when most of the ostensible left was enthusing over Solidarność, a fight took place in the TLD over Poland in the face of Solidarność' counterrevolutionary bid for power. Elke was one of the comrades in this fight who, together with comrades of the International, helped reorient the section around the Trotskyist program of proletarian political revolution and the defense of the gains of the deformed workers states. She was elected to the Central Committee at the TLD conference in September 1981.

We recognized at the time, as Elke herself wrote in March 1982, that the failure to learn the lessons of the resurgence of German nationalism and Cold War II would "place a question mark over the existence of a German section" of our tendency. Social Democracy was the ideological spearhead of the increasingly strengthened German bourgeoisie. It was necessary to politically arm the section to combat resurgent German nationalism in rightist and "leftist" colors, particularly as the Social Democracy dominated the "peace movement." In this regard, in the summer of 1982 another serious struggle broke out in the TLD that culminated in an emergency national conference. "Left" nationalism had found its way into the organization and was grossly obvious in the person of one Ulrich Sandhaus, a proto-fascist punk who was expelled from the TLD. Elke was elected as one of the three members of the Central Committee at this conference. She worked closely with the comrades of the International to formulate sharply the polemic against "left" nationalism, and Elke made the public presentation on this topic for the German section at the Lutte Ouvrière fête in 1983. This work helped lay the basis for subsequent polemics against our opponents in Germany.

In July 1983, Elke moved to Milano and worked as a member of the LTd'I. When in 1985 the TLD abstained with the rest of the left from Jewish-organized protests against Reagan/Kohl's obscene salute to the SS at Bitburg, she immediately intervened in discussions in Germany, insisting that the comrades thoroughly assimilate the historical lessons of the rise of fascism and the Holocaust through extensive reading as well as internal debate. Her library included an extensive section on the Jewish question and the rise of fascism.

Elke was an excellent linguist. In Milano she learned Italian in a short time and was central to leading our Italian section. A talented organizer who knew the value of a functioning apparatus, in the LTd'I Elke helped reintroduce Leninist organizational norms and financial systems, as she had in Berlin.

During 1983, Elke was among the comrades from Italy and Germany who conducted programmatic discussions with a group of young comrades, a left faction in the otherwise thoroughly miserable Swiss United Secretariat; the best of this group was recruited to our International. From February 1986 Elke was a member of the Spartacist League/Britain, where she was co-opted to the Central Committee and also functioned as London organizer. Her political sharpness against centrist and reformist opponents left its impact on the section, as did her insistence on proper internal functioning. But as the result of a crisis precipitated by personal bitterness and disillusionment, Elke resigned with regret from the party in March 1988.

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"We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution"

The following is a translation of Elke's statement on joining the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) and International Communist League (ICL).

Duisburg, 25 January 1993

Dear comrades,

Agreed, everything is to be changed
the world and humanity
above all the disorder
of classes of people, because there are
two sorts of people
exploitation and lack of knowledge.
—Bertolt Brecht, *The Agreement*

The offer to rejoin the party as an honorary member has filled me with great joy. My illness has forced me to review my life, and above all I felt regret at no longer being in the party. I would be most happy to again place my experience and ability in the service of the fight for the rebirth of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution.

"We are the party of the Russian Revolution" was and is one of my favorite statements of Spartacism as it is embodied by the SpAD/ICL. The boastful lies about the "death of communism" cannot erase October 1917 from history, the date of the victory of the Russian workers and peasants over tsarist despotism.

Despite the deadly noose of Stalinism, the "great organizer of defeats," despite imperialism's obscene pretensions of victory, celebrating its supposed triumph in the firelight of burning hostels of asylum seekers, accompanied by a crescendo of bullets in murderous nationalist slaughters—in spite of all this: the Russian Revolution was and remains alive for all fighters for world socialist revolution, having after all ripped a sixth of the globe from the capitalist order of exploitation and oppression, and thereby undertaken the proof of the superiority of socialized property and planned economy over capitalist private property and the anarchy of the market.

"We are the party of the Russian Revolution" means: we are the party of victory. The throttling of the Soviet workers state by Stalinism is a defeat of historic proportions for the international proletariat. Nevertheless, it fights and will continue to fight against the insatiable greed for profit of capitalism/imperialism: the battle over the alternative of socialism or barbarism is not yet decided. Building the party which will wage and decide this battle with the internationalist program of Lenin and Trotsky—to this I will contribute with all my power.

With communist greetings,
Elke

Spartakist

Elke carrying TLD banner calling for the rebirth of the Fourth International at 1980 Berlin May Day demonstration.

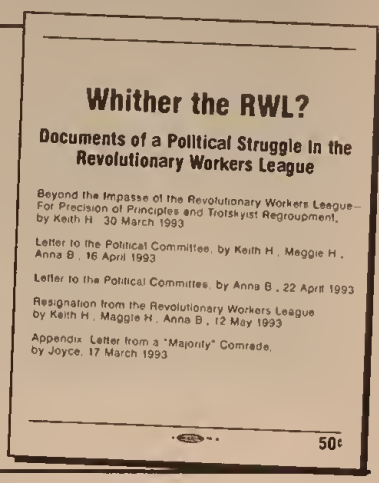
RWL in Detroit Elections: Abortion Rights in the Closet

After the Ann Arbor-based Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) underwent a cleavage in 1991, separating into Peter Sollenberger's "Trotskyist League" and Leland Sanderson's RWL, the RWL proclaimed it was going to "place the revolution on its agenda again." Some young comrades in the RWL's Bay Area branch took this admonition to heart and discovered through reading Trotsky that putting "revolution" on the agenda meant a serious investigation of the politics of the Spartacist League—much to their horror, given that within the RWL the SL is considered the modern-day equivalent of Count Dracula. Their efforts at internal discussion were met by the RWL slapping on a virtual quarantine, to try to isolate these comrades' views from the rest of the members both locally and nationally. One young woman was even banned from attending the gay rights march in Washington, D.C. These comrades have since resigned from the RWL in solidarity with the SL.

In our article "RWL: Mitosis of a Cult" (*WV* No. 570, 26 February), we noted that the RWL's work is "a textbook example of how centrists are 'inclined to cringe before those who are more moderate,' as Trotsky put it." The RWL's particular brand of pressure politics ranges from trying to build coalitions in which they operate as the tame "left wing" in lash-ups with the bourgeois feminists of NOW, to demanding that Jesse Jackson build a more militant pressure group on the Democratic Party. Sectoralist opportunism is the *sine qua non* of the RWL's politics. But this is thrown into sharp relief when the various sectors they are tailing get crossed.

Currently the RWL is running a "Fighting Worker Slate" in the Detroit city elections. What's most notable about their program is what isn't there. As racist "right to life" terrorists, with the backing of the Reagan/Bush White House, launched their deadly terror against abortion clinics across the country, the RWL attracted young militants who wanted to fight the anti-abortion bigots. But in black Detroit their platform contains nary a mention of abortion! The rapidity with which the RWL jettisons *any* defense of abortion rights should serve as a warning.

In fact, it's not just the "A" word that's missing. While taking up the case of Malice Green, an innocent black man brutally killed by Detroit cops, they make no mention of the need to fight against segregation, against attacks on foreign-born workers (like the tens of thousands of Arab Americans who populate Detroit and Dearborn) or against the protectionism and American chauvinism promoted by the pro-imperialist United Auto Workers (UAW) bureaucracy. Evidently considering political struggle against conservative "family values" to be "divisive," gay rights gets only a ritual mention. Pretty funny coming from a group that in its A^2 campus stomping ground makes flaunting gay lifestyle a matter of political principle.



Documents available for $1 (includes postage) from Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

The "Fighting Worker" program excludes anything that might turn off a liberal union bureaucrat. This means no workers party, no workers government, not even a simple, clear call for a break with the capitalist Democratic Party and for ousting its political agents in labor, the union bureaucrats. Instead, we're told that "Coleman Young and his cronies have refused to bargain in good faith with the City's unions" and that "the union bureaucrats have been too frightened to call" for a strike. Good faith? Frightened? Black Democratic Party mayors like Coleman Young were installed to *crush* labor/black struggle—and the labor traitors have been their conscious agents against the working class.

For that matter, look high and low, in more than six single-spaced pages of the RWL platform you won't find a single mention of socialism or revolution! Sounding like nothing so much as a bombastic British Labour Party Member of Parliament, the RWL's "maximum" program is reduced to the statement that the workers "will have to take political power into their own hands and take charge of all fundamental economic decision-making." Shades of Tony Benn, although even Labour MPs know how to throw around some phony rhetoric on nationalizations here and there.

For years the RWL sought to be some kind of centrist halfway house between the reformists and the Spartacist League, based on the Sollenberger/Sanderson interpretation of the "transitional method."

Well, the program of the "Fighting Worker" slate in Detroit is what the RWL leadership must mean by the "transitional method."

The First Time Farce...

We saw another application of the RWL "method" at a recent meeting of the petty-bourgeois feminist (and

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Elke Pirdszun...

(continued from page 3)

In August 1989 she returned to the Ruhr basin city of Duisburg where she had grown up, supporting the party from there. During the incipient political revolution in East Germany in 1989-90 Elke rendered considerable assistance to the party in our work in the Ruhr area, as well as participating in our regular public meetings in Berlin. When comrades of the SpAD traveled to the Ruhr area after the massive public workers strike in 1992, Elke intervened at our public meeting in Essen, speaking against the German Northites—with her customary sharpness and, as our own comrades noted, more powerfully than some of our own members could have. Thereafter Elke moved steadily into closer collaboration with the party.

Her last public intervention with us was on 30 August 1992, in the demonstration in Rostock against the racist pogrom only days before. The police, who had allowed fascist-led rioters to burn down a hostel for asylum seekers and Vietnamese workers, then unleashed massive repression against the leftist protesters. When Elke rejoined the German section as an honorary member at the beginning of 1993 she already knew she was fatally ill. She was miserable outside the party, and she and her loved ones repeatedly told our German comrades that in rejoining she had come home. In these past five months Elke gave the party all she could, because building her party was her main reason to live and fight.

Her terrible illness left her very little time, and she chose to undergo painful chemotherapy in the hope of gaining a little more. During February, in the brief respites she eked out, she visited her friends and comrades in London and Berlin. Although it meant a strenuous exertion for her, she and her devoted companion Arno visited the Socialists' Memorial in East Berlin, where only a few days earlier comrades of the SpAD had laid wreaths for our fallen comrades Martha Phillips and Dirk Schubert in commemoration of the "Three L's," Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg.

Elke distributing Trotskyist literature at Frankfurt demonstration, 1981.

In every way she could, Elke struggled in the few months that remained to her for the expansion of the party into the Ruhr industrial basin, placing her own home at the party's disposal as an organizing center for much of that time. In the last months of her life she was delighted that a German translation of [the Spartacist pamphlet] *Lenin and the Vanguard Party* was in the final stages of editing; only her painful illness prevented her from finishing it herself.

Elke remained a hard communist to the last. The day before she died, comrades who had traveled to Duisburg told her of successes in our work, and she was happy to learn of these: that our comrades had demonstrated that day in defense of DDR master spy Markus Wolf at his trial in Dusseldorf, that in Hamburg our comrades had been warmly received as they defended Roma and Sinti protesting mass deportations, and that our comrade Renate's European speaking tour had met with success.

Elke grew up in a proletarian family of Polish extraction. Her mother Uschi was the rebellious, determined and gifted daughter of a conservative miner. Uschi had to defy her own father and give in to the church to go to secondary school at all; even for gifted proletarian children, only the convent school was free. Among the many lessons from this background that she imparted to Elke was a deep hatred of discrimination against women, and the woman question strongly motivated Elke as a communist.

Elke's father was a trained carpenter, but went to work in the higher-paying Mannesmann steel plant to raise their three children. He was devoted to Elke, the oldest, encouraging her to read, and he too worked to form her character. As an active social-democratic trade-unionist, Helmut Pirdszun won great respect and love among his immigrant coworkers at Mannesmann, who represented a good percentage of the workforce. He died of cancer when Elke was only ten years old, and the entire shift shut down the plant that day to mourn "our brother" together with his family.

Elke was fiercely independent and despised hypocrisy. But she never hid her compassion for the exploited and oppressed, nor her warm generosity toward her friends and all those she cared for. It is a comfort to her comrades and friends that to the last in her fight for life she received boundless love from Arno, Uschi and Horst and her two sisters. Our hearts are with them. Elke devoted her talents and her intelligence to the fight for a revolution which would open the path to the construction of a truly humane, socialist society. Let us go forward to that end, and build an international Leninist party that inscribes on its banner the struggle against all forms of social oppression. ■

NYC: Spartacists Protest Mass Arrest of Chinese Immigrants

On June 6, nearly 300 Chinese immigrants made a desperate swim to shore as their freighter ran aground off Rockaway Peninsula. Six workers tragically lost their lives in the frigid tidal waters only yards from one of New York City's most popular beaches, Jacob Riis Park, named after the reformer whose book, *How the Other Half Lives*, exposed the harrowing misery of earlier immigrants to America.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) moved in to arrest the survivors, threatening to deport them back to China as "an example" to deter others. "Who's going to control the borders of the United States? The aliens have taken control," hysterically claimed INS New York director William S. Slattery (*New York Times*, 13 June). The New York mass media echoed the government's racist scapegoating and lurid warnings by "experts" of "a global crime network of unprecedented sophistication," with a burst of "exposés" of criminal influence and sinister Chinatown gangs, drugs and so on, summed up by the *New York Post*'s editorial headline: "Send Them Back."

In New York on June 8, some 60 people joined the Partisan Defense Committee and Spartacist League's demonstration in front of the INS offices at Federal Plaza in downtown Manhattan to say "Let Them Stay." The latest INS mass arrest follows on the heels of the government's arrest of some 200 Chinese immigrants who landed under the Golden Gate Bridge in San Francisco. The Bay Area PDC and Labor Black League for Social Defense held an emergency demonstration demanding the refugees' freedom in San Francisco on May 28. Both protests received wide press coverage, including local television reports and articles in Chinese-language newspapers on both coasts.

There has been a massive increase in the Asian population in the United States, up some 95 percent between 1980 and 1990. Immigration has always been used as a political weapon, but the Cold War policies allowing a mass influx of Vietnamese "boat people" and Chinese following Bush's post-Tiananmen Square promise to allow Chinese immigrants political refugee status are fading fast. Today the Clinton administration wants to shut that door, while leaving a window open for Cubans. As Spartacist spokesman Len Meyers pointed out at the demonstration, "Today we have the disgusting spectacle of every Cuban criminal and plane hijacker who gets into this country being treated as a hero, because they oppose the workers state in Cuba, while every black Haitian is treated as a criminal, and sent to concentration camps in Guantánamo and Krome Avenue."

They Got Here, Let Them Stay Here

WV Photo

Partisan Defense Committee and Spartacist League protest at INS headquarters in Manhattan, June 8.

Chinese authorities in Fujian Province have cynically denounced "money worship-ism" as leading workers to leave China—this from a leadership which has plunged millions into poverty as it encourages rapacious "private enterprise"! Meyers said at the protest, "As these Chinese immigrants point out, had they known what they could expect in this so-called land of honey, they would have never left China. They're leaving because of the introduction of so-called 'market reforms,' capitalist counterrevolution on the installment plan, by the Stalinist bureaucracy in Beijing. The so-called 'iron rice bowl'—which meant that, ever since the revolution of 1949, the Chinese working people had a right to a job, a right to social security, a right to medical treatment and a right to security in their old age—is being broken by the regime in the pursuit of capitalist 'reforms'."

The Spartacist League and International Communist League, Meyers continued, "say what is necessary in China is a working-class political revolution which fights to defend the social gains achieved by the Chinese masses and overthrows the bureaucracy which is selling those gains out in the interests of creeping capitalism.... In 1989, in the aftermath of the bloody crackdown of Tiananmen, there was the possibility of such a political revolution in China, where the working class would take power in its own name to rule on the basis of authentic working-class democracy, for its interests and the interests of working people around the world."

Racist Hypocrisy and Capitalist Exploitation

Coming from the ruling class of this country, all the talk about sinister "snakehead" gangsters and the sweatshops and dungeons of Chinatown is pure racist hypocrisy. The wealth of the United States was built through the toil of black slaves and white indentured servants, and then wave after wave of immigrant sweatshop labor. Certainly conditions on the "Golden Venture" were atrocious—but the "founding fathers," Yankee and British shipowners and slaveowners, treated their human cargo no better.

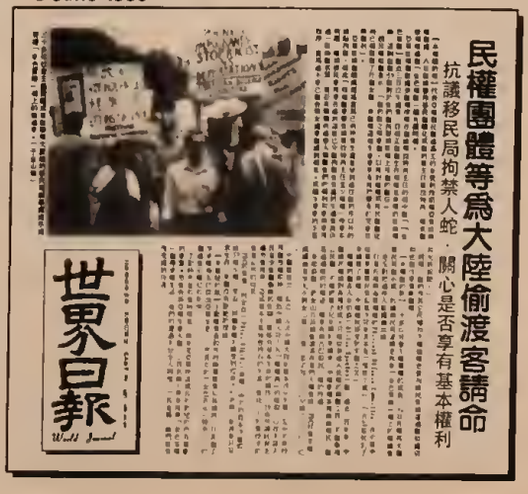
The PDC pointed out in its NYC press release, "For over 100 years, Chinese immigrants have endured discrimination and exploitation; forced to work in sweltering New York laundries and sweatshops. They were forbidden to bring their wives and children to join them and denied citizenship rights even after serving in the U.S. army." This race prejudice was most extreme in California, where in San Francisco in the early 1900s an outbreak of plague led to proposals to raze Chinatown and incarcerate the inhabitants. Upon completion of the Union Pacific railroad—built largely with Chinese labor—Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 at the behest of the racist trade-union tops.

Today this "yellow peril" atmosphere is again being whipped up. Partisan Defense Committee spokesman Frank Hicks told WBAI radio at the demonstration: "The Clinton administration is scapegoating Asian workers and the American trade-union bureaucracy is scapegoating Asian workers for the crimes of capitalism. There's 60 percent unemployment among youth in New York City. That's not because of Asian workers, and that's not because of Haitian workers that this country refuses to admit."

The day after the NYC protest it was reported that a federal judge finally ordered the release of Haitians held at the Guantánamo Bay Naval Base concentration camp, most of whom had been cruelly barred from entering the U.S., first by the Bush administration and then by Clinton, because of suspected infection with the HIV virus. Many had been imprisoned for almost 20 months, without adequate medical care or legal assistance.

From the chemical-drenched farmlands and orchards to the dangerous anti-union sweatshops and factories throughout the country, immigrants and "illegal aliens" have built this country. The answer to the horrendous conditions these workers labor and live under is not racist INS imprisonment or more corrupt cop patrols against "crime." We need a fighting labor movement that will launch massive campaigns to organize the unorganized workers. It will take revolutionary socialist leadership to break from the racist traitors in the labor movement and build an international workers movement that will be a powerhouse for social justice. ■

— 9 June 1993



Chinese-language press in San Francisco and New York covered PDC and SL protests. Right, NYC's *World Journal* of June 9.

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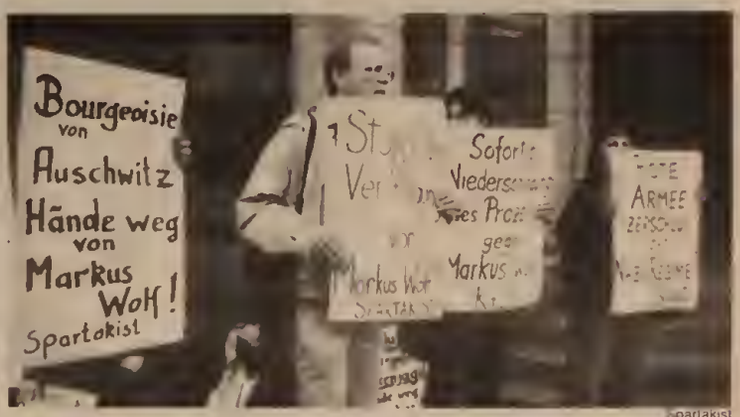
On Trial for "Treason" Against Heirs of Nazism

Defend Markus Wolf!

The former head of the East German (DDR) intelligence service, Markus Wolf, is now being tried by the capitalist courts of reunified Germany. Our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany and the Committee for Social Defense held a demonstration protesting this witchhunt trial at the court session on May 18. We print below the article "Fourth Reich: Hands Off Markus Wolf!" from Spartakist *No. 103 (May 1993).*

Vario-press



Spartakist

Spartakist Workers Party of Germany protests outside anti-Communist show trial of East German spymaster Markus Wolf in Düsseldorf.

Markus Wolf himself called it "the last campaign of the Cold War." On May 4, the trial began against the DDR spymaster in Düsseldorf, the site of numerous "Stasi" trials. In a 389-page indictment, Attorney General Alexander von Stahl, notorious for chasing Red Army Faction "terrorists," accuses the leader of the Central Administration for Intelligence (HVA) of the DDR Ministry for State Security of "treason" and "bribery" (of agents who spied in West Germany on behalf of the HVA). Wolf responded, in his speech to the court about his years as head of espionage and as a citizen of the DDR, asking: "What country did I supposedly betray?"

As for "treason," this can only refer to "betraying" the Third Reich, which was smashed by the victory of the Red Army over German fascism. The East German deformed workers state was built on the basis of this victory. Not only has the Federal Republic of Germany declared itself to be the legal successor state to the Third Reich, but it took over the entire spy network from Hitler's "Foreign Armies East" military espionage service, the Gehlen organization, which became the core of the later BND (Federal Information Service, West Germany's CIA). Hardly anyone went after the Federal Republic and its BND with more success than Markus Wolf, and now he's supposed to pay for that.

Concerning the revenge campaign, Wolf told the court that "while I am brought to trial as the former head of the intelligence agency of a German state, the former leader of the same service in the other German state represents united Germany as its foreign minister."

We Trotskyists demand immediate dismissal of the charges against Markus Wolf, as we earlier demanded in the case of Erich Honecker. Hands off Markus Wolf! Freedom for (former East German army chief) Heinz Kessler, (former security minister) Erich Mielke and all other representatives of the former DDR! Defense of the DDR was no crime—selling it out was! But we also defend those who sold it out, like Hans ("Germany One Fatherland") Modrow, against the imperialist campaign of revenge.

As we have written (see "Free Erich Honecker!" *WV* No. 565, 11 December 1992, and "The Show Trial of Erich Honecker," *WV* No. 568, 29 January): "In fighting for the freedom of former DDR leaders, we are doing our class duty in defending the victims of this capitalist class justice, just as we fought tooth and nail against capitalist reunification of Germany, which gave rise to this anti-Communist witchhunt, racist terror, mass unemployment and other horrors."

What's going on here is not just a vendetta directed against Honecker or Wolf. The goal is to snuff out among the East German working class any consciousness and memory of the achievements of the DDR's planned economy, or, as Wolf put it, "to disappear whatever is left of 40 years of the DDR."

It is no accident that the German bourgeoisie is staging one anti-Communist show trial after the other, in order to intimidate and demoralize the working class, at the same time as it throws half the working people of the former DDR out of their jobs and rips up the contracts of those who still have work. Even the SPD/DGB bureaucrats like Steinkühler have noticed that since the destruction of the USSR and the DDR the bosses are everywhere acting more brutally. At the same time, Steinkühler & Co. use this to split the German working class and to chain it. The struggle against the anti-Communist witchhunt must, like the fight against racist terror, be an integral part of the struggle against the bosses' offensive by the working class, begun by the metal and steel workers.

Even though the DDR named its Berlin guard regiment after Feliks Dzerzhinsky, the founder of the Soviet Cheka, nevertheless the HVA cannot be equated with the intelligence agency of the October Revolution. The limits of Wolf's secret service operation lay in the Stalinist policy of "socialism in one (or half a) country," which presumed "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialist states. This was a bitter fallacy, as it turned out. Wolf sees the fall of Social Democrat "détente" chancellor Willy Brandt as one of his biggest defeats. But Brandt's *Ostpolitik* (eastern policy), which was then continued by Helmut Schmidt *and* Christian Democrat Helmut Kohl, and even by arch-reactionary Franz Josef Strauss, undermined the DDR and aided the Fourth Reich in annexing the first workers state in Germany. Wolf is also sympathetic to Gorbachev's perestroika, which paved the way to Yeltsin's counterrevolution.

While Wolf sees "grounds for remorse" in "looking back on the whole history of 40 years up to the end of the DDR" (*Der Spiegel*, 3 May), we take the liberty of quoting Soviet spy Ignace Reiss, who broke from Stalin in 1937. Reiss did not "regret" his laudable work of supplying guns to the Spanish Republicans, but instead declared:

> "The working class must defeat Stalin and Stalinism so that the U.S.S.R. and the international workers' movement do not succumb to fascism and counterrevolution. This mixture of the worst of opportunism, devoid of principles, and of lies and blood threatens to poison the world and the last forces of the working class."

Reiss did not scorn the defense of the USSR, but rather the Stalinist policy of "socialism in one country" which undermined that defense.

We hold in great esteem the work that Markus Wolf carried out for decades in defense of the DDR and the other deformed and degenerated workers states against imperialism. Now is the time to defend him. ■

Chicago Protest Against "Populist Party" Fascists

CHICAGO—On May 22, nearly 100 anti-fascists demonstrated in front of the Marriott O'Hare Hotel, where David Duke's Populist Party was holding its national convention. A front for the racist terrorists of the KKK, the Populist Party denies the Nazi Holocaust ever happened while its supporters obscenely pledge to "make the Holocaust a reality." The demonstrators reportedly outnumbered the Hitlerites inside the hotel. Klan-in-a-suit Duke, who ran for president on the Populist ticket in 1988, didn't show.

The suburban-like setting of the Marriott O'Hare was the closest the so-called "Populists" dared to get to the working-class and heavily minority city of Chicago. These fascists have not set foot in downtown Chicago since March 1989, when a labor/black demonstration initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) protested a Populist Party gathering in the Bismarck Hotel (see "United-Front Protest Against Klansman Duke: 'No Hitlers in Chicago!'" *WV* No. 473, 17 March 1989).

Organized on short notice, the demonstration at the Marriott united blacks, Latinos and whites—youth, leftists and trade unionists—in common action against the violent hate-mongers of the Populist Party. Participating organizations included Anti-Racist Action, the International Socialist Organization, and the Spartacist League with its fraternal organizations, the Spartacus Youth Club, the PDC and the Labor Black Struggle League.

The Spartacist contingent, the largest in the demonstration, led protesters in chanting: "No Hitlers in Chicago—Nazis off the streets!" and "Stop the skinheads, stop the Klan—Only workers defense guards can!" One Spartacist placard compared Democratic president Bill Clinton's massacre of the Branch Davidians in Waco to Hitler's infamous SS mass murder in the Czech town of Lidice during World War II. Another said: "From Moscow to Berlin—Capitalist Counterrevolution Breeds Fascism, War, Poverty."

WV Photos

Chanting "No Hitlers in Chicago—Nazis off the streets!" militants march in front of Marriott O'Hare Hotel.

Mass Coal Strike Rocks the Ukraine

DONETSK, June 14—Some 50,000 miners and other workers rallied in the central square here today to push forward their strike against the Ukrainian regime of President Leonid Kravchuk and Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma. Begun a week ago, the strike rapidly expanded to include almost all of the 250 pits in the Donets Basin (Donbass) as well as hundreds of other industrial enterprises throughout the Ukraine. Upwards of a million workers in mines, machinery, textile and defense plants are now on strike, and the government quickly started granting concessions to the workers in an attempt to stop the snowballing struggle.

This massive walkout was precipitated by astronomical price increases on basic goods announced two days earlier. The cost of some food items was raised as much as *sevenfold*. Under prodding from the World Bank, the regime has been loosening controls on prices while clamping down sharply on wage increases. When miners in Makeyevka arrived at work last Monday to find that the price of their sandwich lunches had been jacked up, they walked off the job. Many workers already went without lunch to leave their families a bit of food. One miner summed it up: "We must strike or starve, and the strike must spread!"

Every day since the strike began, the center of Donetsk has been filled with thousands of miners and other strikers in round-the-clock demonstrations. On June 11, a coordinating committee was formed here by representatives of 73 striking enterprises and immediately demanded buses from the city council to transport delegations to spread news of the strike in the face of a media blackout. A miner from Pavlograd, near Dnepropetrovsk, reports daily demonstrations there as well, with all eleven pits and a defense plant employing 15,000 workers shut down. Major enterprises in Dnepropetrovsk and Kharkov are also out, and there have been protest rallies at electronics enterprises in the capital of Kiev and the Byelorussian city of Minsk, with threats of a general strike being raised in both places. The strike has now spread to the western Ukraine, including Lvov and Volyn near the Polish border.

This is the first major proletarian challenge to the nascent capitalist states erected in the wake of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. Comrades of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) have been distributing the Russian-language *Biuletin Spartakovtsev*. Over 2,400 pieces of Spartacist literature were sold at today's rally alone, including the article "How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled," stressing that Stalin and his heirs, with their lying theory of "socialism in one country," led the USSR to disaster. These bureaucratic usurpers, who atomized and demoralized the Soviet proletariat, betrayed the crucial opportunities for proletarian revolutions abroad which would have broken the power of world imperialism and laid the basis for developing an international socialist economy.

In discussions with miners, we have emphasized the need to form authentic workers councils (soviets) based on elected representatives from striking enterprises and drawing in other strata of the population like students, pensioners and soldiers. ICL comrades have also argued for delegations to be sent to the coal fields and industrial centers of Russia and other republics to expand the strike beyond the Ukraine. This would directly pose the possibility to sweep away Kravchuk, Yeltsin and all the new exploiters through class struggle. *A victorious workers revolution must forge a genuinely egalitarian, voluntary Union of Soviet Socialist Republics based on soviet democracy and guided by proletarian internationalism!*

"Nationalism Shall Not Pass!"

The economic situation in the Ukraine is even more calamitous than in Yeltsin's Russia. Having abandoned the Russian ruble after declaring independence 18 months ago, the Ukraine still has no real currency, substituting an ersatz "coupon" currency. The collapse of the industrial supply network after the breakup of the Soviet Union and the planned economy has had a disastrous effect on the Ukraine. Many factories, like Kharkov's giant Hammer and Sickle engine plant, have stopped production for lack of parts from Russia. The sharply rising prices in the Ukraine are largely the result of the spiraling cost of fuel imports.

Today the minimum wage and pension in the Ukraine is 6,900 coupons ($2) a month, while a kilogram of sausage costs up to 29,000 and a bushel of potatoes is 15,000 coupons. Miners, who are an elite sector of the workforce and average monthly salaries from 60,000 to as high as 200,000 a month depending on productivity, can barely survive. As for teachers, who make 27,000, and other workers, even minimal subsistence is impossible without resorting to dealing in the black market. The recent food price rises have a particularly devastating effect in this heavily industrialized region of the eastern Ukraine, where workers cannot even fall back on growing their own crops in private garden plots.

Faced with this situation, the miners have demanded pension and wage increases indexed to inflation and a cut in food prices and taxes. But the strike committee, which is led by the Independent Union of Miners (NPG) and works closely with the mine directors, has increasingly manipulated the strike around its own political demands, calling for a referendum on Kravchuk and the government and for regional "self-administration." The mine directors want regional autonomy in order to exercise control over profits from sales of coal. The newly appointed deputy prime minister, Yukhim Zvyagilsky, is the former director of a mine which was known for its strikebreaking and his chief political aide is a strike leader. Prime Minister Kuchma, who stands to benefit from Kravchuk's downfall, is a favorite of the World Bank.

Meanwhile, in nearby Lugansk a demonstration of several thousand "Communists" and "Socialists" reportedly called for annexing the area to Russia. Seeking to whip up nationalist sentiment among the predominantly ethnic Russian population in the eastern Ukraine, the Socialist Party of the Ukraine (SPU), successor to the old Communist Party, also calls for making "Russian the official language of the Donetsk oblast [district]."

In Moscow, the Russian Communist Workers Party (RKRP) did not even give lip service support to the strike but instead joined with the fascistic Russian National Sobor in a small "red-brown" demonstration marked by vile anti-Semitic tirades outside the Ostankino TV center. While pushing Russian nationalism—under the guise of "Soviet patriotism"—the various Stalinist has-beens are in league with capitalist-corporatist forces like Arkady Volsky and Russian vice president Aleksandr Rutskoi. Thus the SPU distributed a leaflet calling "for the right of workers themselves to choose property and economic forms" and demanding "any radical change in property to be allowed only in the interests of toiler and workforce collectives." This is Volsky's program of privatization through the manager-controlled "work collectives."

The striking miners are overwhelmingly *anti-nationalist* and would strongly prefer to live in a reunited Soviet Union. A huge red banner at today's demonstration proclaimed: "Nationalism Shall Not Pass!" A spokesman from the nationalist Rukh movement was booed off the podium at an earlier demonstration with cries of "Murderers of our children," recalling how Ukrainian nationalists collaborated with the Nazi genocide. Miners take pride in the fact that over 100 nationalities are represented in the workforce. As one miner said, "We have Jews, Tatars, Ukrainians, Russians, all working in the shaft together." Great Russian chauvinism is an enemy of the Russian workers. Only on the basis of Leninist internationalism, granting national self-determination and full democratic rights to all nationalities, can the Soviet Union be reforged on its original revolutionary foundations.

Sweep Away Kravchuk/Yeltsin Capitalist Regimes!

For Workers Soviet Rule!

The Donbass was a key bastion of the mammoth 1989 miners strike against the effects of Gorbachev's perestroika "market reforms." That strike marked a high point in militant working-class struggle, as strike committees took control of distribution and organized defense guards to maintain order, directly posing the possibility of dual power and a proletarian political revolution to sweep away the entire bankrupt Stalinist apparatus which—from Stalin to Brezhnev and Gorbachev—had sapped and undermined the Soviet Union. Memories of the '89 strike are vivid among the Donetsk miners today. One young miner told us:

> "In 1989 we had workers defense guards who patrolled the city. Crime stopped totally. All shops and state stores were checked against price rises. All shops could be checked against hoarding of goods. But even that is not enough. What we really need besides workers defense guards is a real workers party."

Already in this strike, workers have set up patrols, keeping the militia (police) at bay. Miners are not scared by rumors of troop movements.

But as strikers bitterly point out, this strike is tightly controlled from the top: "This is not the same as the '89 strike. Then we had a solid strike. Now they barely tell us anything." Many leaders who emerged from the ranks in '89 were bought off by the regime with government posts, or in some cases mysteriously killed in "accidents." The NPG was formed in the aftermath of that strike by a coterie of "AFL-CIA"-sponsored pro-Yeltsin "leaders," and joined with other "independent" unions to support Yeltsin in the April 25 Russian referendum. But when the pro-Yeltsin air traffic controllers union walked out last summer, Yeltsin and Rutskoi ruthlessly broke their strike. Likewise, the Ukrainian NPG leadership earlier looked to Kravchuk, the former Stalinist chief of the Ukraine who effortlessly and overnight converted to capitalism.

The factory managers are no less in fear of this combative struggle spreading beyond their narrow interests in the Donbass than are Kravchuk and Yeltsin. Volsky, the corporatist spokesman for Russia's factory managers and would-be owners, told a conference of international businessmen in Moscow that he was "more worried about these social tensions than about Ukraine's nuclear weapons or the Black Sea Fleet" (*Moscow Times*, 10 June). Miners must not allow their strike to become an instrument for maneuvering among different factions of the new exploiters, but must take control of the strike, demanding new elections to the strike committees.

Among the demands raised by the coordinating committee is the call to restore the workers' buying power to 1988 levels. Asked how this could be imposed, committee representatives reply: "Let the state worry their heads about that." But this *capitalist* state cannot restore the economic conditions that existed under the former workers state, even one deformed by Stalinist bureaucratic misrule. To bring the workers economic security, it is indeed necessary to revive

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Mass Murderer Bousquet Shot Dead

France: Vichy War Criminal Brought to Justice

On July 16 and 17, 1942 nearly 13,000 Jews, including more than 4,000 children, were dragged off to the Velodrome d'Hiver bicycle-racing stadium in Paris. From there, they were taken to Drancy and other concentration camps in the vicinity of Paris to be loaded into cattle cars for their final destination: Auschwitz. The perpetrators of this massive deportation to death were not the Nazi SS, but French police led by one René Bousquet. Nearly 51 years later, this hideous mass murderer was finally brought to justice.

On June 8, Bousquet was shot four times at pointblank range in the entrance of his elegant 16th Arrondissement apartment in Paris. Grotesquely, the French government immediately arrested the avenger of Bousquet's crimes, 49-year-old writer Christian Didier, and charged him with murder. From the standpoint of the working class, of survivors of the Nazi Holocaust, of all decent people, in ridding the world of "that piece of garbage," as he called Bousquet, Christian Didier deserves to be honored, not prosecuted. Didier already served a four-month prison sentence for a 1987 attempt against Nazi war criminal Klaus Barbie. Drop all charges against Christian Didier!

Obscenely, various self-styled representatives of the Jewish people in France rushed to defend the government and to condemn the war criminal's execution. Zionist Nazi-hunter Serge Klarsfeld denounced the killing as "a deplorable event which interrupts the course of justice." We say: *Justice has been served!* The hypocritical claim that a trial would have helped to further expose the crimes of the Nazi-collaborationist regime based in Vichy is a whitewash of the government, pure and simple. As Didier said, "I've heard of the Bousquet case for years and nothing ever happened."

In the 48 years since the war ended, *not one Vichy war criminal has ever been tried for their role in the Nazi Holocaust.* The 1987 trial of Klaus Barbie, the SS butcher of Lyon, was turned into a legalistic charade in which Barbie was coddled while those of his victims who had survived were again tortured and tormented (see "Kill Nazi Barbie!" *WV* No. 429, 29 May 1987). For decades, one French government after another lied outright that all war crimes committed on French soil were perpetrated solely by the German occupation forces. Only after a growing uproar did the regime even begin to make any moves to try Bousquet and two other Vichy war criminals, Paul Touvier and Maurice Papon. But as Klarsfeld himself said earlier this year about the government's endless foot-dragging, "They seem to be waiting for Papon to die." And the 84-year-old Bousquet had not yet even been scheduled for trial.

AFP

German officers in 1943 with Vichy regime police chief René Bousquet (at right), who sent thousands of French Jews to Nazi death camps.

If ever a war criminal deserved to die, Bousquet was it. Appointed secretary-general of the Interior Ministry's Police Nationale in May 1942 by his mentor, Prime Minister Pierre Laval, Bousquet quickly distinguished himself for his anti-Semitic and anti-Communist bloodlust. Bousquet personally appealed to Gestapo deputy chief Reinhard Heydrich to expand the deportations from occupied France to include Jews from Vichy territory as well, and insisted that children not be exempted. He vowed to carry out "the repression of all the enemies of the Reich" and ordered regional prefects to "crush all resistance you encounter" so as to "free your area totally of foreign Jews" (quoted in Michael Marrus and Robert Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews* [Schocken, 1983]). Gestapo chief Himmler called Bousquet a "precious collaborator."

Only months before being dumped from his post in late 1943, Bousquet pledged to "pursue with a fierce energy the struggle against all the enemies of French internal security," singling out "terrorists, communists, Jews, Gaullists, and foreign agents." Yet this mass murderer never served a day in prison. Following a sham treason trial in 1949, his five-year sentence was suspended on the grounds that he secretly supported the Gaullist "resistance." He went on to influential posts in the Fourth Republic, including as a director of the Banque d'Indochine and later of the state-owned UTA airline and numerous other companies.

The Bousquet case is symptomatic of the postwar bourgeoisie's reaction to the war crimes carried out by the pro-Nazi World War II regime of Marshal Pétain. As secretary-general of the Gironde prefecture, Papon organized the roundup of 1,700 Jews to Drancy. He later served as Paris police prefect under De Gaulle—organizing the cop massacre of hundreds of Algerian protesters on 17 October 1961—and budget minister under Giscard d'Estaing. Touvier's *documented* war crimes include the murder of seven hostages (six of them Jews), the bombing of a Lyon synagogue, and numerous instances of torture and murder. Despite two death sentences in absentia after the war, Touvier went about life undisturbed through the years, protected by leading officials of the French Catholic hierarchy like Archbishop of Lyon Cardinal Gerlier and Vatican secretary of state Cardinal Villot.

Last year Mitterrand created an uproar when he refused to offer even a symbolic gesture acknowledging French complicity in the Holocaust, denying any connection between the Pétain regime and the postwar Fourth and Fifth Republics. No wonder. Mitterrand is the embodiment of that continuity. He was information officer for the General Commissariat of Prisons, and in 1943 was awarded one of Vichy's highest honors, the Order of the Francisque, for service to the Pétainist "national revolution." After the war, Mitterrand was interior minister in charge of police repression during France's colonial war in Algeria. The "solidarity" of the Vichy old boys' club continued as Mitterrand endorsed Bousquet in the 1958 parliamentary elections, and Bousquet returned the favor when Mitterrand ran in the '65 presidential elections.

As we wrote at the time of the Barbie trial: "Since the bourgeoisie and its state was up to its neck in Nazi atrocities, nothing short of an overthrow of the bourgeois state by a workers revolution could have inflicted on the auxiliaries of Nazi barbarism the punishment they deserved" ("French Fascism and the Holocaust," *WV* No. 431, 26 June 1987). And this is true not only for the French bourgeoisie—Vichy or Gaullist—but for all the imperialist powers. The British bourgeoisie has for years covered up local collaboration with the German occupying forces on the Channel Islands, where thousands died in slave labor camps. The Churchill government deported German Jewish refugees to concentration camps in the Australian desert, while Roosevelt slammed the door on refugees from the Holocaust and threw Japanese Americans into concentration camps.

Under the "socialist" Mitterrand the racist crimes of French imperialism have continued. Last October, when over 1,200 CRS riot cops rounded up hundreds of African immigrants in Vincennes, bystanders cried out, recalling the 1942 mass deportation from the Velodrome, "It's the raid of Vel d'Hiv!" To sweep away the system which spawns fascist terror, it will take not the act of a lone avenging angel, however courageous, but the revolutionary mobilization of the international proletariat. In the meantime, every opponent of fascism should be heartened by the long-overdue fate meted out to René Bousquet. Hands off Christian Didier! ■

Letter...

(continued from page 2)

which gave the green light to the undoing of the regimes in Eastern Europe. Impelled by their own internal problems and in a desperate bid to appease imperialism, the Soviet Stalinists under Gorbachev ditched their backing for the countries of the "Soviet bloc," and the Stalinist regimes there collapsed. In the absence of the mobilization of the working class—which had been atomized and politically demoralized through decades of Stalinist misrule—to take power in their own hands through proletarian political revolution, the void was filled with the forces of capitalist counterrevolution.

Syrek's "theory" that the states in Eastern Europe, as well as China, Cuba and Vietnam, were capitalist is derived from the position of the French organization, Lutte Ouvrière (formerly Voix Ouvrière). At its best, this was a sterile "revolutionary" response to Pabloite revisionism, which took the fact of the social transformations in Eastern Europe as evidence that the Stalinists could be pressured to play an "objectively revolutionary role." This was the first step down a long slippery slope, with the Pabloists looking to any and every force—other than the working class led by a revolutionary Trotskyist party—to serve as the "vanguard."

Yet, for all his "anti-revisionist" rhetoric, Syrek ends up investing the *bourgeoisie* with the capacity of playing a "progressive" role in the epoch of imperialist decay. By his own criteria the states that existed in Eastern Europe mirrored what existed in the Soviet degenerated workers state. In short, we are to believe that "small, underdeveloped bourgeois states" were able to institute a collectivized economy, centralized planning and a state monopoly of foreign trade. If this were so, what need would there be for proletarian socialist revolution? Despite his emphasis on this, Syrek's indifference to which class rules is demonstrated in his appreciation of the forces of capitalist restoration which now hold sway in the former Soviet Union. Although arguing that the "nationalization fetish" was the root of all revisionism, he applies the same yardstick to argue that the ex-USSR remains a workers state, i.e., nationalized property.

As for Syrek's patronizing plaint that we don't use language the "woikers" can understand: surely "sine qua non" is more accessible to the proletariat than the idea that nothing fundamental has changed in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. N'est-ce pas? ■

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Outrage! Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) Denied Parole—Again!

On May 21 America's foremost class-war prisoner, former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) was denied parole for the *eleventh* time by the California Board of Prison Terms. As before, the board deliberately closed its eyes to the massive evidence of Geronimo's innocence and ignored the outpouring of support for Geronimo's freedom. Adjoa Aiyetoro, Geronimo's attorney at the hearing, announced she plans to appeal.

This year's four-hour parole hearing focused on Geronimo's Panther background as leader of the Los Angeles branch. It focused on Geronimo's military expertise, which he learned while serving two tours in Vietnam. In December 1969, L.A. Panther headquarters came under a massive cop siege, in which, thanks to Geronimo's military training, none of his Panther comrades were hurt. This came just days after Chicago BPP leaders Mark Clark and Fred Hampton were gunned down in their beds by the Chicago cops. What angered the board was that Geronimo survived.

Year after year, the parole board concocts some specious justification to keep Geronimo behind bars. In 1989 Commissioner David Brown slandered Geronimo as a heroin user to counter the growing support for his freedom. This year they cited Geronimo's Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) as grounds for denying him parole—despite the fact that prison officials have persistently denied that Geronimo suffers from PTSD and therefore refused him treatment. (This is one of the glaring instances of prison harassment challenged by Geronimo in an ongoing lawsuit filed by Partisan Defense Committee counsel Valerie West in 1989.) The only time they ever told the truth was in 1987 when the D.A.'s representative, Dianne Vezzani, opposed parole on the grounds that Geronimo is "still a revolutionary."

The parole board received over 500 letters calling for Geronimo's freedom, while only one letter opposed parole—from black L.A. police chief Willie Williams. Williams calls for "community policing"—lining up some Uncle Toms to keep things cool in the 'hood as an auxiliary to a massive show of cop force. His model is the police mobilization during the recent federal civil rights trial of the racist cops who beat Rodney King. One of Williams' most prominent "community policers" is one Julius Butler, *the FBI/LAPD fink that put Geronimo behind bars 22 years ago.*

Shortly after his appointment was announced in April 1992, Williams attended a welcome gathering at the First AME Church in L.A. "to establish liaison to further sensitize [Williams] to our immediate needs," said Rev. Chip Murray. It was at about that time that AME church member Julius Butler began to gain increasing prominence in the capitalist press. A *New York Times* (12 November 1992) "Special Report" described Butler as a lawyer active in church affairs and youth counseling, and quoted him bemoaning that "we've been saying for years to the younger generation, 'Hold on, there's hope.' What do we tell them now?"

What they're certainly not telling them is the story of how Butler was an FBI/cop fink who pistol-whipped a young Panther member (which was stopped by Geronimo) and machine-gunned the apartment of a leader of Ron Karenga's "US" organization; who at Geronimo's trial repeatedly lied to the jury about his relations with the cops and feds; and who framed Geronimo for a 1968 murder in Santa Monica the government knows he did not commit. They know because wiretap logs (which the feds claim are "lost") prove Geronimo was 400 miles away in Oakland at the time of the shooting. Today, while Butler obscenely postures as an advocate of the black community, the activist Butler helped frame is still behind bars, fighting for his freedom.

Geronimo has spent over 22 years behind bars, the victim of a racist frame-up under the FBI's notorious Counter-intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) which targeted the Black Panther Party and other militant groups for "elimination." Numerous California and government officials, including Reagan's top cop Ed Meese, built their careers on the war against the Panthers and the frame-up of Geronimo. So court after court (and parole board after parole board) has refused to allow any exposure of the FBI's role in concocting the case. It will take mass protest to smash the frame-up. *Free Geronimo Now!*

Somalia...

(continued from page 1)

the same page a picture of a Pakistani APC behind one of the Somali dead.

The whole U.S./UN intervention has been cloaked in the rhetoric of humanitarian aid. "Operation Restore Hope" has instead turned Somalia once again into a UN "trusteeship," with imperialist gendarmes acting on orders from the Pentagon. The American expeditionary force went in when the famine was already dissipating. The real purposes were to allow the U.S. to act as global cops, and let President Bush look tough in the waning days of his presidency. Now with his poll ratings down, Democrat Clinton wants to do the same.

While much of the left fell for the "humanitarian" cover, the Spartacist League warned from the outset that "American military intervention in Africa can only result in increased oppression and exploitation of the African people" (*WV* No. 565, 11 December 1992). Spartacist supporters are joining in protests around the country with signs proclaiming "U.S. Global Cops Out of Somalia," "100,000 Iraqis Slaughtered—U.S. Imperialism=World's Biggest Terrorist" and "Rodney King Beating, Waco Inferno: America's 'New World Order'!" ■

Denny's...

(continued from page 12)

when the same employee asked if eggs which had been overcooked could be taken back, he was told by the manager to "take it to the niggers and if they have a complaint, tell them to come see me."

This March, in the face of an impending lawsuit by the U.S. Justice Department charging Denny's with a "pattern or practice" of discrimination against blacks, the restaurant's management signed a decree agreeing to racial "sensitivity" training and tests for its employees, as well as television ads featuring blacks and a written pledge on its menus welcoming "customers of all races." At the same time, Denny's central office issued a statement arrogantly denying "allegations that customer concerns, received more than a year ago in a few California restaurants, demonstrate a pattern of racial discrimination." The next month, six black Secret Service agents who were part of the security team for Clinton's speech at the U.S. Naval Academy were made to wait an hour before they were served at a Denny's restaurant in Annapolis, Maryland. Of the 21 Secret Service agents in the restaurant (with one exception, the others were white and notably self-segregated at a different table), the black government agents were the only ones who were made to wait for their order.

Then in late May, 125 black children in the Martin Luther King Children's Choir were refused entry at two Denny's restaurants in Virginia. The manager of the first Denny's told them he had no room and told them to go to a bigger Denny's 40 miles away. When the buses arrived there, the manager met them in the parking lot to tell them there was no room inside. "It was as if he didn't even want us inside his restaurant," said the choir leader, Anita High.

A nationwide chain, with some 1,300 restaurants, Denny's is a relatively affordable place and it's open 24 hours a day. It's supposed to be open to the public. In short, it's a place which many people—especially working people—come to, or otherwise stop by in their travels, for a meal. But what Georgia's former governor Maddox did by waving an ax handle, Denny's does with its racist "prepay" policies, insults, discriminatory service and lousy food for blacks. We intend to see to it that Denny's is a place whose doors are open to *everybody*!

On the July 4th weekend, the Labor Black Leagues and the Spartacist League plan to picket Denny's restaurants from California to Virginia demanding "Down with Jim Crow at Denny's! For Equal Treatment, Good Service and Food for *All!*" And they intend to make Denny's provide just that. Following these integrated protests, the demonstrators are going in to eat, taking no "ifs, ands or buts" as a condition.

Denny's is based in Spartanburg, South Carolina—the hardcore racist state of the Confederacy, which was settled by the original British slave owners of Barbados. In protesting this outfit on the holiday weekend meant to celebrate the foundation of the "United States of America," the LBL will recall the words of Frederick Douglass in his 1852 speech on "The Meaning of July Fourth for the Negro":

> "What, to the American slave, is your 4th of July? I answer; a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciation of tyrants, brass fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade and solemnity, are, to Him, mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy—a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages."

What are the Jim Crow racist policies of Denny's except a reminder that—more than 100 years after the Civil War which smashed the chains of chattel slavery—there is no equality for black people in America? As the father of one young black man, who was told he had to pay before he could eat at Denny's, said bitterly, "Almost 30 years ago, I was arrested for trying to eat at a McCrory's five-and-dime store in Ocala, Florida. And my kids still can't eat in Denny's."

The civil rights movement fought against the legal segregation and discrimination against blacks in the American South. But that movement shattered when it came up against the social reality of the segregation and discrimination against blacks in the North, who for years had lived with "equality under the law." Our fight against Denny's Jim Crow policies is part of our fight for integrated class struggle by black and white workers against the racist rulers of America—whether represented by the Republicans or by yuppie Arkansas executioner Bill Clinton and his Democrats. We look to guarantee that blacks not only have the right to eat anywhere they want, but that they can afford to. Genuine equality and freedom for blacks requires a revolutionary leadership of the working class waging a fight for a third American revolution to finish the Civil War through the establishment of proletarian state power. ■

Ukraine...

(continued from page 7)

the economy, to restore central planning and collective ownership over the means of production and to reforge the economic links among the different regions of the former Soviet Union. This now will require a *socialist revolution* which sweeps away all the counterrevolutionary regimes, centrally the dominant Russian state, and places the workers in power through their own democratically elected soviets.

The vast bulk of strikers, while militant and frustrated, see no alternative to the current leadership. But if their aspirations are to be met, the key is building a revolutionary party forged in intransigent opposition to all variants of nationalism and all wings of the would-be exploiters. One older strike leader commented after reading our article, "This is absolutely right. The party was a real party of the workers and a revolutionary party before Lenin's death. Afterward it really did become a party of scumbags." It is necessary to begin now to build anew a party of Lenin and Trotsky, which can place Soviet workers again in the vanguard of the struggle for world socialist revolution. ■

Corrections

In the article "ADL's Massive Spy Operation" (*WV* No. 577, 4 June), we referred to one of the ADL's targets as "political scientist Yigal Arens, the liberal Zionist son of the former Israeli war minister." Yigal Arens has brought to our attention that he is not a political scientist, but rather works at a computer science research institute, and that he is not a liberal Zionist but a socialist and anti-Zionist. We have expressed to Arens our apology for these unfortunate errors.

A sentence in "U.S./NATO Hands Off the Balkans!" (*WV* No. 575, 7 May) called for "reforging a genuinely internationalist socialist federation of the Balkans, from the Danube to the Aegean Sea." It should have called for "forging" such a federation. While the possibility of a genuinely socialist federation was posed in the victory of Tito's Communist partisan forces at the end of World War II, Stalin and Tito's respective nationalist policies sabotaged this internationalist perspective, whose implementation would have required a proletarian political revolution in East Europe to sweep away the Stalinist bureaucrats, and a socialist revolution in Greece.

Balkans...

(continued from page 1)

a hapless, ill-trained rabble, like General Aidid's militia, and that Washington and its allies will continue to shrink from more difficult challenges, like quelling the fighting in Bosnia?"

Clinton's rapid backtracking over Bosnia has reinforced the image of a weak, vacillating and inept presidency. But Clinton's uncanny ability to shoot himself first in one foot and then the other is not just a matter of personal incompetence. Behind all the zigzags and inconsistencies of U.S. policy in the Balkans lie the weakness and contradictions of American imperialism. America's arrogant rulers long to punish the Serbian nationalists for flouting the dictates of the Western powers. The self-proclaimed sole superpower looks feeble if it cannot restore order in the Balkans. But neither Washington nor its imperialist allies/rivals know what kind of order they want to restore—or can possibly restore—in that region, a tinderbox of murderous nationalist passions and lust for historic vengeance.

For months we've been deluged with go-to-war propaganda against Serbia. The forced population transfers, called "ethnic cleansing," arising from the territorial conflict between three South Slavic peoples in Bosnia is being compared to the Nazi Holocaust. Belgrade strongman Slobodan Milosevic is portrayed as the Adolf Hitler of the Balkans. To gain popular support at home for a renewed Western imperialist overlordship in the Balkans, the media played up the plight of the Bosnian Muslims. But as the U.S. got cold feet about going in, suddenly they discovered that the Croatians were doing their own "cleansing" in Mostar, and now it's reported that Bosnian Muslim forces are driving thousands of Croat refugees out of Travnik into the arms of Serbian troops!

While the American imperialists are clearly reluctant to rush into the Balkan quicksand, the liberal and rad-lib milieu has taken up "poor little Bosnia" as its latest cause, and various pseudo-leftists are falling over themselves trying to think up arguments for direct or indirect imperialist intervention against the Serbs. As Marxists and proletarian internationalists, we take no side in the squalid nationalist bloodbath that has ripped up the former Yugoslavia, establishing capitalist rule over the corpses of the workers and peasants of all nationalities. But we oppose all forms of imperialist intervention in the Balkans, from the economic boycott of Serbia to "peacekeeping" troops, whether or not they wear UN blue helmets.

U.S. Imperialism and the Balkan Quagmire

Washington is not opposed to a Greater Serbia as such provided it sets the terms for it. It was, after all, the Western imperialist powers—Britain and France—which, following World War I, established a far greater Serbia than anything Milosevic is aiming at. The 1919 Treaty of Versailles created Yugoslavia by attaching the South Slav regions (Slovenia and Croatia) of the defunct Habsburg Empire to the Kingdom of Serbia. The Yugoslavia of the Serbian monarchy was destroyed by the Nazi German invasion in 1940. The Germans then set up a puppet government in Croatia and Bosnia under the clerical-fascist Ustasha, who massacred hundreds of thousands of Serbs, as well as Jews and Gypsies.

In this cauldron of war and intercommunalist slaughter, Tito's Communist Partisans fought and defeated the Croatian Ustasha, Serbian royalist Chetniks and Nazi German occupiers, thereby laying the basis for the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. However, postwar Yugoslavia was from the outset a bureaucratically deformed workers state. Especially after Tito's death in 1980, the Yugoslav Stalinist bureaucracy fissured along national lines. That fissuring was personified by Milosevic, who took over the Serbian League of Communists in the late 1980s, and Croatian leader Franjo Tudjman, a former general in the Yugoslav Federal Army who became a notorious apologist for the Ustasha.

Der Spiegel

Croatian National Guardsmen, armed thugs of fascistic Tudjman regime.

With capitalist counterrevolution sweeping East Europe and then the Soviet Union in 1989-91, Tudjman asked for and received Western, especially German, imperialist backing in creating a Croatian client state. In the eyes of the U.S. rulers, Milosevic's only crime is that he has tried to redraw the boundaries of the Balkans without getting Washington's approval first. Current imperialist strategy—to the extent that there is one—is to starve the Serbian people in order to pressure Milosevic into reining in the Bosnian Serbian militias. But the Bosnian Serbs have defied Milosevic, who himself has come under heavy political attack from even more fanatical Serbian nationalists.

Direct U.S./NATO military intervention risks igniting an ever-widening Balkan war, potentially involving both Russia, historically the protector of its Balkan "Slavic little brothers," and Turkey, in support of the Bosnian Muslims and Albanians. The Balkan conflagration could prove a decisive obstacle in the already difficult project of transforming Russia into an American neocolony through Washington's agent, Boris Yeltsin. U.S./NATO attacks on Serbian forces would give Yeltsin's Russian nationalist opponents an emotionally powerful issue. And while Russian diplomats have voted for all the anti-Serbian sanctions in the UN, they've lobbied for a softer line. However, Washington's other major ally in the region, Turkey, is pushing a hawkish line against Serbia.

Today the imperialists are held back from intervening more massively in the Balkans by their own competing interests and the daunting prospect of untangling the interpenetrated peoples of the former Yugoslavia. But the region is a powder keg and the fuse is burning. The world situation today resembles the pre-1914 period of mounting imperialist rivalries. It is widely known that World War I was triggered by national disputes in the South Slav region. But it was more than just some Serb nationalist shooting an Austrian archduke. The first imperialist world war, with its horrendous carnage, was prefigured by a succession of Balkan Wars manipulated by the Great Powers, fueled by rival local nationalisms and marked by constant shifts in alliances.

The direct origins go back to the Russo-Turkish War of 1875. With the defeat of the Ottoman Empire, Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia, while Serbia and Bulgaria became independent monarchies under Russian protectorship. In the first Balkan War of 1912, Serbia and Bulgaria seized Macedonia and the Albanian-populated province of Kosovo from the Turks. The next year the two South Slav monarchies went to war with one another over division of the spoils, with the Serbs coming out on top. A year later the whole world was in flames.

Independent Map

Defending UN-declared "safe havens" for Bosnian Muslims may be pretext for Western imperialist military intervention against Serbia. Numbered areas are "safe havens" as of May 26.

While the imperialist powers and their various factions debate what to do about the Balkan crisis, we have insisted that in the face of U.S./NATO intervention we defend the Serbs, while calling on the Serbian working class to overthrow its nationalist-capitalist misleaders in an internationalist struggle for a socialist federation of the Balkans stretching from the Danube to the Aegean Sea.

Liberals, Leftists Spearhead Anti-Serbian Warmongering

The response in the U.S. to the new outbreak of Balkan wars is something of a reversal of the usual political lineup. The right wing of the bourgeoisie has generally advised against military intervention, while the screechiest anti-Serbian hawks have been liberals and self-styled radicals. In the U.S. Senate, the warmongering has been led by Democrats such as Biden and DeConcini, who demanded "Bomb the Serbs. Now" on the op-ed page of the *New York Times* (18 May). Echoing this line is Paul Hockenos. East European correspondent for the social-democratic *In These Times* (28 October 1992): "A quick, decisive invasion of Bosnia-Hercegovina—on the scale of Operation Desert Storm—is an option that the left should rally around as forcefully as any issue since opposition to the Vietnam War."

Such outright calls to "send in the Marines" are still a bit much for most anti-Serb warmongers of the "left." They prefer the Clinton line of providing tanks, artillery and other heavy weaponry to the Bosnian Muslim forces. This is the main program of the self-styled Campaign for Peace and Democracy, a group of rad-lib academics who more accurately should have called it the "Campaign for War and Imperialist Domination in the Balkans." Last week, this group rallied at the UN around the slogans: "Lift the Arms Embargo on Bosnia! Allow the Democratic, Multi-Ethnic Bosnian Republic to Defend Itself Against Aggression."

The same line is put forward by Ernest Mandel's pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) in its February resolution, titled "For a Multi-Ethnic and Sovereign Bosnia-Herzegovina," which states: "The demand to lift the embargo on sending arms to the Bosnian forces is an answer to the main Greater Serbian aggression...." This is nothing but a call on Yankee imperialism, the Fourth Reich and Belgian merchants of death to arm the bourgeois-nationalist Bosnian Muslim leadership.

Western liberals, social democrats and leftists may sell the line that the Bosnian Muslim forces are fighting for a "democratic, multi-ethnic state," but no one in the Balkans buys it. Bosnian Muslim president Alija Izetbegovic came to prominence in the late 1980s as the author of a tract in favor of an "Islamic state." The Bosnian Muslim population was in fact largely secular, cosmopolitan and urbanized, and had little interest in an Islamic state. A veiled woman was and is a rare sight in Sarajevo. Izetbegovic's rise to power, along with Milosevic and Tudjman, indicated the ascendancy of reactionary nationalisms, each reinforcing the other, with the disintegration of the Titoist order in Yugoslavia.

The 1974 Titoist constitution, recognizing the *multinational* character of the Bosnian republic, gave the Bosnian Serbs as well as the Bosnian Croats the right to veto its secession from Yugoslavia. Izetbegovic and the Muslim leaders simply violated the Serbs' constitutional rights when they organized a plebiscite on independence in early 1992 (which the Serbs boycotted). After this plebiscite, the Bosnian Serbian and Croatian leaders *agreed to* an independent Bosnian state, provided it was constituted

on ethnically based cantons. But this was rejected by the Muslim leaders. Milovan Djilas, a one-time leading figure in the Tito regime who became a world-famous social-democratic "dissident," noted:

> "The Serbs bear the largest share of responsibility for what has happened to Yugoslavia, but the Croats also have an authoritarian and chauvinist Government, and the Bosnian Muslims wanted dominance in an independent and unitary state."
>
> —*New York Times*, 5 March

While the Muslims constituted roughly 45 percent of the total population of Bosnia, they were heavily urbanized, while the countryside was dominated mainly by Serbian peasants (who owned 64 percent of the land), with some Croatian areas. Consequently once the fighting broke out, the Serbian and Croatian militias quickly took over much of the country and besieged the cities where the Muslims were concentrated.

Naive liberals and radicals may support the imperialist arming of the Bosnian Muslim forces on the grounds of self-defense and ensuring a "fair fight." But the Muslim leaders are not simply interested in defending their present territorial positions, which they consider intolerable in any case, nor do they want a fair fight with the Serbs. A few months ago the Bosnian Muslim foreign minister reasserted his government's intent to take back *all* of the territory of this former Yugoslav republic. The actual program of the "arm Bosnia" leftists—witting or unwitting—is to create a Muslim-dominated, U.S. puppet state in the Balkans, driving out the Serbs and Croats or reducing them to subjugated minorities.

Even on its own terms, the demand for "democratic, multi-ethnic Bosnia" is *undemocratic* since the Serbs (a third of the population) and the Croats (almost a fifth) do not want to live in the same state as the Muslims or with one another. The ostensibly Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League, which opposes imperialist intervention on behalf of the Bosnian Muslims, nonetheless states: "The working class must fight for the integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a multi-ethnic state—but this is impossible under the leadership of Alia Isbegovic's strongly pro-imperialist government" (*Fighting Worker*, March 1993).

But *why* should the working class aim to establish an independent state encompassing all the territory of this former Yugoslav republic? The region called Bosnia originated as a province in the Ottoman Empire. Over the centuries three very closely related South Slav peoples intermingled in its territory. There has never been a Bosnian nation, nor any sense of common national identity among its inhabitants. The journalist Misha Glenny observed that Bosnia's "internal stability was invariably guaranteed by an external power which mediated between the three communities (the Sublime Porte, Vienna, the inter-war royal dictatorship or Titoism)" (*The Fall of Yugoslavia* [Penguin, 1992]). Izetbegovic's campaign for Western imperialist overlordship is the *logical conclusion* of his aim to create a state encompassing the historic boundaries of Bosnia *against the will* of over half its inhabitants.

The democratic and national rights of *all* peoples in the region can be secured only by proletarian political power within a socialist federation of the Balkans. In such a federation the present state and provincial boundaries could and in many cases would be redrawn in a democratic and equitable way according to national affiliation. For example, the oppressed Albanians of Kosovo, who make up 85 percent of what is now a Serbian province, would certainly want to and have the right to unite with Albania.

In response to Clinton's saber rattling over Bosnia early last month, a number of left groups, mainly pseudo-Trotskyists, got together in a Committee Against U.S. Intervention in the Balkans, which called a "Hands Off Yugoslavia!" rally in Oakland in mid-May. Yet among the prime movers of this committee is Socialist Action, American supporters of Ernest Mandel's USec, which is simultaneously agitating for the Western imperialists to arm the Bosnian Muslims against the Serbs! Furthermore, this committee has nothing to say about the U.S./European Community *economic warfare* against Serbia. The economic embargo against Serbia is just as deadly, if not more so, than air strikes against Serbian forces in Bosnia. The main victims are old people, young children and the poorest sections of the population.

It takes no great political courage or radicalism to oppose direct U.S. military intervention in the Balkans at the present time. Opinion polls show a solid majority against such action, as well as influential sections of the Republican Party, the U.S. Joint Chiefs et al. Right now, economic warfare is the cutting edge of U.S. imperialist aggression in the Balkans. We Spartacists say: Break the Blockade of Serbia! U.S./NATO Hands Off the Balkans! ■

Harvard...

(continued from page 12)

conformity, refusing to join a protest in which NAMBLA participated, while eagerly waving the stars and stripes of U.S. imperialism for enlistment of gays in the military. Addressing the protesters, Bill Andriette, editor of *NAMBLA Bulletin*, denounced the reactionary "family values" crusade and spoke of Reno's satanic bullying and imprisonment of children in the "child abuse" witchhunt against day-care centers.

The focal point of outrage and protest against Reno was her central responsibility for the horrendous massacre of 86 men, women and children in the Branch Davidian compound outside Waco, Texas. As they shuffled into Memorial Hall, every smug preppie and their rich daddy were confronted with a Spartacist banner reading, "Waco Holocaust—Clinton/Reno/FBI Are Mass Murderers!" Family members of Floyd Houtman, Sr., a black man from New Bedford, Massachusetts who was murdered in the Waco holocaust, wrote a poem which was read at the demonstration:

"Thank you Mr. President, Janet Reno too.
We mustn't forget the BATF, the FBI,
all the men in blue.

How well did you sleep last night?
Did you toss and turn?
I myself didn't get much sleep.
Do you know, I saw my father burned?
We don't know how you did it.
You really must have been brave,
You sat through all their screaming
without emotions as they entered their
fiery grave.

Save the children
Well not this time
For patience we have none
Enough time has been wasted
We were ordered to get this over get this
done.

Patience is a virtue.
Good things come to those who wait.
It took only 51 days
For you to decide their fiery fate.

Deep down inside your heart you know
the truth you cannot hide.
Christians who believe in God don't
contemplate suicide.

The day will come, we'll all be judged as
we stand before the Lord.
Koresh may have thought himself as Christ.
But you thought yourself as God.

Family of Floyd Houtman
We love you, Dad"

Local television news coverage of Reno's appearance at Harvard began with footage of our demonstration and clips from the attorney general's murderous Waco inferno. As Julie Lavin of the Spartacus Youth Club said, "Just as the hideous MOVE bombing was the signature of the Reagan years, so is the Waco massacre the signature of the Clinton/Reno years. We must sear the memory of this into the consciousness of the working people and oppressed in this country."

The next day, demonstrators set up a picket line at Harvard's Holyoke Center to protest Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Colin Powell's appearance as the university's commencement speaker. Chanting, "Down with anti-gay bigotry! Lift the ban in the military!" and "Not one penny, not one man for Colin Powell's imperialist plans!" the militant picket was in stark contrast to the limp, patriotic, officially sanctioned "protest" which consisted of releasing a lot of hot air—pink balloons festooned with the slogan, "lift the ban." In contrast, Spartacist spokesmen pointed to the history of revolutionary Marxist opposition to discrimination in the military—from the Dreyfus affair in France to Jim Crow segregation in the American military to fighting discrimination against women and gays today—while we implacably oppose the war aims of the capitalist class.

Demonstrators seized on the news that U.S. gunships had been dispatched to Mogadishu and debunked the hypocritical and racist "white man's burden" justification for U.S. intervention in Somalia. "First the imperialists starved Africa, now they say, 'Let 'em eat bullets'," said SL spokesman Tom Downing. "We say, 'U.S. hands off Africa! Troops out now!'" Demonstrators made the link between U.S. imperialism's war-making abroad and strikebreaking at home by championing the case of Darryl Hicks, an outspoken black union steward who was recently fired by Harvard for fighting the university's discriminatory policies. Darryl Hicks spoke at the demonstration and noted that as a man who had probably encountered discrimination in his own life, Colin Powell "should not be speaking up against gays being in the military—that's totally wrong."

Some ostensible socialists were paralyzed by their own political confusion, sectarianism and outright bigotry. The Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) said they could not endorse the demonstration because they oppose lifting the ban on gays in the military. They lurked on the fringes of our anti-Powell protest near an upside-down American flag and wore buttons reading, "Extend the ban on gays to everybody." It doesn't wash for the RCP to cloak their reactionary position as opposition to imperialism—these homophobes from the Stalin-Mao mold can't hide their anti-gay bigotry. More laughable still was the International Socialist Organization (ISO) which said "yes" they would endorse, then phoned back and said "no" they couldn't, then showed up and picketed for two minutes bleating, "Clinton and Powell go hand in hand—ask them why they don't lift the ban!" but exited when protesters chanted back, "Break with the Democrats! Build a workers party!"

The Spartacus Youth Clubs say: Down with the racist U.S. war machine! End the ban on gays! ■

RWL...

(continued from page 4)

anti-communist exclusionist) New York Women's Action Coalition. In "Mitosis of a Cult" we noted that "Typically, the RWL will tack on a radical-sounding slogan and march as the left tail of some liberal mobilization aimed at pressuring Democratic Party politicians." Now the RWL, through their National Women's Rights Organizing Committee (NWROC), has hitched their wagon to Coretta Scott King's star.

At the New York WAC meeting, the Gloria Steinem wannabes were consumed with the fate of their "sister" Lani Guinier, Clinton's nominee for the job of "civil rights" deputy to Waco baby-killer Janet Reno. After sitting silent while a Spartacist spokesman angrily denounced the Reno fans in WAC, NWROC presented a motion that "WAC will help build the anti-police brutality contingent in the August 28th March on Washington called by Coretta Scott King to commemorate the 1963 March led by Martin Luther King, Jr."

Thirty years ago, Malcolm X aptly denounced the "farce on Washington" for what it was—another attempt to keep black struggle within the confines of the racist, capitalist Democratic Party. Now the RWL begs WAC to join the RWL/NWROC as the best builders of another Democratic Party crawl. The NWROC leaflet to WAC politely criticizes the Democrats—the party of the Vietnam War and the Bay of Pigs—for refusing "to commit themselves to the elimination of poverty and racism"!

Unlike the centrists of the RWL, genuine Marxists utilize bourgeois elections as platforms to advance the revolutionary program. In 1981, the Spartacist League ran candidates in the Detroit city elections, calling for "Labor/Black mobilizations to smash Klan/Nazi terror" and "Abolish gun control!—For the right of armed self-defense!" We opposed segregated schools and housing, and demanded: "Free abortion on demand! Keep the state out of the bedroom!—Down with anti-gay laws and cop harassment! Abolish all laws against pornography, drug use, prostitution!"

The SL candidates opposed the U.S. government's anti-Soviet war drive, supported military victory to leftist insurgents in the Salvadoran civil war and called for smashing apartheid in South Africa. And we called for honoring picket lines. Funny, we didn't notice that either in the platform of the "Fighting Worker" slate. ■

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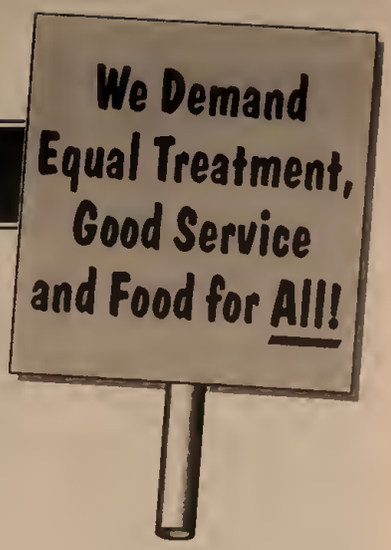
Protests Called Coast to Coast

Down with Jim Crow at Denny's!



Rachel Thompson wanted her family to celebrate her 13th birthday at the Denny's restaurant in Vallejo, California. "Your birthday, our treat" advertises the Denny's menu, offering a free meal as its "way of saying 'Happy Birthday'." But despite having the requisite legal proof that it was her birthday, Rachel Thompson didn't qualify. Why? Because Rachel Thompson is black. Instead of a birthday celebration, she and her family were, in the words of her mother, "violated, humiliated and embarrassed" by Denny's management.

This was no aberration. Over 30 years after the lunch counter sit-ins that swept the South in protest of the exclusion of blacks, Jim Crow racism is the unstated company policy at Denny's nationwide restaurant chain. A lawsuit filed against the restaurant by 32 customers in California cites a former Denny's manager in Northern California who "acknowledged that during weekly district meetings the term 'blackout' was used to describe situations where a significant number of the customers in a particular restaurant were African-American. District managers instructed store managers to 'start cracking down and get rid of some of those blackouts'."

The word from the top was carried out with vigor. Here are just some examples of how they kept blacks out:

• San Jose: In December 1991, 18 black members of an NAACP youth group were told they would have to pay a two-dollar cover charge and pay for their food in advance if they wanted to be served. The same month an East Indian woman was eating with three black friends in a San Jose Denny's when their table was surrounded by cops. The manager ordered the police to remove them, saying "there are too many of you here." The cops forced the women to pay for their food, although they were not allowed to eat it. When they went to another local Denny's, the East Indian woman was ordered out by the manager after he saw her talking to her black friends. A year later, black 12-year-old Louis McNair was refused a free birthday meal. When his mother returned with his birth certificate as proof, the manager called the cops.

• San Diego: In November 1991, a black cop from San Francisco and his family were made to wait for an hour before being seated at Denny's. When they finally got a table, they were told that they would have to pay for their meals in advance. A year earlier, Denny's L.A.-area district manager had sent out orders that blacks should not be allowed to receive separate checks.

• Sacramento: On four separate occasions a black woman and her friends were refused service at Denny's unless they prepaid for their order. Two who refused were not served.

In every case where blacks were denied service, ordered to prepay or thrown out of the restaurant on claims that it was closing time, whites continued to be welcomed in and served with no restrictions. An affidavit by a former Denny's employee testifies that whenever he told the manager of a customer complaint, the manager "would ask me what color they were." In one instance,

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July 2-4

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Young Spartacus

"Mass Murderer Reno, War Criminal Powell!"

AP

Spartacus Youth Club demonstration at Harvard, June 9, protests Clinton's top cop Janet Reno.

Protests at Harvard Commencement

BOSTON—All the unctuous pomp of the Harvard elite couldn't cover the circumstance of spirited protests organized by the Spartacus Youth Club against U.S. top cop Janet Reno and top gun Colin Powell at Harvard's commencement ceremonies. On June 9, some 40 militants representing a broad united front of gay rights activists, unionists, Trotskyists, the Communist Party, black and Latino organizers and others picketed Harvard Law School ceremonies at Memorial Hall, where the attorney general addressed her alma mater.

Haitian activists joined the picket to demand an end to the imprisonment of HIV-positive Haitian refugees in the barbed wire concentration camp on the U.S. military base in Guantánamo, Cuba. Demonstrators chanted, "Free Haitians at Guantánamo! Guantánamo belongs to Cuba!" Representatives of NAMBLA (North American Man-Boy Love Association) were early endorsers of the united-front protest, and the participation of this organization became a litmus test for others. Gay rights groups like ACT UP and Harvard's "Pride Committee" flunked and capitulated to social

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 579

2 July 1993

U.S. Sneak Attack on Baghdad

Baby-Killer Clinton Strikes Again

Okay, let's see if we can get this straight. A bunch of Iraqis get picked up in Kuwait by the emir's morality police and a couple of them are tortured into confessing that they were out to bomb the ex-president of the U.S., a man responsible for murdering more than 100,000 Iraqis. Despite the fact that they were picked up before war criminal Bush ever arrived, and that they took back their coerced confessions in court, this makes Iraq...an "outlaw state." In Washingtonspeak, an "outlaw state" is a country that hasn't got the bomb but wants to buy one cheap from the Ukraine.

Now Bill Clinton, without any warning, after playing golf on Saturday (like George Shultz when he launched the invasion of Grenada), sends 23 Tomahawk missiles streaking off in the dead of night toward the Iraqi capital where they smash into the downtown area, killing eight civilians, including a baby as well as celebrated painter Layla al-Attar and her husband. Pentagon chief Colin Powell tells CNN how great aircraft carriers are because you can launch outside territorial waters and you don't have to worry about niceties like "sovereignty." It's called "international law," got it?

Meanwhile, back on the home front, Janet Reno's boys, fresh from mass murder at Waco, announce that they have foiled an "Arab plot" to blow up the United Nations, the FBI's Manhattan headquarters, the Lincoln Tunnel, Holland Tunnel, Senator "Mad Dog" D'Amato and frothing Zionist NY assemblyman Dov Hikind. How did they know? The feds' inside man

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WV Photo

San Francisco, June 27: Spartacists protest U.S. imperialist bombing of Iraq.

Occupied Territories Sealed Off

Israel Starves Palestinians

Mohammed Faris al-Kurdi was 18 months old when he was shot dead by Israeli soldiers in Gaza's Jabalya refugee camp. The same day, May 16, Israeli troops also shot down eleven-year-old Ahmed Hassan Kurdi in the Shati camp, where a seven-year-old child died several days earlier from Israeli bullets. They were among the 30 Palestinians murdered in May alone by the Zionist state's stormtroopers in the Occupied Territories. While the Western press plays up the sham negotiations between Israel and representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the "peace" government of "Labor" Party prime minister Yitzhak Rabin escalates its war against the Palestinian people.

On March 29, after a spate of revenge killings of Israeli soldiers and civilians, Rabin sealed off the Occupied Territories completely, consigning its nearly two million Arab residents to a starvation regime. Using a Hebrew verb that applies to insects, he ranted: "We must see to it that Palestinians do not swarm among us." This is the longest closure of Gaza and the West Bank since Israel seized the territories in 1967. The families of some 120,000 Palestinian day laborers have been deprived of any means of livelihood, forced to subsist on United Nations relief handouts and meager savings. In villages which border on East Jerusalem, roadblocks have cut people off from schools, shops and health clinics—and even from other villages of the West Bank.

Bittermann/Photofile

Gaza family left homeless after Israeli missiles destroyed their house.

While the Occupied Territories have been turned into a "massive collective prison," as Palestinian representative Hanan Ashrawi puts it, droves of extra Israeli troops pour in to terrorize the population, with orders to shoot any Palestinian deemed to be carrying a weapon. Rockets and helicopters are regularly deployed to blow up the homes and villages of suspected "terrorists." Soldiers standing on Gaza rooftops randomly fire into crowds of "stone-throwing" children. In the first five months of the year, 34 Palestinian youth under the age of 17 were gunned down, the highest rate since the start of the *Intifada* uprising more than five years ago.

The indiscriminate slaughter has taken on such awesome proportions that even the International Red Cross has denounced Israeli troops for "shooting too much." They are so trigger-happy, indeed, that they have been shooting each other. In late May, four soldiers stationed in southern Lebanon died after an exchange of fire between two Israeli units, while at least three others killed themselves around the same time playing Russian roulette.

The evident failure to "pacify" the Occupied Territories, after five and a half years of brutal repression, has led to a crisis of sorts within the Zionist ruling class. Rabin's coalition government nearly fell apart in May when his coalition parties, the "leftist" Meretz (associated with "Peace Now") and the Sephardic religious Shas, almost came to blows. Despicably, the Israeli Communist Party's Hadash parliamentary bloc provided the votes to keep Rabin in power.

Meanwhile, prominent voices, notably including Likud spokesman Ronni Milo, have begun calling for an unconditional pullout from the Gaza Strip, which has little economic or strategic value to the Zionist garrison state. Meretz hailed the sealing of the Occupied Territories with the claim that this was the first step toward the creation of a separate Palestinian state, while Rabin aide Binyamin Ben-Eliezer announced, "The headline is: We're on the way out."

In fact, what the sealing of the territories points to is the creation of South Africa-style bantustans, which will provide a controlled reservoir of cheap labor for Israeli employers while denying Palestinians what little economic security and access to social services they now have.

At the same time, the hardline Likud opposition has seized on Rabin's occasional sops to the American-orchestrated "peace" talks—like allowing open representatives of the PLO and promising the creation of a Palestinian police force in the territories. Likud ostentatiously held its recent convention in the

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Japanese Ruling Party Fractures

SEE PAGE 7

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Class-War Prisoners Condemn Waco Massacre

On April 19, the U.S. government ended its 51-day siege of the tiny, racially integrated Branch Davidian sect near Waco, Texas with a firestorm that left 86 men, women and children dead. For nearly every observer, the Waco massacre unleashed by Attorney General Janet Reno and President Clinton recalled the 13 May 1985 bombing of the predominantly black Philadelphia MOVE commune, ordered by black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode. Like the MOVE bombing, the Waco massacre is a message to all who stand up in defense of their rights.

In contrast to the reformist left, which has turned a blind eye to this latest example of government mass murder (just as they refused to stand up in defense of MOVE eight years ago), victims of the government's terror machine have spoken eloquently in defense of the Branch Davidians, whose only crimes were to seek to worship as they please and to defend their right to do so.

We print below excerpts of letters to the Partisan Defense Committee from class-war prisoners Bob Buck and Delbert Africa. Buck, a West Virginia steel worker, was railroaded to prison for defending his union on the picket line and refusing to wear a wire for the feds during the bitter strike against Ravenswood Aluminum in 1991-92. Delbert Africa is serving a 30-to-100 year sentence for surviving the 8 August 1978 siege by 600 cops on the MOVE house, during which a police officer was killed by a bullet from another cop's gun. They are among the 17 class-war prisoners to whom the PDC sends monthly stipends.

Bob Buck

Personally I have no use for Mrs. Reno whatsoever. After the Waco Massacre she had the nerve to get on T.V. and talk of concern for the children. They were so damned concerned for the children they unleashed an armed assault on the house they lived in and filled it full of bullet holes; they were so concerned for the children they turned off the water and power to them and then knocked down the walls these children had their backs to, gassed them, and ultimately burned them to death. Ain't America great. I'm glad Mrs. Reno isn't concerned about me.

Delbert Africa

You know what disturbs me about the situations like that *murder* of Branch Davidians in Waco? The fact that so many supposedly knowledgeable people will accept the damn government's propaganda about the people the govt. is getting ready to massacre. Even in here, where one would think them men wouldn't be so naive about the death and destruction this government perpetuates. It bothered the hell out of me that before the murder of those peoples, dudes in here just went along with the set-up, the picture the government was painting of the group as child-abusers, "kooks," "cultish," etc. It was *obvious* the government was just setting them people up for the eventual murder, and acceptance of that murder, by isolating them in the public mind. And then, like you stated, putting a dollar value on the confrontation makes it "expedient" to end the thing. Of course you know the whole scenario was/is familiar to MOVE. Just goes to show the public that this govt. is going to greater steps to maintain the status of all the rich folk, and *viciously* wipe-out anyone that don't toe the line!

UPI

Delbert Africa, stomped by Philly police in 1978 assault on MOVE, is still in prison.

* * *

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. You can aid the program to support class-war prisoners and other activities of the PDC by becoming a monthly sustainer: many contribute $10, $25, $50 and $100 a month. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* (see below). ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Misery of Modern Capitalism

With the collapse of the Soviet degenerated workers state, the bourgeoisie trumpeted the "death of communism." But crisis is endemic to the capitalist anarchy of production, and the misery it imposes on the working class ensures that the class struggle will continue until this system of exploitation is swept away. The Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky, seeking to acquaint American workers with the teachings of Karl Marx in the midst of the 1930s Great Depression and on the eve of impending world war, wrote an essay which sounds as if it had been written today

The illusion of the uninterrupted "progress" of all classes has vanished without a trace. The *relative* decline of the masses' standard of living has been superseded by an *absolute* decline. Workers begin by economizing on skimpy entertainment, then on their clothes and finally on their food. Articles and products of average quality are superseded by shoddy ones, and the shoddy by the worst. Trade unions begin to look like the man who hangs on desperately while going down in a rapidly descending escalator....

The present army of unemployed can no longer be regarded as a "reserve army," because its basic mass can no longer have any hope of returning to employment: on the contrary, it is bound to be swelled by a constant flow of additional unemployed. Disintegrating capitalism has brought up a whole generation of young people who have never had a job and have no hope of getting one....

Partial reforms and patchwork will do no good. Historical development has come to one of those decisive stages when only the direct intervention of the masses is able to sweep away the reactionary obstructions and lay the foundations of a new regime. Abolition of private ownership in the means of production is the first prerequisite to planned economy, i.e., the introduction of reason into the sphere of human relations, first on a national and eventually on a world scale. Once it begins, the socialist revolution will spread from country to country, with immeasurably greater force than fascism spreads today. By the example and with the aid of the advanced nations, the backward nations will also be carried away into the main stream of socialism.... Liberated humanity will draw itself up to its full height.

—Leon Trotsky, *Marxism in Our Time* (written April 1939)

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

no credit

July 3 marks the eleventh anniversary of the sentencing of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Former Black Panther Party spokesman, award-winning radio journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless" and supporter of the MOVE organization, Jamal was framed on charges of killing a Philadelphia cop and sentenced to die for his political views and activities.

On this anniversary the Concerned Friends and Family of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition and Equal Justice/Quixote Center are sponsoring a protest march and rally in Philadelphia demanding, "Free Mumia!" Assemble at 10 a.m. at the State Building at Broad and Spring Garden streets. Be there!

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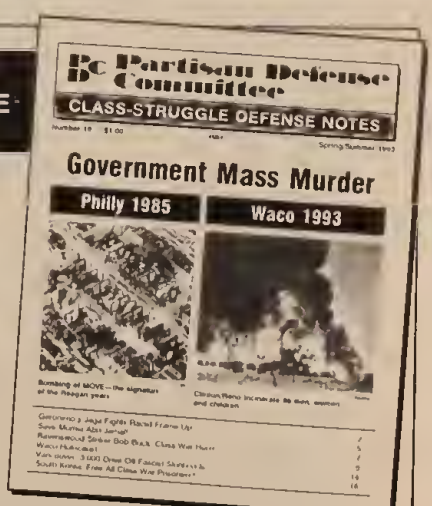

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Includes:

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- Geronimo ji Jaga Fights Racist Frame-Up
- Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!
- Ravenswood Striker Bob Buck: Class-War Hero
- Vancouver: 3,000 Drive Off Fascist Skinheads
- South Korea: Free All Class-War Prisoners!

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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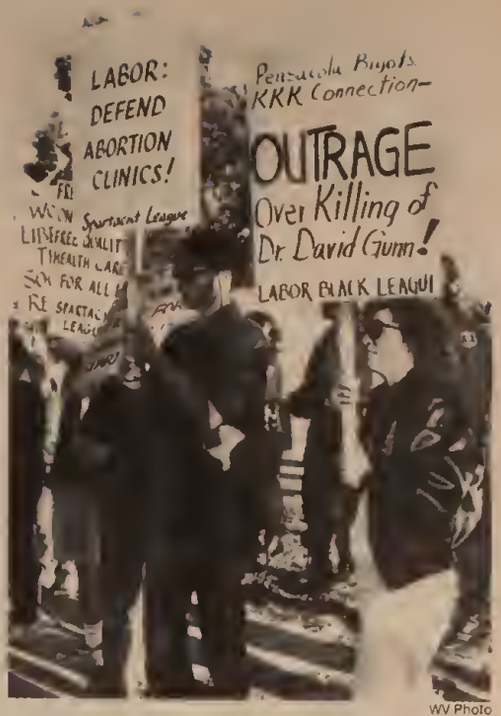
Free Abortion on Demand!

Defeat "Operation Rescue"! Defend the Clinics!



Spartacists and Labor Black League protest "Operation Rescue" meeting in Fremont, California, June 11.

WV Photo

The anti-abortion terrorists of "Operation Rescue" have planned a sinister coast-to-coast campaign (code-named "Cities of Refuge") for the month of July, targeting seven cities for attack. From July 9 to 18, O.R. threatens blockades of clinics and stepped-up harassment of doctors and staff, including stalking their families and picketing their homes. The deadly offensive against these targeted clinics—in Cleveland, Dallas/Fort Worth, central Florida, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Jackson, Mississippi and San Jose, California—must be beaten back by mobilizing a massive defense to sweep away the fascistic fundamentalists.

"Operation Rescue" is headed by Randall Terry, an ultrarightist who was part of a Protestant fundamentalist "missionary" group in Guatemala under the dictator Ríos Montt. Since February, O.R. has been on an intense campaign (code-named "No Place to Hide") to track down the names and addresses of clinic staff and doctors, videotaping them, noting their license plate numbers and printing "wanted posters" with their pictures. It was a similar campaign which set the stage for the heinous murder of Dr. David Gunn in Pensacola in March, which emboldened the bigots in their drive to intimidate the shrinking numbers of courageous medical personnel who continue to provide abortions. O.R. calls this summer campaign its "biggest pro-life offensive in five years."

To stop the O.R. assault, thousands of women and men—from the campuses, communities and bolstered by the power of organized labor—must come out to defend the clinics. But a number of feminist "pro-choice" coalitions, such as the Minneapolis "Network to Ensure Access," are relying on the cops and courts of the capitalist state to defend women's abortion rights. They argue *against* mass clinic defense as "unnecessary and illegal" now that a number of targeted cities (including San Jose) have passed injunctions against demonstrating near medical facilities. Giving the racist cops even broader powers to arrest demonstrators is suicidal—such laws will likely be used against clinic defenders, not O.R.

With "Billary" Clinton in office, both the feminists and the reformist leftists who tail them think the White House is on their side, and don't want to rock the boat. The bourgeois feminist goal is simply formal legal equality...to oppress and exploit just like their capitalist brethren. Clinton's Supreme Court appointment of millionaire Ruth Bader Ginsburg, who has "strong doubts" about *Roe v. Wade* (and whose acceptance speech lauded arch-reactionary Chief Justice Rehnquist), is a case in point. The executive director of the NOW Legal Defense and Educational Fund gushed, "Her vision may be the vision of the future." But this "vision" doesn't include the likes of you and me.

While the feminists and reformists push for the Democrats' "Freedom of Choice Act" and Teddy Kennedy's "clinic access" bill, the Democratic-controlled House Appropriations Committee voted—for the 16th year in a row—to ban federal funding for poor women's abortions. Sure, it's vital that Muffy be able to finish law school unburdened—she's got a future. But what future does a young black or Hispanic woman have in Bed-Stuy or East L.A.? The fight for free abortion on demand, with no "squeal rule" or "waiting period" obstructions, must be linked to the fight against the capitalist class, both Republicans and Democrats. Only socialist revolution can lay the basis for women's liberation—and send reactionary scum like O.R. packing. No reliance on the capitalist state or courts! Defend the clinics! ■

Letter

"Ethnic Cleansing" and Imperialist Hypocrisy

Brooklyn, NY
May 30, 1993

Dear Editor:

In *Workers Vanguard* No. 575 [7 May], you correctly stated "Revolutionary Marxists take no sides in the bloody communalist/nationalist wars ripping apart the former Yugoslavia." However, later on in that same paragraph, you added, "In the face of U.S./NATO intervention we defend the Serbs." While revolutionaries must oppose imperialist intervention in the Balkans, it is an error to side with any group in the civil war because of that intervention.

I believe that the Bosnian situation is analogous to the Lebanese civil war, where the SL opposed the U.S. military intervention while giving support to neither side in the communalist conflict. In Lebanon, you pointed out that neither the Muslims nor the Maronite Christians represented any real opposition to imperialism. Likewise, all sides of the conflict in the Balkans are united in their drive for capitalist restoration and all are pro-imperialist.

In giving military support to the Serbs (which I assume is a component of your position to "defend" them) or to any side in a war, the victory of that side must further the struggle of the international proletariat. A Serbian military victory would not only [be] a defeat for U.S. imperialism, but would also mean the success of the Serbian goal of forced population transfers. In your answer to "A Reader" in *WV* No. 576 [21 May], you denounce the bourgeois media's comparison of the Bosnian war to the Nazi Holocaust. I agree with this and have felt particularly outraged being the son of Holocaust survivors. However, while not on the same scale as the Nazis, the Serb policy of forced population transfers *is genocidal*.

In the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, the SL originally gave military support to the Hebrew-speaking nation. Normally, a revolutionary party would have taken a position of defeatism on both sides. However, the SL felt that the potential for genocide in an Arab victory was cause to change the defeatist position. Normally, when an imperialist nation attacks a non-imperialist nation, a revolutionary party calls for the defense of the non-imperialist nation. In the Balkans, the potential for genocide in a call to give military support to *any* side must preclude that defense.

A revolutionary party in the former Yugoslavia would organize workers militias *independent* of the competing nationalist military commands in order to fight imperialist intervention. It is hard to envision how a workers militia, which would by necessity be multi-ethnic, would be able to bloc militarily with the Serbian nationalists, since the Serbs would want to "cleanse" any non-Serbian elements out of a workers militia just as they "cleansed" Muslim and Croat leaders out of the former Yugoslavian military forces.

I believe that the appetite behind your program is not opportunist, but is one of being overzealous in opposing one's own imperialist rulers. Thus, I remain an active SL and PDC supporter while arguing against Serbian defensism.

Fraternally,
Jeff S.

AP

Israeli tanks in Sidon, Lebanon during 1982 blitzkrieg. Spartacists gave military support to all those fighting the Zionist invaders or their puppets.

WV replies: As comrade Jeff S. says, we take no side in the current fratricidal conflict, but we would give military support to the Serbs if they became the target of an imperialist military onslaught, to which the Croat and Bosnian Muslim communalist forces would necessarily be subordinated. Jeff S. justifies his opposition to our anti-imperialist statement by drawing a misapplied historical analogy to Lebanon in 1982-83.

The few hundred U.S. Marines sent to "guard" the Beirut airport hardly constituted imperialist military intervention in Lebanon's communalist warfare, nor was the fighting in Lebanon *at that time* primarily a civil war. The Marines were a token force sent in to legitimize the *Israeli invasion and occupation* of Lebanon. Jeff S. disappears the

continued on page 9

Trumka's "Selective Strike" Hogties Miners

For a Nationwide Coal Strike!

It has been five months since the United Mine Workers contract with the coal bosses expired. But the union's tradition of "no contract, no work" has been buried by the disastrous "selective strike" strategy of the UMW tops, which is devastating the miners union. On June 16, 2,000 miners from Peabody and Consol, two of the largest coal companies in the country, joined the strike. This brings to 14,000 the number of miners on strike—less than one-fifth of the union. Moreover, just *six* of Consol's 17 mines are struck. The *Wall Street Journal* crowed that with Trumka's ruinous "selective strike" strategy "the union hasn't yet made a dent in the market."

The UMW army is held back by the bureaucracy of president Richard Trumka, which has worked overtime to undermine the miners' deep traditions of class-struggle solidarity. In a real backstabbing move, Trumka is calling off the strike at "independents" like AMAX, CLI and Freeman Energy who pull out of the BCOA coal bosses' association.

Miners have seen what happens when strikes like A.T. Massey or Aloe drag on for months, even years, leaving small groups of miners to fight alone as Trumka knuckles under to the bosses' injunctions and the Taft-Hartley slave-labor law, ordering other locals to work without a contract. Four A.T. Massey miners who fought for the UMW are still imprisoned on frame-up charges *nine* years after that strike. One UMW construction worker told *WV*: "It's time to do away with the selective strike strategy. The union has steadily lost since Trumka's been in office. It's lost on nearly everything." And now Trumka will do everything to make sure there is no militant miners strike that embarrasses his hapless friend Bill Clinton.

There is no lack of combativity, ingenuity and militancy among the miners—they are the historic shock troops of American labor. From West Virginia to Illinois, the BCOA bosses are howling (and producing strikebreaking injunctions from their hip-pocket judges) because their conveyor belts have ripped and their scab coal trucks developed radiator trouble. The temperature in the coal fields is rising. When Peabody president Sam Shiflett visited the Camp No. 1 mine in Union County, Kentucky, he was met by 200 angry UMW miners chanting, "We want a contract!" Peabody fired 163 miners, later reduced to four-day suspensions without pay. And in a revealing lawsuit against what they claim is union "slow-walking" (working to rule), Peabody says Trumka promised the BCOA there would be no strikes or slowdowns during the contract extension!

In Logan County, West Virginia strikers pelted scab delivery trucks and scabs and foremen keep finding jackrocks under their tires. At the Lynnville mine in Indiana, miners and their wives stopped 1,000 tons of scab coal before a judge threw down an injunction.

AP

Shaft Taft-Hartley—Use Unions' Muscle to Organize the Unorganized!

Union miners know they have a tough fight to reclaim the coal fields and save the UMW. With only 17 percent of the coal in this country mined by the BCOA, and huge stockpiles at the utilities and steel mills, to win requires breaking the stranglehold of the Trumka bureaucracy and forging a class-struggle leadership that will take on the bosses, their political parties, their strikebreaking laws and scabherding judges. To organize the surface mines and take the West for the UMW, there must first be a solid UMW strike against the whole BCOA that *stops the flow of coal*. Miners must dispatch pickets to appeal for rail, barge and longshore workers to "hot-cargo" (refuse to handle) all coal shipments. Even at the "selectively" struck mines, like Hobet Mining No. 21 in West Virginia, the UMW tops are allowing the company to load rail cars and ship coal past the pickets of Local 2286.

At the end of May, over 400 coal miners voted to join the UMW at the Marrowbone mine in Mingo County, West Virginia. Marrowbone is a non-union subsidiary of Ziegler, one of the selectively struck companies. These miners struck for ten days in March after the company cut their health benefits and stayed solid until four fired strikers were returned to work. The Marrowbone miners fought their way into the UMW—one told *WV* that it is doubly hard to organize non-union mines when workers see strikers like those at A.T. Massey hung out to dry: "They're trying to break the UMWA, I'd put everything I had out there." This week, miners at Ziegler's Wolf Creek Collieries in Kentucky are casting their ballots in an NLRB election. But Trumka's 1988 contract explicitly recognizes "double breasting"—the coal bosses' practice of setting up scab mines—only asking that they hire three out of five workers from the union's ranks.

Trumka rose in the UMW as part of the pro-Labor Department "reformers" led by Arnold Miller, who rode to power in the early '70s by inviting the capitalist government into the union. While Miller knuckled under to court injunctions, provoking militant right-to-strike wildcats in the mid-'70s and driving the historic 1978-79 coal strike down to defeat, the energy conglomerates were opening the huge Western strip mines as highly productive non-union operations. The young UMW staff lawyer Trumka got his shot to run the UMW in 1981 after Miller and his successor Church were totally discredited.

The *New York Times* (8 June) referred to the militant "image that unionized miners acquired in the late 1970's, when a young work force engaged in a wave of wildcat strikes." That image is precisely what Trumka wanted to get rid of. He promised that cooperation with the owners on "productivity gains" would bring better industry-union relations and guarantee jobs. Trumka's talk of a "partnership that will usher in a new era of progress" with the bosses is a pipedream. Mining productivity has *doubled* over the last dozen years—but the union's ranks have been decimated, and working conditions and even health care benefits have been eroded.

All the coal bosses, BCOA and independent alike, are out for profit. The interests of the working class are opposed to the interests of capitalism and its ruling political parties—Democrats and Republicans. Militant miners must join in forging a revolutionary workers party that will champion a fight for the independence of the workers movement from the bosses' parties and the capitalist state. Such a leadership would mobilize the power of the working class in struggle to repay the debt that all labor owes the UMW.

On June 3, 1,000 Australian coal miners shut down Peabody mines at Ravensworth and Warkworth in a one-day strike in solidarity with the UMW. But the UMW tops won't even call on barge workers on the Ohio River or railroad workers on CSX to hot-cargo that scab coal. The real international work of Trumka and the AFL-CIO International is run out of CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia. The "AFL-CIA," as it is known to militant workers from El Salvador to South Africa, contributed to counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union by setting up the pro-Yeltsin "free" miners union in 1990. Now they have established a joint "Coal Project" in Russia, where UMW vice president John Banovic collaborates with the U.S. government and coal industry bosses to bring the benefits of "free world" union-busting to the Soviet miners. Trumka is so full of class collaboration that he exports it.

But earlier this month, 400,000 miners in the Donets Basin of the Ukraine rocked the former Soviet republic by striking against the massive destruction of their living standards caused by the capitalist counterrevolution. In the U.S., the very existence of the UMW is at stake, as it was in the late 1920s. In both cases, a sellout leadership is the roadblock to victory. From West Virginia to the Ukraine, miners must sweep away the bosses' agents in the labor movement and forge a class-struggle leadership. ■

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California Killer Cutbacks

For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

SEIU "Justice for Janitors" protest against substandard contract outside "Rebuild L.A." offices, April 29. California unions must launch anti-capitalist struggle against cutbacks.

WV Photo

SAN FRANCISCO—As he voted to slash Alameda County's already pitiful welfare payments of $327 a month for single adults, Supervisor Don Perata moaned, "This year is the terrible future we've all been talking about." For millions of blacks, Latinos, elderly and working people in California, the country's most populous state, the coming year promises to be not only terrible but perhaps short and brutish as well. The new state budget proposed by right-wing Republican governor Pete Wilson and passed by the Democratic-controlled California legislature on June 22 gouges deep into funding for welfare, medical care and education.

To make up this year's budget shortfall, the state intends to steal some $2.6 billion in local property taxes, with the lion's share coming from heavily black, Latino and immigrant Los Angeles County. Faced with Wilson's highway robbery plan, which is allegedly to fulfill legal funding requirements for public education (which Wilson wants to privatize anyway), at least a dozen counties have threatened to withhold payments to the state government. In recent months the campuses have been swept by student protests against the cutbacks—which particularly target minority programs. And on June 16, government workers rallied in Sacramento to protest the planned budget.

Last year's 63-day budget crisis, during which the state handed out vouchers

Democratic state assembly speaker Willie Brown and Republican governor Pete Wilson crack the whip of austerity against unions, welfare recipients.

AP

rather than checks, was settled by a handshake between Wilson and Democratic Assembly speaker Willie Brown as they joined forces to make up an $11 billion shortfall from the blood of working people. This year, the handshake came before the budget even went to a vote, as the two capitalist parties decided in advance that the way to balance the budget was to "decrease the surplus population," as Scrooge put it in Charles Dickens' *A Christmas Carol*. "The only major state program to escape cutbacks," reports the *Los Angeles Times* (23 June), is the prison system, which is slated for a 9 percent increase in funding.

Welfare payments and aid to the elderly and disabled are to be cut by nearly 3 percent, on top of a 10 percent reduction in welfare over the past two years. The health budget is to be chopped by $1.7 billion, including every penny in AIDS funding. San Francisco mayor and former top cop Frank Jordan's plan to slash public health care by nearly 40 percent would devastate even the present rickety understaffed system—in a city with one of the largest AIDS-infected populations in the country, now complicated by the appearance of drug-resistant strains of tuberculosis.

These cold budgetary calculations amount to killing people who are already on the margins of existence: one recent UCLA study showed, for instance, that over a quarter of the residents in one South-Central Los Angeles neighborhood "do not have enough money to buy food" and "go hungry an average of five days each month" (*Los Angeles Times*, 11 June). In SF, half of the already overloaded public health clinics may be shut down, dumping the patients on San Francisco General Hospital, which may be forced to shut down by the end of next year. A doctor at SFGH warned grimly: "people will pay the price of their lives."

The misery of California's dispossessed and disenfranchised came to the surface in last year's multiracial rebellion in Los Angeles, as the city's black and Latino poor rose up, only to be bloodily suppressed by a massive military mobilization orchestrated from the White House and the state house. In April, as a verdict approached in the second trial of four cops who beat black motorist Rodney King to within an inch of his life, the authorities imposed virtual martial law on South-Central Los Angeles. Now right-wing multimillionaire businessman Richard Riordan has been swept into the L.A. mayor's office in a racist "law-and-order" hacklash campaign.

This is no ordinary budget crisis. Once the symbol of get-rich-quick capitalist success and high-tech Silicon Valley growth, the "Golden State" increasingly epitomizes America's rust bowl economy. California now ranks 48th in per capita spending for schools. With the collapse of the aerospace industry, the state has lost over 800,000 jobs in the last three years. Last winter, the unemployment rate officially topped 10 percent, the highest of any industrial state. The *Economist* (15 May) reported that "Los Angeles accounted for 29 percent of the jobs lost in America between June 1990 and December 1992." Thousands more jobs are due to disappear as the government begins shutting down some of the state's myriad military bases. Driven by a deep recession, California's government finance crunch is a reflection of the broader capitalist economic crisis.

Prop 13 Chickens Come Home

In part, the current budget represents the delayed impact of the 1978 Proposition 13 ballot initiative, which put a cap on property tax increases. Prop 13 was a de facto racist referendum aimed against social programs which particularly benefited blacks and other minorities—a convenient scam designed to pit petty-bourgeois homeowners against unions and government workers. The real beneficiaries were large commercial property owners, who in San Francisco alone reaped an annual windfall of some $600 million as a result of Prop 13. SF mayor Jordan openly boasts that his budget contains no new taxes on big business—a fact which no doubt pleases his wife, a vice president of Wells Fargo Bank, and the executives at Bank of America, who recently bragged of record profits even as they put all their tellers on part time to avoid paying health benefits.

Now the compliant bourgeois media have cranked up a classic propaganda campaign to blame the budget crisis on the workers and their unions. "Muni Drivers Cost $10 Million Extra" blared the *San Francisco Examiner* (23 May), and transit drivers tell *WV* of an upswing in harassment and even physical assaults on them by irate commuter "taxpayers." It's no accident they're going after the Muni drivers—it's not only a powerful key union but one with a heavily black membership, and this ruling class always uses the race card.

But the labor bureaucrats' first loyalty is to the capitalist system. So when the capitalists show them the empty public treasury, they agree "there's no money" and start offering to sacrifice the membership's living standards, accepting without question that the corporate profit vaults are sacrosanct "private property." Service Employees International Union (SEIU) vice president Paul Varacalli pronounced himself "quite pleased" when his 10,000 members in San Francisco were recently forced to swallow an "arbitrated" settlement mandating a one-year wage freeze. Meanwhile, the Muni drivers' Transport Workers Union chief Larry Martin vows to do "what everyone else does" as long as his union is not "singled out."

Labor action is urgently needed *now* to fend off the impending attack, but in a time of high and escalating unemployment ordinary walkouts limited to contractual issues are usually not effective and often disastrous. What's called for

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Nothing Settled in Ukraine Strike Settlement

Reuters

Strike meeting of Donbass miners in eastern Ukraine. Mass coal strike shows that Soviet workers have the power to sweep away the shaky nascent capitalist regimes.

After a strike lasting nearly two weeks which threatened the very existence of the Ukraine's capitalist government of President Leonid Kravchuk and Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma, coal miners and other workers have by and large returned to work. As the strike began spreading from the coal-producing Donets Basin (Donbass) in eastern Ukraine, Kuchma pleaded: "I'm ready to get down on my knees and ask the miners to go back to work."

On June 17, the Ukrainian parliament voted overwhelmingly to accept the miners' demand for a referendum on the government, to be held in September. Kravchuk had already conceded the strikers' key economic demands, including a wage raise indexed to the Ukraine's galloping inflation rate. But after the strike was over, Kuchma said the government doesn't have the money to pay for the wage demands.

The fear which concerted action by the Soviet proletariat inspires in the bourgeois rulers and their imperialist patrons was demonstrated by the virtual blackout of this struggle of *more than a million* workers in the Russian, Ukrainian and American press.

This powerful strike demonstrated the capacity of the working class to sweep away the fragile nationalist-capitalist regimes erected over the corpse of the Soviet degenerated workers state. But the Independent Union of Miners (NPG) leadership—working with the mine directors and their man in Kravchuk's government, deputy prime minister Yekhim Zvyagilsky—exploited the strikers' militancy for their own ends, pushing a regional self-administration scheme in the interests of the would-be mine owners.

In the upshot, the strike has settled nothing. World Bank favorite Kuchma called for tougher controls on money supply (i.e., austerity), incentives for foreign investment and speeding up privatization of industry. As part of an ongoing power struggle between the president and the prime minister, Kravchuk tried to declare bonapartist presidential rule. He was soon forced to rescind his decree, as Kuchma made his own power play, arguing that it was time not only for "stern measures" but for "vicious measures," and warning: "If such powers are denied today, dictatorship will be unavoidable in a month."

But for the moment, these bonapartist threats seem like so much hot air, lacking the military force needed to implement them. Even as the miners return to work, rail workers are threatening to strike. And in Russia, the Independent Trade Union of Coal Industry Workers, affiliated to the former "official" FNPR trade-union federation, has been picketing government offices in Moscow and threatening vague action against Yeltsin's plan to end subsidies to the mines on July 1, which would virtually assure that unprofitable pits will go under.

The fact is that both in the Donbass and in Russia, many mines lack the capital investment needed to compete on the world market. Schemes for regional autonomy are designed to benefit a handful of mine directors who would make their enterprises profitable by driving up the rate of exploitation, laying off workers and selling out to imperialist cartels. While many workers today look back to the Brezhnev years as a "golden era" of guaranteed employment and relative economic security, the Stalinist bureaucracy's arbitrary mismanagement and appeasement of imperialism paved the way for counterrevolution, and the ex-bureaucrats are now aspiring capitalists.

The only way to reverse the immiseration of the Soviet workers is the restoration of a planned, centralized economy throughout the former USSR. As one Donbass striker told representatives of the International Communist League: "There must be that type of control over the economy. But in order to have that, we'll have to get rid of the directors, the mafia and the apparat." Indeed, what is needed is a socialist revolution to sweep away Kravchuk/Kuchma, Yeltsin and all the new exploiters and to reforge a truly voluntary Soviet Union based on authentic soviet democracy and a perspective of international socialist revolution.

The way forward for the multinational Soviet proletariat lies in building a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party as part of the struggle for a reforged Fourth International. ■

Israel Starves Palestinians...

(continued from page 1)

occupied Golan Heights, while newly elected party leader Binyamin Netanyahu compares Rabin's talk of evacuating (part of) the Golan to Chamberlain's appeasement of Hitler in the 1930s.

Meanwhile, the fascistic Zionist "settlers" in the Occupied Territories have been indiscriminately gunning down Arabs, including a 75-year-old man. In March, 20-year-old Musa Suleiman Abu Sabha was shot eight times at close range while bound hand and foot. His murderer, Yoram Skolnick, crowed, "I shot him to teach the Arabs a lesson," while a banner over a Jewish settlement near the West Bank city of Hebron proclaimed, "We are all Skolnick." They are indeed. Like this fascist pig, the racist "settlers" in the strongholds that dot the West Bank and Gaza, ringing every Arab town and lining the Jordan River, are military auxiliaries to the Zionist occupation forces.

Yet, while Rabin proves that he is no better and no worse a Zionist mass murderer than his Likud predecessor Yitzhak Shamir, the PLO of Yasir Arafat continues to preach illusions in the U.S.-sponsored negotiations with the Israeli butchers. Growing frustration with the PLO's dead-end reliance on Washington to broker a deal have made seemingly "irreconcilable" Muslim fundamentalist groups like Hamas popular while encouraging indiscriminate terror attacks against Israelis. While understandable, such outbursts are no less a dead end than Arafat's pro-imperialist politics. And a fundamentalist bantustan run by Hamas would be no less a living hell—particularly for Palestinian women and secularized workers and youth, including the hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Christians—than the current brutal occupation.

As the current situation demonstrates, Palestinian workers continue to play a considerable role in the Israeli economy, which is screaming from the sharp decline in cheap Arab labor being allowed through the "green line" (the pre-1967 borders). Working for as little as $6 a day, they constituted nearly half the workforce in construction and some 20 percent in agriculture. Despite Rabin's threats to cut off unemployment and welfare benefits to "freeloaders"—particularly the 400,000 recent Soviet immigrants—barely 7,000 of the 70,000 jobs filled by Palestinians in the building industry have been taken by Israelis, even with government wage subsidies. Soldiers and welfare recipients have been mobilized to harvest crops, and the government was compelled to allow some Palestinian workers back in. Now they are bused directly to their workplaces under the supervision of armed security guards.

For their part, Israeli workers face mass unemployment and high inflation, with the prospect of far worse to come. The huge influx of recent Soviet immigrants—who are overwhelmingly secular and have yet to be brainwashed by the Zionist bunker mentality—have no jobs and no future. Short of a Near East holocaust—nuclear or otherwise—the only hope for any future for the interpenetrated Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples lies in revolutionary class struggle against their common exploiters and oppressors. Hebrew-speaking workers must break from the Zionist stranglehold and defend the national rights of the Palestinian people if they are not to become victims themselves of their rulers' bloodthirsty schemes.

Israel out of the Occupied Territories! For a binational Trotskyist party! For a socialist federation of the Near East! ■

Yaghobzadeh/Sipa

Refugee camp in Gaza. Zionist state's sealing off of Occupied Territories means starvation for Palestinian masses.

Japanese Ruling Party Fractures

Reuters photos

Feeling the heat: Tsutomu Hata, seated far left, hopes to head next government. Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa (right) as he loses no-confidence vote in parliament.

TOKYO—On June 18 the Liberal Democratic Party government led by Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa lost a no-confidence vote in the lower house, forcing the LDP cabinet to dissolve the Diet (parliament) and call general elections for July 18. The successful no-confidence vote, only the fourth in Japan's postwar history, was put up by the three main opposition parties ostensibly because the government refused to act on a number of election reform proposals. What brought the cabinet down was a revolt within the ruling party's ranks, as 39 LDP Diet members voted with the opposition and 16 abstained. The vote was 255-220 against the Miyazawa government, and it is expected that the LDP will lose its majority in the Diet after the July 18 election.

Miyazawa figured that, with the upcoming Tokyo conference of the seven leading imperialist powers, he could extend the current Diet session and buy a little more time. But the rebel LDP Dietmen, in a single stroke, reduced Miyazawa to a lame duck leader who can only serve tea at the G-7 meeting. The fall of the government will probably frustrate some of the Western leaders who were counting on this confab to pry loose a sizable amount of yen to finance the Russian counterrevolution and possibly strong-arm some trade concessions from Japan Inc. This vote of no confidence also reversed—at least temporarily—the escalating value of the yen, which quickly dropped to ¥110 against the U.S. dollar.

Front-running candidate to be the next prime minister is Tsutomu Hata, an LDP faction leader who voted with the opposition parties. Hata was a member of the discredited Tanaka/Takeshita faction and only severed his ties with these politicians when the stench of corruption got too close. On June 21, ten LDP Diet members (part of the group that had abstained on the vote) quit the party and organized their own party called *Sakigake*, "Pioneer" in English. They seek to work with *Nippon Shinto*, the "Japan New Party," another bourgeois split from the LDP that ran for the first time in the last upper house election. Two days later Hata's faction formalized their divorce from the LDP and launched *Shinseito*, the "Renaissance Party."

The last split in the LDP was in 1976 (after the Lockheed scandal), when a handful of Diet members bolted the party to form the New Liberal Club—but they all returned. This split, however, runs far deeper. In the current Tokyo City Council election many LDP candidates are telling party leaders like Miyazawa, Takeshita, etc. *not* to appear with them at public campaign rallies.

Right-Wing Popular Front

Significant segments of the bourgeoisie are angered that their campaign donations are poured down a black hole of scandal and political payoffs, spurring younger political leaders to bolt from the corruption-ridden LDP deemed incapable of leading Japan into the new world disorder created by the collapse of the USSR. This might well lead to a new coalition government taking office after the July 18 vote. The imminent toppling of the 38-year rule of the LDP has little to do with election reform, which is nothing but a political football. The real issues are the expansion of Japanese imperialism, domestic austerity and a harder protectionist line against its main imperialist rival, the U.S.

Elements of the bourgeoisie think the opposition parties have been sufficiently house-broken to share power, and this might prove useful if wage cuts or other anti-working-class measures become necessary in the midst of the current economic recession and trade wars. The LDP dissidents are actually to the right of their party elders, just as the right-wing elements within *Shakaito*, the Japan Socialist Party (JSP), are also the party's younger elements in their 40s. This is looking like a Japanese version of Clinton-generation yuppies and social-democratic reformists joining hands in a pretty unsavory popular front.

The JSP, the largest opposition party with 140 lower house Diet seats, immediately jumped on the Hata bandwagon, despite the fact that Hata's faction has only 35 seats today. Since Takako Doi was removed as public party leader, the JSP has been incapable of fielding a national leader acceptable to anyone, even their own members, hence this prostration to the bourgeoisie even before the July 18 election results. The JSP has been in a rapid flight to the right since they won the upper house election in 1989 and got a whiff of power. On June 24 Hata met with the leaders of the three opposition parties, now called *Shakomin*—an abbreviation of the formal names *Sha*kaito (JSP), *Ko*meito and *Min*shaito (Democratic Socialist Party)—to begin the horse trading on the next government.

Opposition leaders, including JSP chairman Sadao Yamahana, announced that they would retain the same policies on diplomacy, national defense and the economy as the current government. The Hata faction and the JSP claim they agree on election reform, but this is simply a cover to appease public indignation over a seemingly never-ending series of scandals and tax evasion cases, and the corruption endemic to the LDP's internal faction system. The real cement bonding this coalition together is the JSP's recent announcement that they now accept the "constitutionality" of the military (hypocritically called "Self-Defense Forces"), and the convergence between Hata's hardline support for agricultural protectionism and the JSP's longstanding opposition to liberalization of rice imports designed to win rural votes away from the LDP.

It seems like only yesterday (1961-63) that the JSP was shouting radical anti-American slogans against the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, but they, along with the rest of the left, divorced this "radicalism" from defense of the USSR—which the treaty was directed against. Today the Hata faction can tell the JSP—shout all the anti-American slogans you want, we agree with them! Imperialist arrogance is being fostered by the Ministry of Education's insistence that the rising sun *hinomaru* flag be hoisted and the imperial anthem be sung at all school ceremonies, while a Japanese court recently upheld the conviction of an Okinawan man who publicly burned the *hinomaru* flag.

Just as social democracy supported its own bourgeoisie in the Pacific War of 1937-1945, today they are again lining up to support the Japanese ruling class as interimperialist rivalries intensify. The Hata faction opposed the dispatch of Japanese troops to Cambodia from the right. They, like the reformists, claim that the newly enacted law is a violation of the constitution...so they want to

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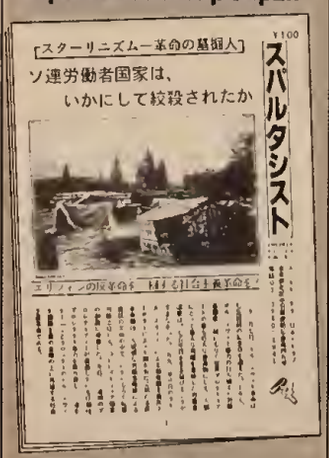

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Tokyo, May Day 1953: demonstrators demand U.S. troops out of Japan.

Japan

(continued from page 7)

revise the constitution to legalize the use of Japanese military power. This will conveniently strip the JSP of its "constitutional" arguments.

The LDP, however, is far from finished as a political entity. LDP elders may be forced to hand over government reins to younger leaders, who in their zeal might mistake a temporary popular-front alliance for a stable two-party system. LDP leaders, like former prime minister Kaifu, are pushing their own reform program to refurbish the party's image, and could regain office when a coalition government founders because it can't solve any of the contradictions facing Japanese society today.

Davis/Time

Nissan workers at Zama plant near Tokyo, slated for shutdown.

The 1947 Popular Front and the "1955 System"

The bourgeois press is rife with laments that the "1955 system" has run its course and a new era in Japanese politics is upon us. On the surface this is true, as the uninterrupted rule of the LDP for the last 38 years, initiated by the 1955 merger of the Liberal and Democratic parties, is heading for a change. More far-sighted elements of the ruling class think political realignment is necessary as the bourgeoisie figures out how best to rule in a new historic period. The old-boy cronyism and Tammany Hall wheeler-dealer style of the LDP old guard cannot make the turn to a more flexible, cost-conscious leadership needed to fight the coming trade wars.

The proposed coalition government is of the bourgeoisie's making and quite different from the 1947 popular-front government that was installed to divert a militant postwar strike wave into electoral reformism and provide the bourgeoisie some breathing space to regroup. The JSP-led Katayama government was short-lived (toppled by a financial scandal, of course). But the "1955 system" of relative class peace was not established until the militant 1953 Nissan auto workers strike was broken. The defeat at Nissan, a turning point for the bourgeoisie in spiking the postwar strike wave that began in 1945, was the basis for the political realignment that took place in 1955.

The competing bourgeois parties united in 1955 to internalize their tactical differences and avoid sharing power with a reformist workers party. This was not the haggling of today's realignment, but reflected a serious defeat for the proletariat. Social democracy's left and right wings united into a loyal "left" opposition electoral formation and launched the timid *shunto* (spring struggle) to turn union militancy into orchestrated ceremonies. The Japanese Communist Party, left out of the previous Katayama pop-front government (and future ones as well) because of its opposition to the bourgeoisie's Pacific War, renounced lip service to the dictatorship of the proletariat in a desperate attempt to prove its loyalty to the bourgeoisie. The "1955 system" is based on this deflection of working-class militancy and its throttling by the social democrats.

The bourgeoisie might feel compelled to end the unchallenged rule of the LDP, for them the cornerstone of the "1955 system," now considered too expensive. The current economic recession, which began with the 1990 Tokyo stock market crash that burst the real estate and speculative capital bubble, has wiped out many middle and low-level companies. Nissan's closing of its Zama production plant near Tokyo sent shock waves through the economy, as the backbone of Japan's postwar "economic miracle," its industrial production, is now being eroded. Japan's vaunted "lifetime employment system" is no longer considered sacrosanct in some bourgeois quarters, as Sony chairman Morita is demanding its elimination.

The proletariat must understand that the bourgeoisie's overhaul of the "1955 system" and the creation of a proposed new coalition government is to impose austerity cutbacks. Only sharp class struggle can defend the Japanese proletariat's standard of living, and in the process sweep away the social-democratic bureaucrats who chain them to the bourgeois order.

Popular Front and the Left

Various fake-lefts generally vote for the JSP in Diet elections, which now means a vote for Hata. This should cause a bit of political turmoil within the left, most acutely felt by the JSP's left faction, *Kyokai-ha*. The bourgeoisie sees the existence of this "red tail" within the JSP as an obstacle, since on paper it opposes the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and the existence of the military, and advocates friendly relations with North Korea. They are demanding that *Kyokai-ha* be expelled as the JSP's entry price into a coalition government. *Kyokai-ha* leaders, afraid of cutting the umbilical cord to their cozy existence, seem willing to capitulate and hope to continue as a loyal "left" opposition.

This should cause problems for the New Leftovers who routinely tail the so-called "left" trade-union bureaucrats. The Hata/Yamahana lash-up is so right-wing that most ostensibly leftist groups will probably be forced to verbally distance themselves from it. The JCP has already publicly come out against the *Shakomin*/Hata coalition, but this is not necessarily a leftist position on their part. The "Eurocommunist" JCP agrees with the Hata/opposition support to agricultural protectionism (in fact is its most rahid champion) and is opposed to election reform because they would lose a lot of seats. The government crisis can only accelerate the centrifugal split tendencies within the JCP as its right-wing elements will push harder to jettison its "communist" name, an obstacle to its popular-front aspirations.

The coming weeks will undoubtedly see a lot of maneuvers within the ruling class as they jockey for position to either minimize the damage that the fracture in the LDP has caused or negotiate the parameters within which they will support a new coalition government. The JSP social democrats are dragging the proletariat into a formal alliance with its class enemy and seek to create a coalition government that will take a harder line against U.S. imperialism and a tougher domestic austerity policy to finance this. The Spartacist Group Japan (SGJ) fights to build a Leninist-internationalist party to break the stranglehold of the JSP/JCP reformists on the proletariat and lead the socialist revolution needed to head off the accelerated drive to imperialist war. ■

California...

(continued from page 5)

is a united front of all the unions, citywide and statewide, in labor actions which go way beyond immediate questions to challenge the very legitimacy of the capitalists' government. And there are plenty of tactics to pursue this: what with their chauffeur-driven limos, the bosses may not rely on public transit, but let the corporate HQ of U.S. imperialism on the Pacific Rim try to function with the offices which handle financial/property transactions shut down! In the wake of last year's draconian budget attacks, we wrote:

> "What's needed is an alliance of labor and blacks and the unemployed in a full-scale assault on the bipartisan attacks by the governor and legislature—including a *statewide general strike*. But this clearly requires a break from the capitalist Democratic Party, and a perspective of working-class revolution."
>
> —"California, the Cutback State," *WV* No. 561, 16 October 1992

Public workers have the opportunity and the ability to mobilize massive demonstrations of support by linking the fight to defend their jobs with demands that address the needs of the poor and working people who have the most to lose by the attacks on city services. The bosses want to raise the transit fares? We say abolish the fares, free transit for the working class! They want to close the public health clinics? We demand free health care for all!

A May 27 leaflet by a group called "Members Organized for Action" reports that one SEIU Local 250 elected negotiator and shop steward was illegally removed from her posts and even physically assaulted by a union bureaucrat because she "publicized the truth" about the sellout. But while denouncing support to both bourgeois parties and calling for a workers party, this "opposition" grouping supported by the centrist Revolutionary Workers League says not one word about the root cause of this crisis—decaying capitalism—nor about the solution, a workers government which expropriates the bourgeoisie. Instead, they promote futile "tax the rich" schemes—e.g., "the stock exchange could pay taxes on its billions"—and illusions that standard trade-union struggle can "force the Mayor and the Board of Supervisors to stop attacking workers," sort of like making a leopard change its spots.

The obstacle now plainly before the workers' eyes is *the government itself at every level*, and the two-headed "property party" which has a lock on the "democratic" electoral process. The petty-bourgeois radical milieu in the Bay Area is a breeding ground for innumerable "labor party initiatives" aimed at appealing to left-talking bureaucrats who want to put some pressure on their Democratic Party patrons. But what's needed is a *class-struggle workers party* committed to the fight for a *workers government*, not a reformist labor party which maneuvers within the framework of what capitalism offers. There must be a political mobilization of the working class aimed at expropriating the capitalists' property and establishing a planned economy.

With the Republican and Democratic budget slashers acting like characters out of *Terminator 2*, both capitalist parties are the objects of widespread disgust. This is nothing new. In an 1891 introduction to Karl Marx's *The Civil War in France*, Frederick Engels noted of the capitalist politicians in North America: "we find here two great gangs of political speculators, who alternately take possession of the state power and exploit it by the most corrupt means and for the most corrupt ends."

Then also, the bourgeoisie cynically drummed up middle-class votes with lying promises of "cheap government." But Marx pointed out that only when the workers took the reins of power, in the Paris Commune of 1870-71, was this accomplished: "The Commune made that catchword of bourgeois revolutions, cheap government, a reality."

Not so long ago, smug liberals were jocularly dismissing Marx's famous words that capitalism meant only the "accumulation of misery" for the masses. California's crisis is the crisis of capitalism, of a bankrupt economy run for the private greed of a handful. It will take a socialist revolution to change that. ■

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Feds Set Up Fascist in Idaho

For 16 months federal agents planned their assault on the Idaho mountaintop log cabin of Randy Weaver. Wanted on a charge of sawing off the barrels on two shotguns he sold to Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) agents in a government sting two years ago, Weaver stayed holed up with his wife and four kids until last summer. On August 21, up to 400 feds surrounded the cabin. When the Weavers' dog flushed three camouflaged U.S. deputy marshals sneaking up on the cabin, all hell broke loose.

First the federal marksmen shot the dog, then they shot Weaver's 13-year-old son Samuel in the back. A friend of the Weavers', Kevin Harris, returned fire and when it was over, a marshal was dead. During the ensuing eleven-day siege, FBI snipers shot Weaver's wife Vicki in the face as she stood on her front porch. She died holding their ten-month-old baby. Now as Randy Weaver and Harris are on trial in Boise, the government's own witnesses have exposed the cover-up of the feds' Murder Inc.

Randy Weaver is not nature's nobleman. He is part of the white-supremacist "Christian Identity" movement which denounces Washington as the "ZOG" (Zionist Occupation Government), and is associated with the deadly fascist "Aryan Nation" fringe headquartered in Hayden Lake, Idaho, 60 miles from Weaver's land. (One press account has it that Weaver was tossed out of the Aryan Nation compound for drinking.) The feds say they went after Weaver in an operation against illegal gunrunning. The government jealously seeks to enforce its would-be monopoly on armed violence, and even wants to keep its fascist dogs of war on a short leash.

During the 1992 siege, Nazi skinheads, "survivalists" and tax protesters lined the road leading to Weaver's cabin to denounce the federal agents. From the California KKK to Posse Comitatus in the Midwest to "The Order" scum who shot Denver talk show host Alan Berg, they are a network of racist, anti-Semitic killers. One of Berg's assassins was hidden in North Carolina for months by Roland Wayne Wood, one of the Klansmen who shot down five leftists and union organizers in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1979. Of course, a BATF agent participated in planning the mass murder and advised the KKK/Nazi killers on transporting weapons to the Greensboro killing ground.

Unions, socialists, blacks and other minorities, all the intended victims of the Aryan Nation fascists have always been subject to capitalist state terror and are more often the targets of the feds' tactics. From entrapping Weaver into sawing off the shotguns to staging the deadly assault, it is transparently obvious that the feds set up Weaver and then went in to blow him away. The federal judge in the trial observed that "About 75 percent of the witnesses called by the government have been favorable to the defense" (*Los Angeles Times*, 16 June).

After the sting operation in January 1991, Weaver was given the wrong trial date—and then indicted for not showing up on time! Federal prosecutors buried key FBI documents in fourth-class mail so the defense wouldn't get them on time; transcripts were "lost" and bullets were removed from the scene and then secretly replaced. But the federal hit squads from Washington, D.C. don't want to be hindered by such legal niceties as the Bill of Rights, no matter who they are going after.

Weaver said he just wanted to be "left alone" on his 20 acres with a lot less guns than the arsenal surrounding Ross Perot, and he "refused to surrender unless the government admitted that he was set up and apologized." Well, the armed thugs of the bourgeois state don't "apologize," not even to the fascist fringe who are arming themselves to do battle with "godless communism" on behalf of the bourgeoisie.

The American ruling class, armed to the teeth and well-drilled in bombing slum neighborhoods in Panama City and baby food factories in Iraq, has repeatedly shown that it's more than willing to unleash state terror on those who defy them at home—like the scores of men, women and children of the multiracial religious group incinerated in their compound outside Waco, Texas for the "crime" of owning a few guns and preaching something other than High Church Episcopalianism or "respectable" Southern Baptist racism.

Weaver and his ilk thought they could escape to the wilds of Idaho to groove on their demented fascistic dreams. Instead they got a sample of the treatment meted out by the cops in the ghettos and barrios of every city in America. It is the working people, blacks and other minorities who are the main victims of "gun control" laws and the trigger-happy badge-toting gunmen who enforce them. And it is the exploited and oppressed who must sweep away the crazed killers who run this country in the interests of capital. Any fascistic survivalist killers still lurking in the boondocks of Idaho or the swamps of Louisiana who resist the will of the multiracial proletariat in power will assuredly be swept away. ■

Sygma

Gun control, BATF-style: feds lay siege to Branch Davidian compound near Waco, Texas, culminating in massacre of 86 men, women and children in racially integrated commune.

Letter...

(continued from page 3)

Zionist blitzkrieg from his discussion of Lebanon.

Yet the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in the summer of 1982 is a quite good analogy to the recently threatened U.S./NATO military intervention into Bosnia. For the Israelis did intervene in support of one of the contending factions in the interminable communalist bloodletting, installing the Gemayel clan of the Christian Maronites as a puppet government in Beirut.

Our line was one of military support to all forces in Lebanon—Palestinians, Druze, Shi'ites—fighting the Israeli army which was engaged in a de facto colonialist occupation. Furthermore, we stated: "In the present fighting we defend the Palestinian forces against not only the Israeli army but also the Lebanese Christian militias which have become *subordinate* to the Zionist state" ("Israel Out of Lebanon!" *WV* No. 308, 25 June 1982).

As for the 1948 Arab-Israel War, the Spartacist League did earlier have a position of military support for the Hebrew-speaking forces in that war (see *Spartacist* No. 11, March-April 1968). However, on the basis of later discussion and additional information which made it evident that the survival of the Hebrew nation was never threatened by the Arab forces, we subsequently determined that "The correct Trotskyist policy toward the 1948 Palestinian War was one of revolutionary defeatism" (*WV* No. 45, 24 May 1974). This was, indeed, the position of the Fourth International at the time.

Even Clinton is not stupid enough to send a few hundred Marines to Sarajevo as sitting ducks for Serbian artillery. At a minimum, U.S. intervention would entail air strikes against Serbian positions, killing civilians as well as militiamen. Clearly, revolutionary internationalists would be duty-bound to defend the Serbs against the Pentagon's terror bombing.

If the Western imperialist powers decide to reverse the course of the territorial war in Bosnia (which at present is not their intent), they would have to launch a large-scale invasion on the order of Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon. The aim would be to drive the Serbs from much of the territory they now occupy, turning this land over to the Bosnian Muslim "government," which would become a colonial puppet regime. The Bosnian Muslim leaders and their friends in the NATO countries are agitating for precisely such a course of action.

The use of the emotion-laden term "genocide" to describe the massacres and forced population transfers inherent in the Bosnian communalist war is a key element in anti-Serb warmongering in the imperialist countries. When the Clinton gang had to justify backing off its earlier threats of military action against the Bosnian Serbs, Secretary of State Warren Christopher on a rare occasion told it like it is: "there are atrocities on all sides.... It's been easy to analogize this to the Holocaust, but I never heard of any genocide by the Jews against the German people" (*New York Times*, 19 May).

Should the Western imperialists intervene militarily on behalf of the Bosnian Muslims, the Serbs will become the victims of "ethnic cleansing" at the hands of vengeful Muslims and probably Croats as well acting under the protection of the NATO forces. To repeat, in the present fratricidal strife within the former Yugoslavia, we do not support any side. But, as we wrote last issue: "in the face of U.S./NATO intervention we defend the Serbs, while calling on the Serbian working class to overthrow its nationalist-capitalist misleaders in an internationalist struggle for a socialist federation of the Balkans stretching from the Danube to the Aegean Sea." ■

Baby-Killer Clinton...

(continued from page 1)

rented the safe house, bought guns and equipment, and while they were stirring the chemicals the whole thing was being carried live on the FBI's video. All this and the World Trade Center bombing too supposedly leads back to the blind sheik of Jersey City, who, however, is not arrested because of services rendered to the CIA fighting Soviet infidels in Afghanistan. Is this the "New World Order," or what?

This comes a day after a *Time*/CNN poll revealed that 65 percent of the population could care less about the alleged Iraqi Bush bombers (in addition to the two-thirds who turned thumbs down on Clinton). But, *mirabile dictu*, a day later Clinton's ratings shot up eleven points. For the cynical spin doctors in the White House, this is a "rally event," when bombing some Third World country leads Americans to "rally around their flag, their troops and their Commander in Chief. Past 'rally events' have produced, on average, an 8-percentage-point increase in the President's approval rating, and they have lasted an average of about 10 weeks" (*New York Times*, 29 June). By those guidelines, Qaddafi better start worrying round about September 10.

Saddam Hussein is a bloody butcher of Kurds, Communists and Shi'ites, but the incomparably greater criminals are the swaggering imperialist rulers who act as cops of the world, cloaking their wanton marauding with the rhetoric of "law and order." Clinton's eleven-point air strike on Baghdad was a show of weakness, a pretense at "standing tall" without risking the "downside" of *American* casualties. But make no mistake, these nuclear-armed madmen are a threat to life on the entire planet. We say: *U.S. butchers keep your bloody hands off Iraq, Somalia, Bosnia and the rest of the world!* ■

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Revolutionary Marxism

Next class: Sat., July 10, 4 p.m.
"The 1917 Russian Revolution"
Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren St.
(1 block south of Chambers, between Church & West Broadway)
For more information: (212) 267-1025
NEW YORK CITY

Next class: Sat., July 10, 2 p.m.
"The Russian Revolution of 1917–How the Working Class Took Power"
Undergraduate Library Lobby
Howard University
For more information: (202) 872-8240
WASHINGTON, D.C.

FACT SHEET

(continued from page 12)

their now infamous pattern of discrimination. On May 29 the black agents filed a lawsuit against Denny's for blatant racism.

• **The "stay on your bus" treatment:** Also *after* Denny's reached agreement with the U.S. Justice Department, 125 black schoolchildren in the Martin Luther King Children's Choir were refused entry at Denny's in Woodbridge, Virginia. The manager told them he had no room for them and directed them to another Denny's 40 miles down the highway. By the time the busloads of children arrived there, the manager was waiting for them in the parking lot insisting his restaurant had "no room" for the black children either.

• **Lousy food, dirty dishes:** Across the country black customers have been forced to pay extra for food—like dinner rolls—that are included in the price of the meal for whites. Black customers have testified that they were served inedible food on dirty and broken dishes while white customers at nearby tables were clearly given better food and service. An affidavit by a former Denny's employee attests to the fact that his manager would respond to customer complaints of bad food and service depending on race.

• **Anti-Hispanic prejudice:** Six Hispanic college students were refused service at a Santa Cruz, California Denny's on June 14. After waiting for over *one-and-a-half hours* for service, the group of youths finally walked out.

• **Anti-gay bigotry:** In May, in Kansas City, Missouri, a gay men's support group went out to eat at Denny's. The restaurant manager proclaimed, "we don't serve your kind of people here."

• **Denny's threatens customers who demand equal service:** Anthony C. Johnson, a deputy sheriff in Raleigh, North Carolina was denied service at Denny's, even as he and his wife *kept their hands raised* to get attention from a waitress who ignored them while serving others. Mr. Johnson and his wife are black, the other customers were white. After receiving several complaints by phone and in writing, TW Services sent Mr. Johnson two checks for $3.00! When Mr. Johnson phoned back to say that Denny's had "a race problem" he was told that if he contacted a lawyer or sued Denny's he would be "opening a can of worms" that he would regret and he "would be in for a surprise."

• **Denny's discriminates against employees too:** Five former and current employees of a Denny's located in North Randall, Ohio (Cleveland) filed a lawsuit on June 15 against Denny's for racist discrimination. This former "Sambo's" restaurant was called a "zoo" by Denny's, Inc. because of the large black clientele and workforce. The restaurant's black manager (the only black manager of the 14 Denny's in the Cleveland area) was driven out. The new white managers referred to black women workers as "wenches" and black men as "boys." Employees who complained of this systematic racist abuse were fired or had their work hours drastically reduced. Management prevented a black waitress they had fired from gaining new employment by spreading a lie that she had been fired for stealing.

• **White supremacy and union-busting:** Denny's bought out a former "Big Boy" restaurant in Winchester, Virginia last November just as employees were in the midst of a union organizing drive. A Jewish woman active in the organizing drive was subjected to relentless anti-Semitic abuse by management. One day she arrived at work to find a huge swastika posted on the front of the restaurant. Despite complaints, the managers left it hanging for *six* days! When the conversion from "Big Boy" to Denny's was completed, workers who supported the union organizing drive were fired. The racist, anti-Semitic managers were kept on by Denny's.

Jim Crow racism and union-busting go hand in hand. All of Denny's restaurants are *non-union*. In the South, the "open shop" has been a key prop to maintaining a whole system of racist discrimination and Klan terror. The strength of the labor movement lies in the unity of the multiracial working class against the racist bosses. The union movement has been saddled with a leadership that refuses to fight for black rights just as it seeks "labor peace" with the capitalists and their government. A class-struggle leadership must be forged in the union movement to organize the South by fighting against black oppression, understanding the common class interest of all workers.

• **The NAACP has made a "Fair Share" agreement with Denny's:** Denny's CEO Jerome Richardson struck a deal with the NAACP to chill out protest and negative publicity in exchange for a few more black faces in high places. According to *Business Week* (28 June) this deal would include putting a token black onto Denny's all-white board of directors, boost purchases from minority-owned suppliers, and sell more franchises to blacks.

But there is no "fair share" for blacks under capitalism. We can't buy black freedom in the marketplace, whose rules are laid down by the racist capitalists who have the power and have no intention of giving it up. Racial oppression permeates capitalist society and is built into its every institution: the job market, schools, military, courts, media. For the mass of the black population to escape poverty and oppression, the multiracial working class must fight for power and rewrite the rulebook.

• **You can't get justice through the "Justice" Department:** The government is the *bosses'* government. The Rodney King beating and whitewash trial proved that there is no justice in racist America. The whole legal system is based on subjugating the black population in order to protect the interests of the racist ruling class. U.S. attorney general Janet Reno put law enforcement on full-scale alert as a warning to minorities and youth during the second trial of the cops who beat Rodney King. Then she ordered the holocaust in Waco that incinerated 86 people from an integrated religious sect. The Justice Department's FBI has been implicated in every infamous crime that has become synonymous with racist KKK terror—from the 1963 Birmingham, Alabama bombing that killed four little girls in Sunday school to the 1979 Greensboro massacre of five leftists and labor organizers.

A generation after the lunch counter sit-ins, racist attacks are on the rise again. The liberal civil rights movement had no answer for the economic oppression of black people and institutionalized racism of America's ghettos and barrios. Mass struggle forced an end to *de jure* segregation and the Jim Crow laws of the South. But no new civil rights law can redress the *de facto* segregation and exploitation inherent in the racist capitalist system. Racial inequality—by every index from infant mortality to income—is growing. The mass of black youth are viewed as a "surplus" population that this government doesn't even want to educate because it has no jobs to offer them. That's why prisons are the "growth industry" of this sick society.

To defeat the race haters and union-busters, we need mass struggle led by a party with a revolutionary program linking the ghettos and barrios to the social power of the multiracial working class in the factories. The bosses have their party—the property party—which has two wings: Democrat and Republican. Working people and minorities need their own party, a revolutionary workers party that will fight for a socialist egalitarian society where Jim Crow racism and the pain and suffering that's "business as usual" in American life is a thing of the past. *Black liberation through socialist revolution!* ■

Denny's...

(continued from page 12)

For Equal Treatment, Good Service and Food for *All*!" Following these integrated protests, demonstrators will go in to eat, taking no "ifs, ands or buts" as a condition. Protests are taking place in Atlanta, the San Francisco Bay Area, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles and Washington, D.C.

"We're especially calling on the labor movement to take up this cause today," said Bay Area Labor Black League spokesman Hursey Bush in announcing the campaign. "Unionization and black rights march forward together and slide backward apart. Denny's racist Jim Crow policies are directly tied to their non-union operation and are a vicious affront to all decent, hard-working folk everywhere!"

This campaign has intersected a wave of anger among blacks who are "sick and tired of being sick and tired" of racist crap at every turn in this country—especially in integrated unions under the gun from Clinton's program of "sacrifice, sacrifice, sacrifice." The strategic, integrated West Coast longshore union, the ILWU International, has endorsed the protest. So has SEIU Local 250 covering hospital workers throughout California, and the East Bay Hotel & Restaurant (HERE) Local 28.

In Chicago, the campaign has been endorsed by Katie Jordan, a local ACTWU president, as well as "Smokin' Joe" Barnes and Bobby Robinson, former players in the Negro National Baseball League. In Boston, supporters include James H. Neil of HERE Local 26 at Harvard; Michael Holden, ATU Local 1205; Rev. Carlton A. Mathis, pastor of St. Luke's Christian AME Zion Church in Dorchester, who himself suffered racist abuse at Denny's.

Denny's Cover-Up Flops

The uproar over Denny's racism began when 20 black students were met with a demand to prepay for their meals when they went to a San Jose Denny's after a late-night college forum in December 1991. White students who came in at the same time had no trouble getting served. This was only the beginning. In a class-action suit by 32 Denny's customers charging discrimination, a former Denny's manager in Northern California—who was also a former owner of the notorious Sambo's restaurants, many of whose franchises were picked up by Denny's—described how his superiors gave instructions on preventing "blackouts"—"too many" blacks in the restaurant—by requiring blacks to prepay or even closing the place down.

Other cases cited include: a group of 30 black mourners who came to Denny's in Culver City, California following a wake—having made a reservation the night before—were blocked at the door on the grounds that they would make the other (white) customers uncomfortable. A black man in Miami waited 60 minutes for a breakfast which arrived on a broken plate; after he sent it back the manager called the cops and had him arrested for trespassing as he sat drinking his coffee!

Denny's is trying to deflect the heat by agreeing to a consent decree promising to discontinue prepayment, hire more minorities and begin "sensitivity training." But this cynical ruse blew up in their faces after complaints from a group of black Secret Service agents who couldn't get served in Annapolis last April while the white agents they were with, seated separately, got second helpings.

Since then Denny's CEO Jerome Richardson has launched a CYA "You Are Welcomed" ad campaign so brazen even Madison Avenue pros are taken aback. "When you have a problem like the one Denny's has, you have to clean up the problem first before talking about it," commented one New York PR man (*Wall Street Journal*, 21 June).

Luckovich/Atlanta Constitution

Labor and Black Rights: Same Enemy, Same Fight!

Black rights and the struggle for union power go hand in hand—just as do lynch ropes and union-busting. Spartanburg, South Carolina, Denny's headquarters, is in the middle of the new industrial belt in the Southeast, a band of new factories along the I-85 corridor. Decent industrial union jobs have disappeared in the North as capitalists closed factories and opened up shop in the "open shop" South—with no unions to inhibit capitalist greed.

It's no accident that BMW is opening a non-union factory near Spartanburg, where "its labor costs could be half what they are in Germany" (*New York Times*, 11 April). Meanwhile, many workers are forced into low-paying non-union "service" jobs like fast food. It's not just Denny's—in the anti-union climate created as union tops prostrated themselves before Reagan/Bush reaction, then hustled for the "New South" yuppie Clinton/Gore ticket, racist harassment is rampant. Witness the case of Miller Brewing in Fulton, New York, where for nearly ten years black workers were subjected to filthy racist abuse

Socialists and the 1960 Woolworth Sit-Ins

On February 1, 1960, four black students from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College—Joseph McNeil, Ezell Blair, Franklin McCain and David Richmond—sat down at the "white only" section of the lunch counter at a Woolworth's store in Greensboro. They were refused service but politely remained in their seats until closing time for what they called a "sit-down protest." Two days later, there were 85 student protesters; five days later the number was four hundred. After a week the movement spread to other cities in North Carolina. By the end of February there were similar integration campaigns in 31 Southern cities across eight states. The 1960s "sit-in" movement was born.

The initial movement was a spontaneous, militant upswelling of youth bypassing the established civil rights leadership like the NAACP and A. Philip Randolph. At first it was confined to the Southern states, but at this critical juncture the fledgling *Young Socialist* newspaper intervened. Founded by leftward-moving youth who had split over two years earlier from the moribund centrist organization of Max Shachtman (which was liquidating into the outright reformist Socialist Party and the labor bureaucracy), the *YS* leadership was associated with the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). They saw that the burgeoning civil rights protests signaled a new era of struggle, and an opportunity for the rebirth of a revolutionary socialist youth after the long witchhunt years.

On February 15, the editorial board of the *Young Socialist* decided to launch a national campaign of picket-line protests at Woolworth's because, as the paper reported, "Negro students in the South should not be allowed to fight alone for integration in public eating places." The first picket line, at Woolworth's 34th St. Manhattan location on March 5, was a resounding success as 400 youthful protesters showed up:

> "Potential shoppers coming toward the store were first confronted with multitudes of young people bearing signs declaring 'Jim Crow Must Go,' 'They Must Be Served Who Now Stand And Wait,' and 'Boycott This Store—Let's Integrate'."
>
> —*Young Socialist*, April 1960

UPI

New York: radical students picket Woolworth's in 1960 as part of national campaign in solidarity with Southern civil rights sit-in movement.

"BOYCOTT WOOLWORTH'S" proclaimed the headline as the campaign caught on in the North and picketing spread.

The mushrooming success was soon followed by the founding convention of the Young Socialist Alliance in Philadelphia on 15-17 April 1960 with more than 100 delegates. The YSA for the first time formally affiliated with the SWP as its youth group. Coincidentally, the militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was also born on April 15, in North Carolina.

The reformists soon moved to squelch the sit-in movement in the North. In New York, the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL) and Communist Party youth took the leadership away from the Trotskyists, and then called off the sit-ins. They were more interested in getting Democrat John F. Kennedy elected president in the '60 elections.

The newborn YSA quickly became embroiled in internal fights with the stodgy SWP leadership which was becoming tired of struggle and moving to the right. A key issue was the urgent need to intervene in the civil rights movement and win black youth to a revivified revolutionary SWP. This was a central driving theme of what became the Revolutionary Tendency inside the SWP.

As a leading black RTer, Shirley Stoute, noted later in a May 1962 report on her participation in sit-ins in Baltimore, "this is a movement that we must be part of." But the SWP criminally abstained, instead tailing after liberal and nationalist forces rather than fighting to win leftward-moving youth to a revolutionary program. They went so far in factional venom as to precipitously recall Shirley from the South later that year—despite a personal invitation she had from a leading SNCC member—and ordered her not to give the reason for her disappearance. In late 1963, the leaders of the RT were expelled from the SWP. They published the first issue of *Spartacist* in February 1964.

In the meantime the civil rights movement, cut off at a crucial moment from revolutionary forces, was channeled by Martin Luther King, Bayard Rustin et al. straight into the Democratic Party via the 1963 "March on Washington"—rightly called the "Farce on Washington" by Malcolm X. There would be some more opportunities for revolutionary recruitment later in the '60s, but the opportunity for recruiting perhaps *hundreds* of young black leaders to Trotskyism had been missed. The civil rights movement sank into the morass of the Democratic Party, or via the "black power" movement into pork-barrel nationalist politics—that is, those who weren't gunned down or jailed by the state's murderous COINTELPRO campaign.

As we noted in "Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom," adopted by the founding conference of the Spartacist League in 1966, the civil rights movement was rejecting liberalism but, "lacking a conscious orientation towards the working class" the movement "may yet fall prey to bourgeois politicians with radical phrases or else become hopelessly isolated and demoralized." In the upshot, the Coleman Youngs and Tom Bradleys built their Democratic careers on the corpse of the civil rights movement. We are determined that this tragic end will not be repeated. The SL reaffirms the conclusion of "Black and Red": "The victory of the socialist revolution in this country will be achieved through the united struggle of black and white workers under the leadership of the revolutionary vanguard party." ■

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broadcast over the plant's P.A. system and nooses hung from a gate (*New York Times*, 20 June).

Denny's management is hardline anti-union, treating their workers worse than they treat their customers. In Winchester, Virginia outside Washington, when Denny's took over a Big Boy franchise from Marriott that was being organized by Local 25 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union, pro-union workers were left without jobs. In Southern California, a longtime Denny's waitress married to a black man was threatened with firing unless she demanded prepayment *from her own son* who came in with a group of black friends.

What's needed at Denny's, and throughout the open shop South, is a class-struggle union organizing campaign. And that means waging an up-front fight against discrimination and racial oppression. Otherwise, there will be more horrifying atrocities like the deadly fire at the Imperial Food chicken processing plant in Hamlet, North Carolina which incinerated 25 black workers trapped behind fire exits locked by racist bosses to "stop employee theft."

It's a question of class power—no gentlemen's agreement for more black-owned franchises and no lawsuits can change the racist nightmare that is America for the vast majority of black people in this country. The laws are written by the racist, capitalist rulers.

Saturday, July 3—Be There!

In building for the pickets we have been met with an outpouring of spontaneous testimony from people who have had their own experiences with Denny's.

Young Spartacus

It took the Civil War to wipe out chattel slavery. Socialist revolution will put an end to wage slavery and racist oppression.

In the Bay Area, one unionized black airline worker told us how he and 20 coworkers defiantly integrated the Denny's in Daly City near the San Francisco airport. At "Juneteenth" celebrations, at campuses like UC Berkeley, at unionized job sites from longshore paylines to Muni bus barns, the word of the July 3 coast-to-coast protests is getting out.

"Down with Jim Crow at Denny's!" has struck a chord among blacks, Latinos and others in L.A., city of minorities, where the racist cops who tried to lynch Rodney King got off with a slap on the wrist. The Spartacus Youth Club is taking the campaign to UCLA, scene of the recent Chicano studies protests. Campaign organizers are getting out the word to transit workers and ILWU longshoremen at San Pedro. Officials and union activists from the SEIU Local 399 "Justice for Janitors," school bus drivers, and Latino drywall workers are building the protest. Press packets were distributed at a black newspaper publishers convention.

At a rally of 1,000 Caterpillar and Staley workers in Decatur, Illinois, a white IBEW member suggested flooding Denny's with demonstrators in two-hour shifts, like the sit-ins of the civil rights movement. "Next Saturday, be at Denny's," said former Chicago alderman Clifford Kelley after interviewing a campaign organizer on his Saturday morning program on black radio station WGCI. Speaking at a Chicago rally to defend imprisoned American Indian activist Leonard Peltier, Bernard Branche of the Labor Black Struggle League said: "We chose the July 4th weekend to expose the hypocrisy of the so-called 'Liberty Weekend.' What July 4th really means is racism and capitalist exploitation."

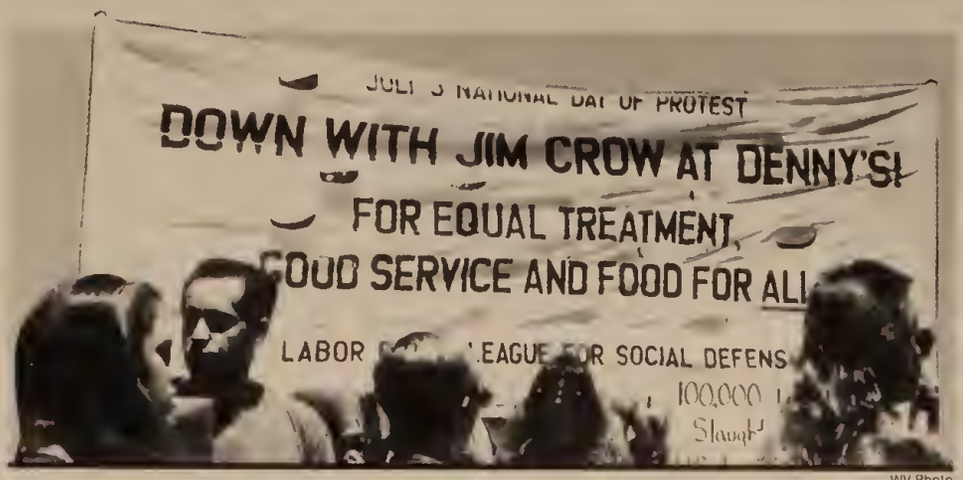
The focus for the Boston protest will be the Denny's in Lexington, a focus of the cross-district METCO school busing program which has provided a small group of black students from Boston access to richer suburban school districts. Long after the collapse of the Boston busing program as a meaningful force for school desegregation, the racist regime of Boston mayor Flynn now seeks to dismantle METCO. Area stations have broadcast the call for the rally, including in Creole.

The Washington-area rally is taking place at the Woodbridge, Virginia Denny's where a choir of black schoolchildren were refused service; appropriately enough, it's located on Jefferson Davis Highway, named after the president of the slaveholding Confederacy. In Atlanta, the president of ATU Local 732 has endorsed, and MARTA transit workers are spreading leaflets around the city.

On July 3, send a message to Denny's management and America's racist, capitalist rulers—*Jim Crow must go!* The integrated working class, oppressed minorities and youth are ready to fight. This campaign against discrimination is part of the program of *revolutionary integrationism*: full social equality for blacks in America can only be won through victorious socialist revolution! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Mobilize to Smash Jim Crow Racism at Denny's!



WV Photo

A crescendo of charges exposing racist discrimination by the Denny's restaurant chain has created a national scandal. From San Diego to South Carolina and Cleveland, reports of incidents are pouring in. The Martin Luther King Children's Choir is turned away at two Denny's restaurants in Virginia. Hispanic students in Santa Cruz, California can't get waited on. Gays in Kansas City are told "we don't serve your kind of people here."

Throughout the country, blacks are forced to wait while whites are served first; required to pay in advance while whites are not; charged a "blacks only" cover charge; given segregated seating in the back; served cold or bad food, insulted, treated like dirt. And if you complain, they call the cops on you. For years, outraged black customers have been forced to endure this racist treatment. Now it's been exposed as company policy. *This institutionalized racism will not be tolerated. We are not going back to the back of the bus!*

The Labor Black Leagues and the Spartacist League have launched a nationwide campaign of protest action to put a stop to Jim Crow segregation at this chain of some 1,300 public eating establishments. On July 3, pickets at Denny's restaurants coast-to-coast will be demanding: "Down with Jim Crow at Denny's!

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Pickets Called Coast-to-Coast July 3

Pickets will take place July 3 at the following locations and times (call for more information):

Atlanta (404) 659-0251
12 noon, 1860 Corporate Square Blvd, NE, Atlanta, GA

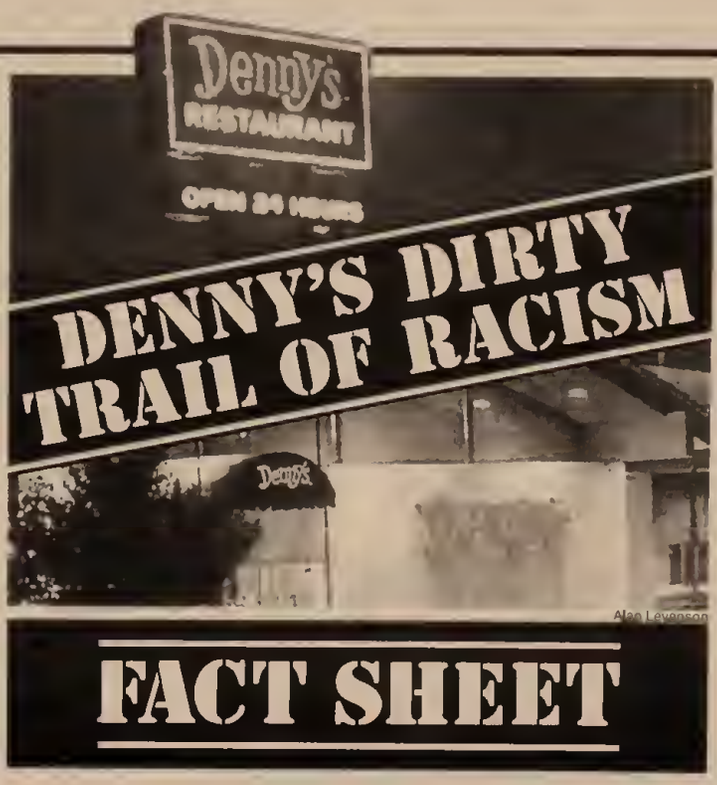
Bay Area (510) 839-0852
12 noon, 1776 Powell St. (at I-80) Emeryville, CA

Boston (617) 492-3928
12 noon, 438 Bedford St., Lexington, MA (exit 31B off Route 128)

Chicago (312) 663-0715
11 a.m., 9217 S. Cicero Ave. Oak Lawn, IL

Los Angeles (213) 380-8239
12 noon, 635 S. Vermont (Vermont and Wilshire), Los Angeles, CA

Washington, D.C. (202) 872-8240
12 noon, 13775 Jefferson Davis Highway (Route 1), Woodbridge, VA



Alan Levenson

FACT SHEET

In 1960, the sit-ins at Woolworth's segregated lunch counters symbolized the growing movement against Jim Crow racism in America. Three decades later, Denny's restaurant chain has become synonymous with the rampant racist discrimination that persists despite formal civil rights. On July 3, the Labor Black Leagues and the Spartacist League will picket Denny's restaurants around the country to demand "Down with Jim Crow at Denny's!" and to demand "equal treatment, good service, and food for *all*!"

In the 1980s, Denny's rapidly expanded, including by buying up a large number of "Sambo's" restaurants—a chain whose name alone was a racist provocation to black America. Headquartered in Spartanburg, South Carolina—in the heart of the old slaveholding Confederacy—Denny's parent company, "Flagstar" (formerly "TW Services") controls more than 1,400 Denny's restaurants which are concentrated on major highways and freeway exits and open 24 hours a day. These restaurants are supposed to be public service facilities, but Denny's racist management wants to keep black people "in their place."

Despite Denny's PR campaign denying discrimination, the incidents keep mounting in this coast-to-coast chain of racism.

• **Racist "pre-pay" policy:** Denny's randomly slaps minorities—black youth in particular—with a "pre-pay" policy which is calculated to drive them away. In a class-action lawsuit against Denny's in California, more than 20 black customers signed affidavits testifying that they were not seated and were denied service unless they agreed to pay a "cover charge" and pre-pay for their meals in full! White teenagers were served at the same restaurant at the same times and were not asked to pre-pay for their meals or assessed a "cover charge." Denise Perryman, a waitress at Denny's in Champaign, Illinois, told management that she objected to the restaurant's policy of pre-payment for black and Hispanic patrons and she refused to discriminate against her customers. Denise Perryman was fired.

• **Police harassment of black customers:** Meling Harrison, Catrena Law and Navjot Nijjar (two black Americans and an East Indian woman), were eating at a Denny's in San Jose, California. The restaurant manager screeched, "there are too many of you here!" Police arrived and were escorted through the restaurant by the manager who directed the cops to eject black patrons, including the Harrison party. The cops forced this group out of the restaurant—and insisted they pay for the meals they weren't even permitted to eat!

• **No happy birthdays for black children:** Denny's advertises complimentary birthday meals. But 13-year-old Rachel Thompson got nothing but humiliation on her birthday on 11 December 1991. The restaurant was almost empty, yet Rachel and her family were made to wait an inordinate time before anyone would even take their order. Despite presentation of a baptismal certificate which verified Rachel's date of birth, she was denied Denny's advertised birthday meal.

• **Racist "blackout" policy:** A former manager of a Northern California Denny's restaurant has acknowledged that during weekly district meetings the term "blackout" was used to describe the scene when "too many" black customers were in any particular restaurant. Denny's district managers instructed store managers to "start cracking down and get rid of some of those blackouts."

• **The "back of the bus" treatment:** Across the country, black people have been made to stand and wait and denied service while white customers who arrive after them are promptly seated and courteously served. A recent case in Annapolis, Maryland involved six black Secret Service agents who were denied service on April 1, the very day that Denny's signed a consent decree with the Justice Department promising an end to

continued on page 10

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 580 | 16 July 1993

Workers Movement Must Mobilize to Defend Immigrants!

Racist Anti-Immigrant Frenzy in "Fortress Europe"

From the beer halls of western Germany to the city halls of northern Italy, violent anti-immigrant racism is on the rise. The capitalist rulers of West Europe, aided and abetted by their fascist stormtroopers, are waging a racist war of terror, repression and deportations against foreign-born workers.

Following months of officially inspired and tolerated racist terror and pogroms, the German Bundestag recently revoked the constitutional right of political asylum. In France, the new right-wing government of Prime Minister Balladur has declared the goal of "zero immigration" and revives Vichy-era images of Jews being loaded into boxcars, while its police terrorize Arab and black African youth in the ghettos. In Italy, the newly elected mayor of Milano, a leader of the fascistic Northern League, threatens to expel "illegal" immigrants from the country's financial capital.

The fascists are the shock troops of "ethnic cleansing," West European style. German Nazis "celebrated" Bonn's anti-asylum law with the arson murder of five Turkish women and young girls in the Ruhr industrial city of Solingen at the end of May. At almost the same moment, two dormitories

continued on page 5

AP

Police attack Turks protesting Nazi firebomb attack which killed five women and children in Solingen, Germany.

French Rail Workers Protest Deportations

Background to the Balkans: Imperialist Hypocrisy, Capitalist Counterrevolution

"Ethnic Cleansing" and Nationalist Wars

Der Spiegel

Historic city of Dubrovnik being shelled during savage nationalist warfare between Serbs and Croats.

Part One of Two

For the second time in this century, internecine Balkan wars are threatening to explode in a wider European conflagration drawing in the imperialist powers. Counterrevolution has unleashed an orgy of nationalist bloodletting. The Western capitalist media and governments launched a steady propaganda barrage denouncing Serbian "ethnic cleansing" to prepare public opinion for military intervention. This has had considerable effect among liberals and social democrats, as many veterans of past "peace" movements have become enthusiastic champions of sending in the troops. Yet as the imperialists vacillate, hesitating to jump feet first into the Yugoslav quagmire, they now are admitting that unspeakable atrocities abound on all sides.

The nationalist wars unleashed by the destruction of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are now entering their third year. Beginning with the withdrawal of the federal army from northwestern Slovenia after a few days of skirmishes in July 1991, the drive to cohere capitalist nation-states soon led to communal bloodbaths, as wide regions dominated by the Serbian minority sought to break away from the Croatian state proclaimed by fascistic strongman Franjo Tudjman. After the fighting in Croatia reached a stalemate, a declaration of independence by the Muslim-dominated Bosnian government touched off a vicious three-sided communal war of Serbs, Croats and Muslims which has engulfed the region of Bosnia-Hercegovina for the past 15 months. Here as in Croatia, German imperialism was a key force pushing to dismember Yugoslavia.

For months, the United Nations was pushing the so-called "Vance-Owen plan" for a "multi-ethnic" Bosnia divided into ethnic "cantons." But this diplomatic gambit shattered against Serbian military intransigence. On June 16, Croatia's Tudjman and Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic announced they had agreed to a partition of Bosnia into three nominally federated Serb, Croat and Muslim states. The plan was immediately rejected by Bosnia's hardline Muslim president Alija Izetbegovic, but the European powers, UN negotiators and U.S. president Clinton are pressing hard for its acceptance. Western rad-libs rail against "rewarding ethnic cleansing." But their solution of a "multi-ethnic" capitalist Bosnia is no more democratic,

continued on page 6

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Mandela/De Klerk: Partners in Neo-Apartheid

Mandela, De Klerk, Clinton. Architects of neo-apartheid get blessing from imperialist chief, July 4, in Philadelphia.

WV Photo

The 4th of July in Philadelphia saw the spectacle of Nelson Mandela, South Africa's former leading black political prisoner, reunited with his jailer, F.W. De Klerk, the head of the apartheid regime. The two were joint recipients of the "Liberty Medal" in honor of the "founding fathers" of American "democracy." Also on the platform were Bill Clinton, the bomber of Baghdad and butcher of Waco, along with such local notables as Mayor Edward Rendell (former D.A. under Wilson Goode, who oversaw the bombing of MOVE) and Leon Sullivan (father of the long-forgotten "Sullivan Principles" of corporate "commitment" to end racism in South African subsidiaries of American companies).

Meanwhile, back in Johannesburg, hundreds of armed Nazis stormed the "constitutional negotiations," driving an armored truck through the plate-glass door of the Jo'burg World Trade Center, pistol-whipping and punching terrified delegates, while riot police stood by. The African National Congress and its government negotiating partners hastened to agree that such ongoing state-supported terror would not derail the talks, nor the Mandela/De Klerk American tour, whose purpose is to line up World Bank, IMF and American capitalist investment, as well as campaign funds for next April's elections in the "post-apartheid state."

New York Times correspondent Bill Keller commented on this strange new "normalcy": "Mr. Mandela is hopping from fund-raising dinner to fund-raising dinner, squeezing corporate fat cats for campaign contributions and touting his country's business climate." Some Americans still choke on "this spectacle of South Africa's liberation hero soliciting not their moral indignation, but their cash," he writes.

Kept well out of ear-and-photo shot from the notables were more than 600 demonstrators who marched on Independence Mall denouncing the Philly "black elected officials" for sharing the stage with De Klerk. "Mandela, yes! De Klerk, no!" they chanted. This is a cover-up for the ANC and South African Communist Party, the chief collaborators in neo-apartheid "power sharing," who have betrayed the revolutionary aspirations and struggle for freedom of 30 million black South Africans.

The impossibility of this position was captured by columnist Clark DeLeon, who wrote:

> "Do I cheer for Mandela and jeer de Klerk? Do I applaud one and not the other? What exactly is the sound of one hand clapping? How can I stand for Jesus and sit for Caesar if they link arms on the same stage....
> "If Nelson Mandela thought it was inappropriate to accept the Liberty Medal alongside FW de Klerk, why didn't Mandela refuse the award the same way North Vietnamese government negotiator Le Duc Tho refused to accept the Nobel Peace Prize in 1973 because the co-recipient was U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger?"
>
> —*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 4 July

In fact, the Mandela/De Klerk award reflects the grotesque logic of the popular front, the "unity" of oppressed and oppressor parties, for the purpose of demoralizing the working masses and *heading off the struggle to smash apartheid slavery through socialist revolution.*

American blacks and workers must break with the racist Democratic Party, from the Clinton White House to the dwindling number of black mayors who act as overseers policing the inner-city ghettos and barrios. South Africa's powerful and combative black working class must break the ANC/SACP stranglehold which holds it in thrall. Forge an internationalist revolutionary party to lead the fight for workers power! ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

From the French Revolution to the Paris Commune

Bastille Day, July 14, marks the anniversary of the French Revolution of 1789, whose promise of "liberty, equality, fraternity" shook the autocratic ruling classes of its day and marked the high point of the young bourgeoisie as a revolutionary class. However, the emancipatory goals of the French Revolution were constrained and ultimately frustrated by the continued existence of bourgeois private property. Basing himself on the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871, Karl Marx emphasized that only by erecting such a proletarian state power could the basis be laid for a truly egalitarian society eliminating the exploitation and inequities inherent under capitalism.

The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes.

The centralized state power, with its ubiquitous organs of standing army, police, bureaucracy, clergy, and judicature—organs wrought after the plan of a systematic and hierarchic division of labour—originates from the days of absolute monarchy, serving nascent middle-class society as a mighty weapon in its struggles against feudalism. Still, its development remained clogged by all manner of medieval rubbish, seignorial rights, local privileges, municipal and guild monopolies and provincial constitutions. The gigantic broom of the French revolution of the eighteenth century swept away all these relics of bygone times, thus clearing simultaneously the social soil of its last hindrances to the superstructure of the modern state edifice raised under the First Empire, itself the offspring of the coalition wars of old semi-feudal Europe against modern France.... After every revolution marking a progressive phase in the class struggle, the purely repressive character of the state power stands out in bolder and bolder relief. The revolution of 1830, resulting in the transfer of government from the landlords to the capitalists, transferred it from the more remote to the more direct antagonists of the working men. The bourgeois republicans, who, in the name of the revolution of February [1848], took the state power, used it for the June massacres, in order to convince the working class that "social" republic meant the republic ensuring their social subjection, and in order to convince the royalist bulk of the bourgeois and landlord class that they might safely leave the cares and emoluments of government to the bourgeois "republicans."...

The cry of "social republic," with which the revolution of February was ushered in by the Paris proletariat, did but express a vague aspiration after a republic that was not only to supersede the monarchical form of class rule, but class rule itself. The Commune was the positive form of that republic....

The political rule of the producer cannot coexist with the perpetuation of his social slavery. The Commune was therefore to serve as a lever for uprooting the economical foundations upon which rests the existence of classes, and therefore of class rule. With labour emancipated, every man becomes a working man, and productive labour ceases to be a class attribute.

—Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France* (1871)

350 March in Philly: "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!"

WV Photo

On July 3, over 350 people took to the streets of Philadelphia for a march and rally in support of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Jamal is a former Black Panther and award-winning journalist who became known as the "voice of the voiceless" for his crusading radio reporting.

The march and rally, sponsored by the Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, the Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition and Equal Justice, took place eleven years from the day that a nearly all-white jury eager to rush home for the July 4th holiday sentenced Jamal to die. The Partisan Defense Committee joined the protest, raising its banner, "Abolish the Racist Death Penalty! Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!" Speaking for the PDC, Ed Kartsen called on the multiracial union movement to rally to Jamal's defense.

It will take an international campaign of protest to stop the state's murder machine. Join the campaign to free Jamal and stop "legal" lynching! Contact the PDC at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Hyundai Strike Jolts South Korea

TOKYO, July 11—After nearly a month of limited work actions, on July 7, 60,000 workers at the Hyundai monopoly staged a one-day general strike in Ulsan, South Korea, shutting down eight of the corporate giant's nine major divisions, including its heavy industry and auto companies.

This is the first big class battle by the combative South Korean proletariat since the election of President Kim Young Sam last December, which was touted as a triumph for "democracy" after decades of untrammeled police-state rule. But despite Kim's credentials as a former "dissident" and the first president who did not emerge from the military, the new regime is proving that it is no less an enemy of the working class than its bonapartist predecessors. The government has ordered the arrest of the strike leaders, while unleashing its riot police against militant student protesters.

On the eve of President Clinton's visit to Seoul after the Tokyo summit of the Group of Seven imperialist powers, the Kim government flooded the streets and campuses of the capital with thousands of cops, putting the country's 140,000 police on full alert. On Friday, 500 anti-Clinton demonstrators were arrested in Seoul. Yesterday, riot police fired tear gas at a thousand protesters, wounding dozens, in the southern city of Kwangju, scene of the bloody 1980 massacre of anti-government protesters carried out with the complicity of U.S. occupation forces.

AP

Clinton photo op, saber rattling at the North Korean border. U.S. Imperialism out of Korea!

While Kim joined Clinton in saber rattling against the North Korean Stalinist regime's supposed nuclear weapons program, it is the South Korean proletariat which poses a real threat to the continued rule of the U.S.-sponsored capitalist state in the South. The South Korean "economic miracle" is based upon brutal and naked exploitation. Yet despite ruthless police-state measures and the outlawing of genuine unions, South Korea has been repeatedly racked by waves of militant workers' struggles. Today the bourgeoisie is upset that real wages in South Korea are higher than in the sweatshops of Singapore and Taiwan. Kim was put into office by the *chaebol* monopoly magnates with the aim of carrying out a vicious austerity program, obscenely lecturing the impoverished working class that "Money Is Sin, Poverty Is Pride"!

Earlier this year the employers association and the pro-government trade-union federation agreed to limit wage increases to under 9 percent so the South Korean bourgeoisie could enhance its "competitiveness" in the current international economic recession. Kim hoped that his reform credentials would lull the working class into accepting the government's "share the sacrifice" rhetoric, and for a few months it worked. During the first quarter of 1993, labor disputes were down 63 percent from last year. But a strike at the Apollo Industrial Company, a major auto parts supplier for Hyundai, exposed the lying "class peace" pablum the Kim government was trying to spoon-feed the working class. In a predawn raid on May 6, 200 cops stormed the Apollo factory, arresting three union leaders.

Financial Times

Striking Hyundai workers mass in Ulsan on July 7. Combative South Korean proletariat can spark revolutionary struggle north and south of 38th parallel.

This was a prelude to the major confrontation brewing over austerity cutbacks at Hyundai's Ulsan plants. Hyundai eagerly applied the government's single-digit pay raise target, offering a miserly 4.7 percent wage increase. While the company union accepted the deal, the independent Hyundai Federation of Affiliated Labor Unions (Hyunchongnyon) began a series of selective strikes and slowdowns on June 14 to demand a 16.4 percent raise and—openly defying government statutes—companywide collective bargaining. After a massive June 30 rally in Ulsan that drew 40,000 workers, the union returned to work as a gesture of goodwill.

As we go to press this new outburst of class struggle is at a standstill. The Kim government, posturing as a "civilian" alternative to police-state rule, has been reluctant to call out its repressive forces to crush the Hyundai workers, while chafing under criticism from the bourgeois press that it is soft on labor. The union leadership has also sought to avoid a major confrontation, employing selective strike tactics. The massive July 7 strike, however, is an indication of how solid the Hyundai workers are in their resolve to beat back austerity cutbacks.

Hyundai intends either to grind the workers into submission or to eventually have government troops and cops sent in to crush them. To win, the Hyundai workers must organize an all-out strike and extend it to other strategic sections of South Korean industry, like the Daewoo group, one of the other four major *chaebols*.

Opposition to the Kim Regime Grows

The honeymoon is over for the Kim Young Sam government. During its first 100 days in office it worked hard to cultivate a populist image, declaring war on corruption. Kim has appeared on TV eating a simple noodle lunch, in contrast to his predecessor Roh Tae Woo's lavish steak dinners. The parliament recently passed an assets disclosure bill for lawmakers, adding to the reform image of the new president. But media manipulation could not suppress sharp class antagonisms for long. The Hyundai strike heralds a new wave of class struggle in South Korea. Already on June 28, 4,000 teachers marched through Seoul demanding recognition of their outlawed union and reinstatement of 1,500 fired union members.

Kim's reform image has also run afoul of student activists who have been demanding that Roh Tae Woo and former dictator Chun Doo Hwan, who ordered the 1980 Kwangju massacre, be brought to justice. The government tried to dissipate student anger by "retiring" five generals associated with the massacre and offering compensation to victims' families, as well as other cosmetic concessions. But fearful of alienating the army and police, Kim refused to authorize a government investigation of Chun and Roh, calling for "forgiveness" and reconciliation. The militant students rejected Kim's pleas, and embarked on a series of demonstrations on the eve of the annual commemoration of the 18 May 1980 massacre.

Six days after riot police attacked a May 11 protest, student demonstrators stormed a Kwangju police headquarters demanding the removal of the police chief who initiated the assault. That same day, 3,000 students marched in Seoul demanding an official investigation of the 1980 massacre. On May 31, one cop was killed as participants in the founding of a new national student organization, Hanchongryan, clashed with police who tried to stop them from marching to Panmunjom, where the 1953 "truce" with North Korea was signed. The protesters also demonstratively held a banned phone conversation with North Korean students in Beijing. The government responded by outlawing the new organization and launching a manhunt to arrest five student leaders for violating the National Security Act.

The government's repression of these students for contact with North Korea together with Clinton's visit to Seoul serve to underscore that the Cold War is not over on the Korean peninsula. Arrogantly flaunting America's megadeath nuclear arsenal, the "New World Order" C-in-C trekked up to the 38th parallel DMZ to pontificate about the danger of "nuclear proliferation" and to threaten North Koreans with a nuclear holocaust which would be "the end of their country." Forty years after the end of the Korean War, in which three million Koreans were slaughtered by the U.S.-led invasion forces, 36,000 American troops remain in South Korea, a deadly threat to the deformed workers state in the North.

Imperialism wants to destroy North Korea as part of its drive to extend to Asia the counterrevolution that inundated East Europe and the USSR. The Korean proletariat must join hands across the 38th parallel to carry out a proletarian political revolution to oust the Kim Il Sung Stalinist dynasty, whose stifling grip on the working class and program of "socialism in half a country" undermines the defense of the North Korean workers state, coupled with socialist revolution in the South to defeat the *chaebol* capitalists and once and for all drive imperialism off the Korean peninsula. The key task facing the combative South Korean proletariat and militant student leftists today is the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist party.

Victory to the Hyundai workers! Free all arrested leftists and unionists! Defend North Korea—U.S. troops out of the South! For revolutionary reunification of Korea! ■

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Workers League vs. the Unions

For more than five months, United Mine Workers members have been battling the coal bosses with one hand tied behind their backs, straitjacketed by UMW president Richard Trumka's "selective strike" scam. From the outset, *Workers Vanguard* has told miners the truth: to wage a militant strike "means a clean break from Trumka's Democratic Party 'friends' like Clinton, and a fight for a workers party.... You need a class-struggle leadership prepared to take on the Taft-Hartley 'slave labor' law, court injunctions and the cops, as well as the capitalist politicians from plutocrat Democrat Jay Rockefeller to 'right to work' Clinton" (*WV* No. 570, 26 February).

When *WV* teams traveled through the coal fields of southern Illinois and West Virginia, miners were receptive to our call for a solid strike to reverse the gutting of their union at the hands of the coal bosses and the UMW bureaucracy. But the *Bulletin* (5 March) of David North's Workers League (WL) vituperated against our article for "promoting syndicalist nostrums" and "bankrupt illusions in trade union reformism." In a piece entitled "Trumka's Accomplices," after a few swipes at the craven apologists for the UMW bureaucracy in the Communist Party (CP), Workers World and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the Northites turn to their real target, the Spartacist League: "The February 26 edition of their weekly paper *Workers Vanguard* carried an article which presented the bureaucracy as waging a serious fight against the coal bosses."

And how, pray tell, do we do that—by our call, "Coal Miners: Fight for a National Strike!" (*WV* No. 569, 12 February)? According to the *Bulletin*, "The Spartacists issue their appeals not to the working class but to its corrupt bureaucratic leadership. They cover up the transformation of the UMWA under the grip of the bureaucracy into an appendage of the coal bosses and the government." Similarly, North's German followers recently denounced our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party as a "left fig leaf for the trade-union bureaucracy" (*Neue Arbeiterpresse*, 14 May) for the *Spartakist* headline during the recent East German metal workers strike, "Metal, Steel, Coal: Full Strike Now, East and West!" (along with the kicker "Workers Must Fight for Power!").

Interestingly, the 21 June *Bulletin* headlines, "It Is Time for a Nationwide Strike," but they coyly put this in the mouth of a "West Virginia miner." Above all, for the WL *there is no possibility of a fight for the union* to wage a national strike. Equating the pro-capitalist bureaucracy with the union as a whole, the political bandits of the WL are currently claiming that the unions are in *no* sense working-class organizations.

This is pretty rich coming from North & Co., who for years have issued endless appeals to the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO traitors to do everything from call a general strike to form a labor party! As recently as the 1990-91 New York *Daily News* strike, when striking pressmen gave the WL some heat over the lack of a union bug on their rag, we were taken to task by the Northites: "Spartacist never makes any demands on the New York AFL-CIO" (*Bulletin*, 16 November 1990).

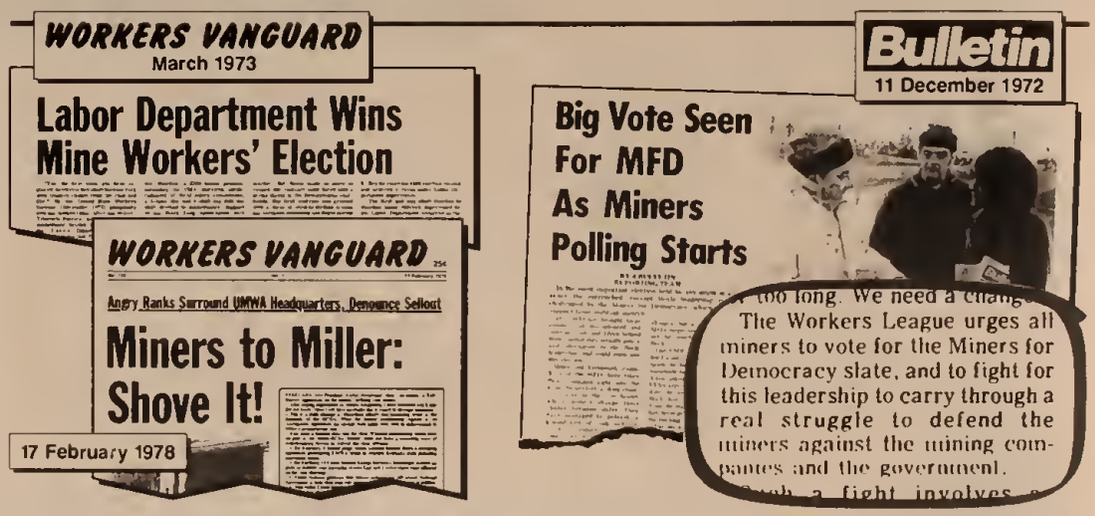
The one constant for the Northites is their identification of the unions with the pro-capitalist bureaucratic apparatus which chains them to the bosses' state. Thus the WL has never fought to *unchain the unions*. Quite the contrary, from Arnold Miller to the 1985-86 Hormel meatpackers strike, they have supported government intervention into the unions.

It is crucial that class-struggle militants recognize that the regime atop the UMW today is the continuation of the pro-Labor Department bureaucracy *that was installed with the approval and assistance of the capitalist government*—and to the applause of most of the left, from the reformist Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party to the Workers League. In our coverage of the miners' class battles, we have repeatedly pointed to the key question—fighting for the independence of the union from the capitalist state:

> "From the Labor Department campaign of Arnold Miller, to Carter/Mondale's use of Taft-Hartley against the long, bitter 1977-78 strike, to Trumka's bowing before the injunctions of the coal company judges during the Pittston strike, the miners' historic militancy has been throttled in the service of the bosses' parties and the capitalist state."
>
> —*WV* No. 569, 12 February

The Spartacist League stood virtually alone on the left 20 years ago in refusing to capitulate to the Labor Department-run Miners for Democracy "rank and file" opposition in the UMW. Though many miners only came to recognize Miller as the class traitor he was during the coal strike of 1977-78, we told the truth from the beginning:

> "For communists, whose fundamental aim in the labor movement is to transform the unions into a tool of the revolutionary will of the proletariat, no reform can increase the power of the working class if it is won by placing the unions under the trusteeship of the capitalist state, thus destroying the first precondition for their mobilization in the struggle to smash that state."
>
> —"Labor Department Wins Mine Workers' Election," *WV* No. 17, 17 March 1973



Spartacist League told miners the truth: Arnold Miller and "Miners for Democracy" subordinated union to the capitalist state. Workers League backed these Labor Department "reformers."

In recent years, the WL pretends they always opposed Miller et al., whom they now term "'reform' candidates backed by the capitalist state. In the 1970s, the Labor Department put Arnold Miller in as head of the Miners for Democracy movement to suppress the powerful rebellion against the gangster leadership of UMWA President Tony Boyle" (*Bulletin*, 2 November 1990). But in the 1970s, when North was "Labor Editor," the *Bulletin* (11 December 1972) hailed the MFD as "a real alternative to the Boyle leadership" and called on "all miners to vote for the Miners for Democracy slate, and to fight for this leadership to carry through a real struggle to defend the miners against the mining companies and the government"!

A few months before that, North himself held an "exclusive interview" with hidebound anti-Communist Steelworkers president I.W. Abel—in his Miami Beach hotel room, no less—where North enthused about the "developing breakthrough between the labor movement and the Democratic Party" (*Bulletin*, 24 July 1972). This was at a time when the Meanyite bureaucracy stood *to the right* of significant sections of the ruling class on the burning question of the Vietnam War. North reprinted excerpts from a speech to the AFL-CIO convention in which Abel "broke" with Democratic "peace" candidate McGovern, meticulously editing out his endorsement of the right-wing Democratic "Senator for Boeing" Henry Jackson.

Has North come clean after two decades of tailing the racist, anti-Communist AFL-CIO lieutenants of capital? Hardly. Since parting ways with his lord and mentor Gerry Healy (when their "International Committee" spectacularly imploded after the blood money from Arab sheiks dried up), North has continued as a political bandit who, as we put it, "will show any flag to attack any target. For this, the CIA-inspired graduate departments of elite universities attended by those among North and his crew were a good classroom. It, at the least, taught them how to write on every side of the question, like the position papers of the State Department" ("Why *Should* Anyone Believe David North?" *WV* No. 487, 13 October 1989).

Take the "Russian question." Trotsky argued, against those who wrote off the Soviet Union, that just as militant workers defend a trade union under bureaucratic leadership against the employers' attacks, so must they defend against imperialism the bureaucratically degenerated workers state. For decades—whether under Healy or without him—North tailed every anti-Soviet force from the "AFL-CIA" to Polish Solidarność, the CIA-sponsored Afghan *mujahedin* and the Lithuanian Sajudis. When Yeltsin formally dissolved the USSR in December 1991, North rushed to announce the death of the Soviet workers state. And in a grotesque inversion of Trotsky's argument, North wrote off the unions as well, saying that "to define the AFL-CIO as a working class organization is to blind the working class" ("The End of the USSR," *Bulletin*, 10 January 1992).

Over 50 years ago, Trotsky wrote of "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (August 1940):

> "They can no longer be reformist, because the objective conditions leave no room for any serious and lasting reforms. The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution; or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

Subsequent historical development has fully borne out Trotsky's warning. The anti-Communist trade-union bureaucracy installed in the Cold War is so beholden to the bourgeoisie that it has presided over the destruction of union gains and whole unions, like PATCO. Writing about the closing of the auto plants in Detroit, already a decade ago we denounced United Auto Workers leader "Doug Fraser: Company Cop" (*WV* No. 330, 20 May 1983). But the unions themselves remain the principal mass organizations of the working class, and the point Trotsky was underlining was the necessity for a communist struggle for leadership.

As always with the shameless opportunists of the WL, even as they deny that the *unions* are any longer workers organizations, this doesn't stop them from appealing to the wretched *bureaucracy* in North's vile campaign of helping to railroad Mark Curtis, a member of the SWP, into a 25-year prison term on frame-up charges of burglary and sexual abuse. Thus the 13 September 1991 *Bulletin* ran an article headlined "Iowa AFL-CIO Denounces Mark Curtis Campaign," complete with photo of Iowa AFL-CIO South Central Federation of Labor president Perry Chapin! The WL reprinted the bureaucrats' entire resolution, including a call on the national convention of the AFL-CIO to "refuse any support to the Mark Curtis defense campaign."

And today, the Northites will in one and the same issue of the *Bulletin* (12 February) compare the UMW to a "company union"—which the workers must seek to smash—while trumpeting headlines from the coal fields calling for (that "syndicalist nostrum"?) a national UMW strike! Writing off the unions' potential to act in pursuit of the class struggle and kowtowing to the pro-capitalist bureaucracy are flip sides of the same coin. Both variants *exclude* a communist *political* struggle within the unions. But though the WL's two postures may be symmetrical, they imply rather different appetites, and one thing we know about the WL is that it determines its "political" positions by their utility in pursuit of egregiously corrupt (often financial) self-interest.

What new appetite does the WL's anti-union incarnation serve? We don't know, but we notice the *Bulletin*'s recent makeover into a yuppified, expensive-looking weekly done up in modish earth tones. The great prevaricator Stalin once boasted that "paper will take anything written on it," and the WL evidently intends to prove that fancy paper will, too. ■

Anti-Immigrant Frenzy...

(continued from page 1)

housing North Africans in Rome were burned down. Even immigrants who have supposedly made it up the ladder of capitalist society are targets of racist terror: a Turkish-owned factory was torched in Grenoble, France and a swastika scrawled on the charred walls.

But from Rostock to Rome, the escalating barrage of anti-immigrant attacks has impelled a whole layer of newly radicalized youth to take to the streets, not just in hypocritical "love-thy-neighbor" "chains of light" sponsored by bourgeois and reformist politicians, but in mass, militant anti-racist mobilizations.

On June 19, tens of thousands marched through Paris to protest the new "Nationality Code" of right-wing interior minister Charles Pasqua. Last fall in Italy, 200,000 marched against racist attacks, and outraged Jewish youth in Rome responded to anti-Semitic desecrations by sacking a fascist headquarters. Germany, east and west, has witnessed repeated demonstrations by anti-racist and immigrant youth, including sons and daughters of the nearly two million Turks, who form a strategic component of the workforce in key industries.

Sections of the International Communist League have actively intervened in the struggle against racist attacks, calling for mobilizing the social power of the proletariat to fight fascist terror and government attacks on immigrants. Today in France, outrage among wide sectors of the organized labor movement over the government's plans to load "illegal" immigrants onto trains for deportation creates an opportunity for carrying out mass labor-centered struggle against the bourgeoisie's racist immigration policies.

Following a call by the CGT trade-union federation for a June 12 protest against the deportations, our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) mass-distributed a leaflet headlined: "Down with Mitterrand-Balladur's Racist War! No Expulsions! Railroad Workers Have the Power: Stop the Expulsion/Deportation Trains!" Some 400 people turned out to the protest at the Gare de Lyon train station in Paris.

While many of the left and anti-racist groups contented themselves with empty declarations against the "trains of shame," a number of Turkish and second-generation North African youth raised our signs and chanted with us, "No to the deportation trains—Rail workers must stop them!" and "Full citizenship rights for immigrants!"

AP

Top: "Yesterday Jews, Today Turks." Banner protesting wave of Nazi terror in Germany, fostered by government campaign against immigrants. Bottom: Paris plainclothes cops attack minority youth during protests over police murder of African youth in April.

Grégoire Korganov

Post-Cold War Europe: Ugly and Violent

The bourgeois politicians and media seek to blame the upsurge of anti-immigrant racism on working-class fears of losing their jobs to foreigners and popular resentment over high taxes going into welfare payments for asylum seekers from Third World countries and East Europe.

"Only if we control and limit immigration more effectively," states German Christian Democratic parliamentary leader Wolfgang Schäuble, "can we ensure peaceful and amicable coexistence." Likewise, Pasqua, architect of France's new "zero immigration" policy, argues: "If we don't hold this line firmly, public opinion will harden and the country will drift to the extreme right." The implication is that "distasteful" measures are being forced upon these "respectable" mainstream politicians by racist mobs in the streets.

In reality, the fascists are taking their cue from the bourgeoisie. Underlying the current upsurge of anti-immigrant racism is the combined effect of counterrevolution in East Europe and capitalist economic crisis in the West. During the Cold War, Western imperialism found it opportune to strike a liberal democratic pose vis-à-vis the Soviet bloc. West Germany pointed to its constitutional right of asylum as a way of dissociating itself from the racist totalitarianism of the Nazi Third Reich. To subvert the bureaucratically ruled workers states, the West made a show of welcoming "refugees" from "Communist" countries.

But with the victory of bourgeois counterrevolution in East Europe, the West European rulers have cynically scrapped their liberal posture on immigration. Italian gunships now patrol the Adriatic to stop Albanian boat people from coming ashore.

Meanwhile, the imperialist bourgeoisies seek to use their neocolonial neighbors as gendarmes against and dumping grounds for unwanted immigrants. Germany recently closed a deal with Walesa to turn Poland into a heavily policed holding pen for asylum seekers from other countries, while Washington browbeats Mexico to accept hundreds of Chinese immigrants headed for the U.S. who were intercepted by the Coast Guard on the high seas.

Yet the economic immiseration and fratricidal nationalism resulting from capitalist counterrevolution have produced a flood of desperate refugees from East Europe. A majority of the over 100,000 people seeking asylum in Germany the first part of this year were Roma (Gypsies) fleeing murderous repression in Romania, and Croats, Serbs and Bosnian Muslims driven from their homes in the communalist wars unleashed by the breakup of Yugoslavia.

Now the Western imperialists aim to imprison the peoples of East Europe in the hellish conditions created in the cause of anti-Communism. The pro-Yeltsin *Moscow News* remarked caustically: "An Iron Curtain has dropped before the majority of those wanting to enter [West] Europe."

The immigrant communities in West Europe have become the target of triumphalist nationalism heightened by NATO imperialism's victory in the Cold War. This is especially apparent in the German Fourth Reich, where the growth of Nazi skinhead gangs is a byproduct of the capitalist reunification which swallowed up and laid waste to the former German Democratic Republic (DDR). Over *7,500* violent attacks on foreigners have taken place since the Deutsche Bank bought out the DDR in 1990, including at least 30 racist murders in 1992 alone!

The expansion of the postwar West European economy was vitally dependent on the large-scale importation of cheap foreign labor. Over the past decade, West European capitalism lost ground in the world market to Japan and its East Asian satellites. The relative economic decline has been punctuated by a major and prolonged downturn. There are now *20 million unemployed*—over 10 percent of the labor force—in the European Community.

Mired in a deepening recession, European capital no longer needs cheap imported labor on the previous scale. To save the costs of unemployment insurance, socialized medicine and other social programs, the bosses want to ship "surplus" workers back to the hideous poverty of their Third World neocolonies.

At the same time, anti-immigrant racism is being used to divert working-class anger, as the immigrant community is scapegoated for the deteriorating economic conditions. The bankruptcy of François Mitterrand's social-democratic regime—which for a decade presided over 10 percent unemployment—gave rise to the largest fascist party in West Europe, Le Pen's National Front.

Last spring the right-wing bourgeois parties (a coalition of Gaullists and Giscardians) regained power mainly by co-opting the Front's anti-immigrant program and racist demagogy. French police greeted the rightist victory with a racist killing spree which left two North Africans and a Zairian youth dead.

Defeat Anti-Immigrant Racism Through Class Struggle!

However, the immigrant communities *are not helpless* in the face of fascist terror or government attacks. Despite the recession, foreign workers retain *strategically powerful* positions in the West European economies—Turks in Germany's heavy industry, North Africans in France's auto plants. Thus the struggle against anti-immigrant racism in all its manifestations—from the fascist firebombing of hostels to government deportations—is necessarily centered on the struggle to mobilize the working class against the decaying capitalist system.

The question of anti-immigrant racism has become the main battleground between left and right in West Europe, between the workers movement and the forces of bourgeois reaction. Throughout Europe, the ICL has intervened with a proletarian perspective into the developing movements of radical anti-racist youth, seeking to bring the big battalions of the industrial proletariat into battle against the forces of anti-immigrant racism.

Last January, in the face of expected Nazi rampages on the 60th anniversary of Hitler's taking power, the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) issued an urgent appeal, "Workers, Immigrants, Anti-Fascists: Defend the Hostels!", that was endorsed by an array of union organizations, socialist groups and immigrants. On the night of January 30, the SpAD organized an exemplary united-front action in defense of a large immigrant hostel in Berlin.

While sabotage by the Social Democratic bureaucracy prevented a full-fledged workers defense with organized trade-union participation, that possibility now exists in France, where the historically militant railroad workers union, part of the Communist-led CGT federation, has challenged the new right-wing government's move to expel over 50,000 "illegal" immigrants.

The deportations were thwarted initially when airline pilots refused to fly deportees out of the country. The plan is now to place them in special trains bound for the port of Marseilles, from where they will be shipped to North Africa.

An open letter (28 June) from the leadership of the CGT railroad workers to the head of the state-owned rail system recalled: "In other times in our history, human beings deemed unwelcome were forcibly transported by train. These are painful memories." Everyone in France is reminded of the special trains which, under the Vichy regime, carried 70,000 Jews and 50,000 Communists and other resistance fighters to Nazi death camps in Germany and East Europe.

The open letter concluded: "Our federation, like the CGT as a whole, will aim to bring together the broadest range of forces to prevent these barbaric practices." It is urgently necessary to translate words into *effective action*. The LTF has agitated for "massive demonstrations to support the railroad workers" and to "call for *working-class demonstrations at every scheduled departure, to stop the trains*."

The LTF call to action said: "Through these mobilizations against racist/fascist terror and against the bourgeoisie's anti-working-class offensive, the working people must build a leadership armed with the revolutionary program to lead them to victory." ■

"Ethnic Cleansing"...

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denying the right of self-determination for Croats and Serbs who have amply demonstrated they don't want to live in the same state as the Muslims, or each other.

For months, the Western media have focused on Serbian war crimes and closed their eyes to atrocities committed by the Croats and the Bosnian Muslims. Belgrade's nationalist leader Milosevic, whose drive for a Greater Serbia sparked the breakup of the Yugoslav deformed wnrkers state, is portrayed as a new Hitler. (They seldom mention that the Serbian opposition led by Vuk Draskovic is no less nationalist, identifying with the Serb "Chetnik" cutthroats in World War II.) But as the U.S. backed away from sending troops into Bosnia, suddenly the press discovered Croat "death squads" wiping out Muslim villages, and belatedly printed reports of Muslim forces torturing their Croat prisoners to death last spring and now driving thousands of Croat villagers from their homes in central Bosnia.

And then, just as they report the Bosnian partition plan, the *New York Times* (17 June) finds fit to print that *this very same plan* was adopted in Lisbon on 18 March 1992, when leaders of the Bosnian Muslims, Serbs and Croats "agreed to partition the republic into three ethnically based cantons." However, the plan was *torn up* by the Bosnian Muslim leaders on the urging of the Western powers:

> "On returning to Sarajevo, Mr. Izetbegovic was encouraged by United States and European Community diplomats to choose instead a sovereign Bosnia and Herzegovina under his presidency, saying that was justified by the referendum on March 1 on independence. The problem with that referendum was that although the Bosnian Muslims and Croats overwhelmingly endorsed it, the Bosnian Serbs boycotted it, warning that it was a prelude to civil war.
> "After the European Community and the United States recognized the Izetbegovic Government, on April 6 and 7, 1992, the Bosnian Serbs attacked."

That these basic facts have gone unmentioned for the past year and a quarter is a prime example of how the "free but responsible" press is manipulated by the imperialists for their bellicose aims.

Social counterrevolution has again turned the Balkans into the flash point of nationalist hatreds, and communal warfare in the former Yugoslavia could be the spark that touches off the tinder of generalized war as it inexorably spreads. When Clinton took office, he presented Bosnia as a test case of the ability of the U.S. to impose its will in the "New World Order." Washington's hesitation to commit ground troops reflects the fact that throwing their weight around in this powder keg of explosive communal tensions is not likely to be as easy as blowing away a warlord's compound in Somalia, or rolling tanks across a desert in Kuwait.

Prentice/Hall

Palestinian Arabs flee Haifa in April 1948 during Zionist terror campaign "Operation Passover Cleansing."

UPI

During 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, Zionists unleashed their allies in right-wing Christian militia to carry out massacre of hundreds of Palestinian men, women and children in Sabra and Shatila refugee camps.

But just because imperialist military intervention would likely backfire does not mean that the nuclear-armed madmen who rule this irrational system won't do it.

Marxists take no sides in the hideous nationalist/communal slaughter that is both a product and motor force of counterrevolution in the former Yugoslav (South Slav) federation. But imperialist military action against the Serbs would fundamentally change the character of the war. Already there are more than 25,000 "peacekeeping" troops under UN auspices stationed in Croatia and Bosnia, the Security Council has authorized air strikes on Serbian positions, and now the U.S. has dispatched some 300 troops to Macedonia on Serbia's southern frontier. This is an unmistakable threat of war, a trip wire to trigger intervention by far larger American forces: how would Clinton like it if hostile "UN" troops were stationed along the Mexican border?

Should the fighting in Bosnia now spread to Kosovo or Macedonia, it could draw in Albania, which claims to be the protector of the Albanian majority in Kosovo, and Bulgaria and Greece, which both have claims on Macedonia. Meanwhile, Greece is expelling tens of thousands of Albanian workers, as Greeks in southern Albania are threatening secession. Military engagement by U.S. and/or European troops would further inflame national hatreds among the Balkan peoples, intensify their exploitation by imperialism, and risk igniting a war in which interimperialist conflicts would come to the fore. We oppose all imperialist intervention, including the embargo (modeled on that of the Persian Gulf War) aimed at starving the Serbs into submission. In the event of war with the UN/NATO expeditionary force, an ever-growing threat, we would defend the Serbs, while calling on the working class throughout the former Yugoslavia to overthrow their bourgeois-nationalist leaders in an internationalist struggle for a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!

Imperialist Hypocrisy and "Ethnic Cleansing"

A recent special supplement to the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (21 May), the house organ of the Swiss bankers, on "Nationalism Today" begins: "A spectre is haunting Europe: its name is 'nationalism'." The imperialist financiers, convinced that the collapse of Stalinism signals the death of communism, see nationalist wars as the immediate obstacle to their "peaceful" conquest of the East European markets. An essay on "East European tensions" elaborates:

> "The age of nationalism lies behind us. And it also may lie before us. Europe is on the verge of successfully clearing away the consequences of the Second World War, only to once again founder on the fateful legacy of the First World War. Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, two states whose birth certificates were issued in the Paris peace treaties, have already split apart. The Trianon Pact has increasingly come into the line of fire of the Hungarian nationalists.... Every day, Turkey increasingly harks back to its Ottoman past."

From Lenin on, Marxists have characterized imperialism as the epoch of capitalist decay. Recognizing, if only empirically, that the course of historical development is going backwards, the *NZZ* essayist ends on a pessimistic quote from the 19th century Austrian Romantic dramatist Franz Grillparzer: "The path of contemporary education goes from humanity—via nationality—to bestiality."

The ever-widening orgy of national chauvinism and communal slaughter from Central Europe to the Caucasus is an integral component of capitalist restoration. As we wrote in our two-part series "East Europe: Nationalism and Counterrevolution" (*WV* Nos. 547 and 548, 20 March and 3 April 1992): "Without the social base of a genuine bourgeoisie...aggressive nationalism has been both the driving force for capitalist restoration in East Europe and the Soviet Union, and a product of the counterrevolutionary drive." Friedrich Engels noted in his essay on "The Role of Force in History" (1887-88): "Since the end of the Middle Ages, history has been working towards the formation of large national states in Europe. Only such states are the normal political structure of the ruling European bourgeoisie...."

The bourgeois state is based on securing the dominant position for one nation and the oppression of all other nationalities within its borders. Moreover, in a country like Yugoslavia *where the various peoples are heavily interpenetrated*, the drive to consolidate homogeneous "national states" can only be carried out through savage persecution of rival nationalities competing for contested territory. A democratic and equitable resolution of the conflicting national claims in the Balkans can only be achieved under the rule of the proletariat, the only class without an interest in pursuing and augmenting national claims.

What is being called "ethnic cleansing" in the former Yugoslavia—communal massacres and forced population transfers—has provoked a chorus of indignant condemnation by the world's capitalist powers, who, posing as pious defenders of humanity against the barbaric Serbs, compare "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia to the Nazi Holocaust.

- A January U.S. government report declared that "so-called ethnic cleansing was practiced by Serbian forces in Bosnia on a scale that dwarfs anything seen in Europe since Nazi times."
- German Christian Democratic foreign minister Klaus Kinkel snarled about "bringing Serbia to its knees" as punishment for "ethnic cleansing," while the opposition Social Democrats' spokesman on Yugoslavia, Freimut Duve (who spearheaded the push to recognize Croatia which set off the breakup of Yugoslavia) compared it to "images of Hitler and Auschwitz." What *chutzpah* from the Fourth Reich!
- Israel, in a declaration before the UN last August, denounced "'ethnic cleansing' and detention centers in Bosnia and Herzegovina" as "abhorrent and despicable," also comparing them to Hitler's genocide of the Jews.

The grisly communal warfare in Croatia and Bosnia has killed tens of thousands and produced several million homeless and refugees. But to equate this with the horrors of Hitler's cold-blooded and calculated extermination of six million Jews along with hundreds of thousands of Gypsies, millions of Slavs and others deemed to be *Untermenschen* (subhumans), amounts to whitewashing the Nazi Holocaust. What the Third Reich carried out was real *genocide*, an attempt to literally exterminate whole peoples. What is going on in the Balkans are nationalist wars for territory, whose goal is to push out ("cleanse") other nationalities rather than to annihilate them. The grisly mass murders, in this

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case, are intended to terrorize the population into fleeing. And this is hardly unique, but has been a common occurrence throughout this century, often on a scale far surpassing the gruesome events in Bosnia.

Despite their talk of genocide, the European powers have responded to the wave of refugees by tightening up their borders while fascists sow anti-immigrant terror. This, too, is not unprecedented. In the 1930s and 1940s the U.S. and European imperialists used quotas to throttle immigration by Eastern European Jews—and prominent U.S. Jewish leaders *opposed* opening America's doors to refugees fleeing the Nazi Holocaust. Meanwhile, German imperialism was massively "ethnically cleansing" what it saw as its *Hinterland* with a technology far beyond the reach of the mutually hostile populations of southern Europe. And the U.S. dropped the atomic bomb on Japan, obliterating hundreds of thousands of people in the blink of an eye.

At the heart of imperialist hypocrisy over "ethnic cleansing" is the fact that what is happening in Bosnia is a recurrent phenomenon in this epoch of capitalist decay, as imperialist barbarism intersects the barbarity of backward capitalist and pre-capitalist societies. The formation of the classic nation-states in West Europe of the 17th and 18th centuries was also a bloody, protracted process. But it was linked to the extension of trade, the development of the national market and the rise of the bourgeoisie. However, under imperialism, in relatively backward capitalist countries the development of the national economy and the emergence of a vigorous bourgeoisie are stifled by imperialist exploitation and domination. Thus national consolidation under capitalism has been reduced to its stark component of communal savagery to drive out or eliminate minority nationalities.

Legacy of Imperialist "Divide and Rule"

A recent article by George Kennan ("The Balkan Crisis: 1913 and 1993," *New York Review of Books*, 15 July) notes "the many and depressing evidences of similarity between what was occurring in the Balkans in 1913 and what is going on there today." The Balkan Wars of 1912-13, which were the prelude to World War I, were waged with unspeakable atrocities on all sides. As Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro drove the Ottoman Empire out of Europe, they also drove out more than one hundred thousand Turks. Then, as they fell out over the allotment of Macedonia, the main prize of the victory over the Ottomans, tens of thousands more were forced from their homes as Bulgarians were driven from Macedonia by the Greeks, Greeks from Macedonia by the Serbs, etc. An article on "Racial Migrations in the Balkans" in the *Geographical Journal* of 1925 lists seven cases of forced population transfers during 1912-14.

Meanwhile, as the dying Ottoman Empire lost its European lands, the "Young Turks" in power in Constantinople consolidated on a program of Turkish nationalism, which meant ridding themselves of national minorities and turning the empire into a homogenous Turkish state. In 1915, the Young Turks ordered the deportation of the Armenian population, which was thoroughly interpenetrated with the Turkish population of East Anatolia. In practice, the deportations turned into an orgy of killing in which hundreds of thousands, perhaps as many as a million and a half Armenians died. Previously, the Armenians, led by the nationalist Dashnak Party, had launched an abortive drive for a "greater Armenia." It was, as historian Bernard Lewis put it, "a struggle between two nations for the possession of a single homeland, that ended with the terrible holocaust of 1915" (*The Emergence of Modern Turkey* [1968]).

AP

Christian Armenians drove Muslim Azeri population from Nagorno-Karabakh enclave in Azerbaijan in five-year communal bloodbath. Above, Azeris being evacuated from homeland this spring.

The Young Turks, led by Mustafa Kemal Pasha (Atatürk), then turned on their Greek population, burning down the coastal city of Smyrna in 1919 and massacring tens of thousands (after the Greeks had earlier militarily occupied the city and driven out the Turkish population through a wave of atrocities). At this point, the victorious imperialists stepped in and *sponsored* a program of massive population transfers among Greece, Turkey and Bulgaria. More than two million people were "exchanged" among Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey in the course of the 1920s, ripped from their homes, deprived of their property and brutally expelled—under the auspices of the League of Nations. In this way, Bulgaria got rid of its entire Greek population, Greece got rid of half its Bulgarians and almost all its Turks, and Turkey got rid of its Greeks (leaving the Kurds, who remain the victims of incessant warfare on the part of the Turkish government).

But the Balkans and vicinity are hardly the only place where such "ethnic cleansing" has taken place. At the close of World War II, the partition of India by the British imperialists in 1947—culminating 350 years of colonial "divide and rule"—unleashed one of the ghastliest communalist slaughters and perhaps the most massive forced population transfer in history. Slicing across provinces where Muslims, Hindus and other religious groups were thoroughly interpenetrated (Punjab and Bengal), the partition into an 80 percent Hindu-dominated India and an Islamic confessional Pakistan provoked the slaughter of between one and two million Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus, and the forced migration of over eleven million people. Gigantic columns of hundreds of thousands of anguished refugees, fleeing the bloodletting, flowed across the new border in both directions.

A history of the period described the slaughter: "In India, Sikhs and Hindus prowled the cars of amhushed trains slaughtering every circumcised male they found. In Pakistan, Moslems raced along the trains they had stopped, murdering every male who was not circumcised" (Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, *Freedom at Midnight* [1975]).

Or consider the case of South Africa. The white-supremacist rulers did not seek to exterminate or drive out the blacks, because it was the merciless superexploitation of black workers which created the superprofits of the gold and diamond magnates. But Afrikaner nationalism was nourished by the guilty fear of seeing the black majority reverse the terms of oppression. The National Party came to power in 1948 on a program of *apartheid* ("separateness"), or forced segregation, which promised to "guarantee a national home for the Afrikaner nation," by driving all blacks into several ethnically grouped regions (to include the territory of the then British protectorates of Swaziland, Basutoland and Bechuanaland), pushing "coloureds" into a separate "coloured nation," and deporting the entire Indian population to India.

The ideologues of apartheid, largely educated in German universities of the 1930s and deeply influenced by the Nazis' racist rantings, were grouped in the Broederbond, the nucleus of the Afrikaner nationalist movement. They dreamed of ripping South Africa apart along racial lines and restructuring it as a diversity of separate "nations" in which white Afrikanerdom would be assured of its own separate nationhood with its own distinctive culture. But after coming to power, Nationalist leader D.F. Malan had to face the fact that "our whole economic structure is to a large extent based upon non-White labour" and that "territorial separation" would "have the result that the Europeans will have to perform all their labour themselves" (Brian Bunting, *The Rise of the South African Reich* [1986]).

The Nationalists in power instituted vast population transfers of the black population, setting up the wretched bantustans in order to limit and regulate the presence of blacks in the cities and white regions. They deepened and hardened the existing system of strict racial separation through a vast panoply of racist laws designed to totally regiment the black workforce in order to squeeze out increased profits. South African blacks were turned into migrant laborers, uprooted from their homes, stripped of their birthright and declared foreigners in their own country. "Unproductive" blacks—the elderly, women, children, disabled and unemployed—were dumped into the barren bantustans. Since 1948, from four to eight million blacks have been forcibly transferred—evicted from urban areas, thrown off the land or driven from one wretched township to another (Elaine Unterhalter, *Forced Removal* [1987]).

Elsewhere in Africa, the entire Asian (largely Indian) population of Uganda, some 50,000 people, was forcibly expelled in the fall of 1972 by the bloody dictator Idi Amin. The British imperialists had originally brought the Indians to East Africa in the 1890s to build the East African Railroad. The Indians evolved into the dominant force in the country's retail trade—for which Amin attacked them as the "brown Jews of East Africa." The expulsion of the Asians triggered an orgy of plundering of their stores, homes and property by an aspiring black petty bourgeoisie composed of army officers and their cronies. As we wrote of Amin's expulsion of Asians and massacres of rival tribes: "Nationalism in power, even the nationalism of a formerly oppressed people, strives to compact a racially homogeneous state through the brutal methods of bourgeois nation-state building: forced assimilation, expulsion or genocide of racial and national minorities" (*WV* No. 118, 16 July 1976).

When various African and other Third World nationalists attempt "nation-building" in this epoch, they are blocked by the legacy and continued domination of imperialism. Leon Trotsky's theory and program of permanent revolution explained that in the colonial and neocolonial countries, the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, including the just and democratic resolution of the national question, can only be accomplished under the dictatorship of the proletariat, led by a Bolshevik party.

Der Spiegel

Fascist Croatian Ustasha massacred hundreds of thousands of Serbs during World War II.

Racism and "Ethnic Cleansing"

To read the imperialist press, one would get the impression that "ethnic cleansing" is only carried out by backward tribal peoples motivated by "ancient feuds" and national rivalries. Actually, the rise of nationalism

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"Ethnic Cleansing"...

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accompanies the spread of capitalism, and forced population transfers are carried out by some of the most "civilized" nations. Recently, as the Soviet Union was breaking up, the capitalist West was seized with sympathy for the cause of the Christian Armenians fighting with the Muslim Azeris over control of the mountainous region of Nagorno-Karabakh in the Caucasus, one of the most nationally diverse and interpenetrated areas of the world. There was plenty of publicity for the grisly pogrom against Armenians in Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, but almost nothing about the systematic "ethnic cleansing" by the Armenians.

This war broke out in 1988 as Gorbachev's perestroika fueled national conflicts across the borderlands of the Soviet Union, with the more economically advanced areas following the logic of the capitalist market in seeking to gain advantage at the expense of their less-developed neighbors. (Similarly, the breakup of Yugoslavia was spearheaded by the economically more prosperous Slovenia and Croatia.) One quarter of the population of the mainly Armenian enclave of Nagorno-Karahakh, an autonomous region in Azerbaijan, was Azeri, but they have now been entirely driven out as both sides have waged a gruesome war of burned villages, mutilations and massacres. In the five years of fighting, more than half a million people have been driven from their homes throughout Armenia and Azerbaijan.

The fighting is by no means limited to the disputed enclave. Last April, the Armenians seized a wide swath of territory, driving tens of thousands of Azeri villagers from their homes as they established a northern corridor to Nagorno-Karabakh, in effect annexing it. But the Armenians' fire is not directed solely against the Azeris. In May 1992, Armenian forces opened a southern corridor to Nagorno-Karabakh by taking the village of Lachin. When Lachin was burned to the ground by Armenian troops, buried in the press reports was a scant mention of the fact that this town was the center of the *Kurdish* population in the region. Jonathan Steele reported in the London *Guardian* (25 May 1992) that the Armenian foreign minister had issued "an extraordinary statement... claiming that Lachin's 'Kurdish population' agreed to open the corridor to Armenia." If this were true, observed Steele, "local Kurds might have been expected to welcome the Armenian liberators. There were none in sight."

It's not so extraordinary as all that, however. This echoes the Israeli Zionists' claim that in 1948 the Palestinian Arabs abandoned their homes of their own volition. In reality, this was a classic case of "ethnic cleansing" on a massive scale. Through a campaign of massacres and atrocities designed to terrorize the Palestinian Arabs and drive them off the land, the Zionists depopulated some 350 Arab towns and drove out 700,000 Palestinian refugees. Zionist leader Ben-Gurion called it "the cleaning up of the Arab settlements" (Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949* [1987]).

Imperial War Museum, London

Communist-led Yugoslav Partisans, May 1944. Tito's anti-Nazi struggle which overthrew capitalism laid basis for unity of the peoples of Yugoslavia.

The UN partition resolution of 29 November 1947, which envisaged dividing Palestine into a Jewish and a Palestinian Arab state (in which the Zionists, who owned only 6 percent of the land in Palestine, were supposed to get about 55 percent of the country), touched off a communal war between the Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples for control of the same territory. In May 1948, as the British withdrew from Palestine, a second war, overlapping with the communal conflict, broke out between Israel and the Arab states. The war between the Zionists and the Arab states was prepared by a series of meetings between the Zionists and the Hashemite monarchy of Trans-Jordan, ensuring that the most substantial Arab force, Trans-Jordan's Arab Legion, would not infringe on the lands allotted by the UN for the Zionists.

In the communal war, the Zionists had from the start an overwhelming military advantage over the Palestinian Arabs. The British had tolerated the existence of the "official" Zionist units of the Haganah and Palmach, even training and arming them in 1937 to help smash the 1936-39 Arab Revolt, and again during World War II. The Arab village militias had no training or arms stocks, and got scant support from the Arab League, which was just as opposed as the Zionists to the creation of a Palestinian Arab state. The Zionist military "Plan D" (Plan Dalet), which was put into operation as the British began to withdraw, was a green light for field commanders to carry out "ethnic cleansing" on a massive scale. Here are some key provisions:

> "Destruction of villages (setting fire to, blowing up, and planting mines in the debris), especially those population centers which are difficult to control continuously.
>
> "Mounting combing and control operations according to the following guidelines: encirclement of the village and conducting a search inside it. In the event of resistance, the armed force must be wiped out and the population must be expelled outside the borders of the state."
>
> —*Journal of Palestine Studies* (Autumn 1988)

Zionist attacks on Arab villages were carefully coordinated with "psychological warfare" tactics designed to sow terror among the Arab population. Haganah loudspeaker vans were invariably used during attacks, broadcasting what one Israeli officer described as "horror sounds"—shrieks, wails, sirens and anguished moans of Arab women—interrupted with cries in Arabic of "Flee for your lives! The Jews are using poison gas." Free Hebrew Radio broadcasts contained threats in Arabic that cholera, typhus and other diseases "will break out heavily in April and May among Arabs" (Erskine Childers, "The Wordless Wish: From Citizens to Refugees," in Ibrahim Abu-Lughod (ed.), *The Transformation of Palestine* [1971]).

"Operation Passover Cleansing" (*Bi'ur Hametz*) was the name the Haganah gave to its April 1948 drive to expel the 70,000-strong Arab population from the mixed city of Haifa. This name refers to the Jewish tradition of burning all leaven (hametz) found in the house on the night before the Passover festival. The orders given to the 22nd Battalion (Carmeli Brigade) were "to kill every [adult male] Arab encountered" and to burn "all objectives that can be set alight." In a scene reminiscent of today's Sarajevo, Zionist artillery and sniper fire rained down from Mt. Carmel and Haifa's heights onto the terrified Arab residents. While loudspeakers shrieked their "horror sounds" and buildings were bombarded around them, the panicked population raced toward the port area as countless old men, women and children were trampled in the panic or caught in the hail of Zionist gunfire.

An article by Guy Erlich in the Tel Aviv paper *Ha'it* (6 May 1992) cites the former director of the Israeli army archives, Ariyeh Yitzhaki, who, based on his unique access to government documents, estimates that in the 1948 war the Israelis committed "at least 20 large massacres" of more than 50 people and about one hundred "small massacres." Yitzhaki goes on: "For many Israelis it was easy to cling to the false claim that the Arabs left the country because that was what their leaders ordered. That is a total lie. The fundamental cause for the flight of the Arabs was their fear of the Israelis' violence, and that fear had a basis in reality. From almost every report which appears in the army's archives about the occupation of Arab villages during May-July 1948, the height of confrontations with the Arab villagers, there comes the smell of a massacre."

For Proletarian Internationalism!

"Ethnic cleansing" is simply the implementation of the program inherent in all nationalism. As Marxists, we oppose all forms of nationalism and fight for proletarian *internationalism*. With regard to the Arab-Israel war of 1948, the Trotskyist program is for revolutionary defeatism in the fighting between the Arab and Zionist armies, and for self-defense of villages and settlements under attack. In the ethnic-nationalist wars wracking the former Yugoslavia, we likewise take no side. But the victory of Tito's Partisans after World War II showed that, despite centuries of ethnic conflict and the vivid memories of the recent history of communalist massacres by Croatian Ustasha and Serbian Chetniks, unity of the South Slav peoples and other inhabitants of Yugoslavia was possible, *on the basis of proletarian state power*.

However, Tito's regime was a bureaucratically deformed workers state, and the Stalinist bureaucracy's nationalist perspective of "socialism in one country" prevented the national question from being fully resolved. Tito's "market socialism" reinforced glaring regional disparities, such as between backward Kosovo and relatively developed Slovenia, fueling the rise of nationalist forces within the bureaucracy. As we wrote in the conclusion of our two-part series on "The National Question in Yugoslavia" (*WV* Nos. 106 and 110, 23 April and 21 May 1976):

> "The bankruptcy of Titoism and its failure to resolve the national questions only serve to demonstrate that even in those exceptional circumstances where they have overthrown the bourgeoisie, the Stalinists—of all stripes—are incapable of fully solving even democratic revolutionary tasks. Tito's acquiescence in Stalin's sabotage of the Greek revolution has left a quarter million or more Macedonians under capitalist oppression. Moreover, the inability to wage any but an isolated *nationalist* struggle against Kremlin overlordship meant that the 1948 break with Moscow effectively shelved all hopes for a Balkan federation. The divided Albanian and Macedonian populations are today pawns in the inter-bureaucratic squabbling of Moscow, Peking and Belgrade.
>
> "Now even the great achievements of the Yugoslav revolution—the overthrow of capitalist property relations and the overcoming of bloody national conflicts which racked bourgeois Yugoslavia—are themselves threatened by the bureaucracy's fostering (largely against its own will) of centrifugal forces. The conditions are being accumulated for a bloody civil war in Yugoslavia, and, given the regional economic differences, one which may well be cloaked in the form of a 'national liberation' struggle. This is the legacy of Titoism, of Stalinism 'with a human face.' It is a legacy that the working masses must overcome by constructing a Trotskyist vanguard party capable of carrying through a workers political revolution to oust the Tito bureaucracy and thereby create the conditions for international extension of the revolution."

With the bloody demise of the Yugoslav deformed workers state, genuine communists must fight for socialist revolution against all the capitalist regimes, on the basis of an internationalist program for a Socialist Federation of the Balkans within a Socialist United States of Europe.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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Denny's...

(continued from page 12)

"No Confidence in Capitalist Courts—For Mass Labor/Black Action to Defeat Racist Attacks!" Organizers recalled the sit-ins against segregated lunch counters at Woolworth's in 1960-61. Cars driving past honked their horns in support. As the rallies concluded, protesters sang Civil War anthems of the struggle for black freedom.

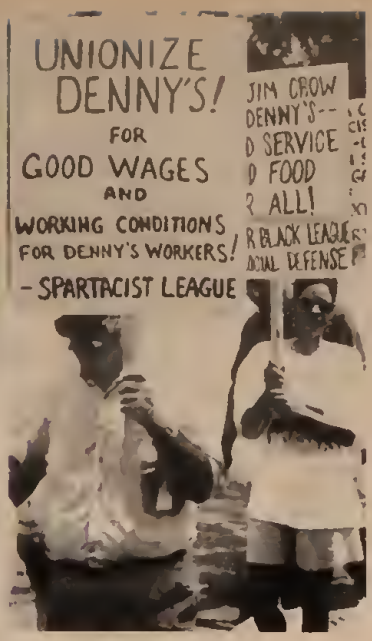
"Fight This Racist Open Shop —Unionize Denny's!"

Significant support for the protests came from integrated unions. The Bay Area protest of over 150 picketers at the Denny's in Emeryville, California included members from more than a dozen local unions, including a group of BART transit workers from SEIU Local 790 (whose BART chapter endorsed the protest) and ATU Local 1555. Utility workers from AFSCME Local 444, another endorser, brought a union banner. Others included bus drivers, phone workers and postal workers. Alameda Central Labor Council delegate Willie Lee Bell came down, as did Daniel Farrell, president of the Oakland Black Firefighters.

Protesters' signs and chants underlined the close connection between the fight for minority rights and the struggles of labor—a tie which clearly struck a chord among blacks and workers. The bulk of the more than 26,000 leaflets that got out in the Bay Area were distributed by trade unionists, minorities and anti-racist students. Transit workers from MUNI and BART, SEIU hospital and city/county workers, postal workers, AFSCME utility workers and ILWU longshoremen as well as other unionists passed out thousands of leaflets.

Students distributed stacks of leaflets on their own at Laney College, Merritt College, Cal State Hayward and Diablo Valley College. Seven UC Berkeley students joined the protest, brought out by the Spartacus Youth Club. In Vallejo, a young black woman xeroxed copies of the LBL leaflet her husband had picked up in San Francisco and together with some transit worker friends distributed in the area, including at the local Denny's. In several cases, blacks joined the demonstration on the spot.

In Chicago, where former Negro National Baseball League players "Smokin' Joe" Barnes and Bobby Robinson endorsed, 50 picketed outside the Denny's in suburban Oak Lawn on July 3. ACTWU local president Katie Jordan told the protesters: "If Rosa Parks had sat back and waited for someone else to do it, we'd still be at the back of the bus." She added, "The labor movement cannot very well say that it is for working people unless it is involved in the whole idea of what happens to minorities who are outside of the union movement. The labor movement needs to put on a nationwide campaign to organize Denny's."



WV Photos

Lexington, Massachusetts (above), Atlanta (right): Protesters across the country denounce attempts to turn back the clock on civil rights, stress link between black rights and class struggle.

Denny's-NAACP Backroom Deal for Black Capitalism

Denny's management flew in spokesmen from their headquarters in Spartanburg, South Carolina who distributed statements publicizing their "historic" agreement with the NAACP for minority franchises, purchasing, marketing and managers. Spartacist spokesman Alison Spencer was quoted in the *Washington Afro-American* (3 July): "They signed an agreement with the Justice Department in April and there are still complaints against Denny's. A few token faces in high places and additional Black-owned franchises won't mean anything to the customers who are being discriminated against."

At the Chicago rally, Johnnie Jackson of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) commented tersely, "That little concession that they made with the NAACP yesterday doesn't mean a hill of beans. If we are treated inferior when we go into Denny's, how do you think the workers in there are treated? They need to be unionized." Jeffrey Raffo, a staff organizer for 1199 hospital workers in Kentucky, who spoke at the demonstration, ended his remarks with the call, "Workers of the world unite!"

The fight to end Jim Crow at Denny's was also a fight for *revolutionary integrationism* vs. the NAACP's accommodation to the racist rulers. The restaurant chain ran a full-page ad in the *Amsterdam News* heralding "A New Partnership" and "A New Day at Denny's." More revealing was its question, "What's in it for Denny's?" Just who will this settlement benefit? Denny's claims it will spend over a billion dollars in the next seven years to promote black managers, develop minority franchisers, place ads in black-centered media, purchase supplies from black-owned companies, and hire black consultants. But for the workers at Denny's, who are still working at minimum wage without a union—not a red cent! This is a graphic illustration of the program of black capitalism, aimed at creating a narrow layer of black entrepreneurs while the vast majority of the oppressed are driven further into devastation.

Racist Treatment of Customers and Employees

In a statement read at the Emeryville demonstration, Leon Harris, ILWU International Secretary-Treasurer, declared that "The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union deplores and denounces Denny's Restaurants for

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WV Photos

Los Angeles: After spirited demo, protesters assert right to equal treatment, good service at public facilities.

The Law Is Not on "Our Side"

To date the Oakland Tribune *hasn't seen fit to print this letter to the editor.*

29 June 1993

Oakland Tribune

Dear Editor:

Brenda Payton's June 24 column ("Denny's—It's Not 1963") accurately summarizes the rising tide of racist treatment of blacks and other minorities at restaurants across the country, especially the notorious Denny's chain. The parallels with the infamous Jim Crow era are obvious to all. Yet Ms. Payton seems to be living in some fantasyland when she asserts that 1993 is qualitatively different from 1963 simply because "this time, the law is on our side."

The Supreme Court supposedly outlawed "separate but equal" segregationist schools in 1954, but it took *years of mass action in the streets* to put some teeth into that paper decree. As a former participant in the 1960s civil rights struggles, I'll always remember Freedom Rider John Lewis trying to cite a Supreme Court decision barring segregation to a white mob at a South Carolina Greyhound bus station in May 1961—and getting a punch in the mouth as an answer. Later that same month Freedom Riders were viciously beaten up at a Trailways station in Birmingham by a Klan mob led by FBI "informant" Gary Thomas Rowe under the Democratic Kennedy administration, whom many naively believed was "on our side." The civil rights movement collapsed when it was confronted with the *de facto* segregation of blacks in the North, who had been living under the "equality of the law" for years. As for the idea that the law is "on our side" this time, try telling that to Rodney King or any of the other countless victims of racist police terror.

Payton's column ends by noting her personal boycott of Denny's. Boycotting such restaurants is *exactly what the racists want*—they want to *keep you out*, get it? Black progress in this country has always been associated with the fight for *integration*, for *demanding* equality of treatment in public services, employment and so on.

Denny's is based in Spartanburg, South Carolina—the hardcore racist state of the Confederacy—and we do not believe the owners are simply uninformed about the law, as Ms. Payton implies. On Saturday, July 3, at noon the Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Spartacist League will be picketing Denny's in Emeryville at 1776 Powell St. (at I-80) to demand: "DOWN WITH JIM CROW AT DENNY'S! FOR EQUAL TREATMENT, GOOD SERVICE AND FOOD FOR *ALL*!" Afterwards, we are going in to eat, taking no ifs, ands or huts. This action has been endorsed by the ILWU International, SEIU Local 250, Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union Local 28, Congressman Ron Dellums, and many others. And this is the way to defend civil rights.

Sincerely,
Mark Kellerman
for the Labor Black League
for Social Defense

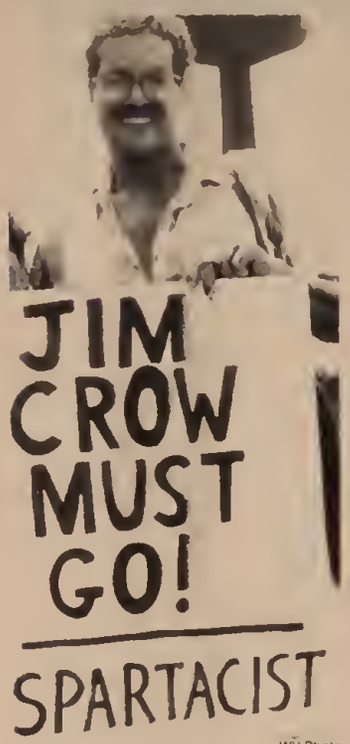
On Jazz 90's "Crosstalk"

We print below excerpts from an interview and replies to questions from callers by Spartacist spokesman Brian Manning on the Washington, D.C. radio station WDCU's call-in "Jazz 90's Crosstalk" show hosted by Ernest White, on June 29. Two questions that callers raised were "Why not just boycott Denny's?" and "black capitalism."

* * *

WDCU: Welcome to our show. First, let's talk about the Spartacist League, if you would give us some background on it.

Manning: We're a labor-socialist group, we've been active in this country since the mid '60s, and we fight to mobilize black people and working people to fight for what's rightfully ours. You know, blacks and workers have built up



WV Photo

Brian Manning

the tremendous wealth in this country, but we have been denied the fruits of our labor.

We're known for our work against the fascists, the Klan and Nazis. For example, in 1982 we organized a demonstration here in D.C. that stopped the KKK from marching. We organized another one up in Philly in 1988 that stopped the Klan and the skinheads from marching. Just a few months ago, in the wake of the murder of Dr. Gunn in Pensacola, Florida, the doctor who performed abortions, we organized a series of protests against the anti-abortion terrorists. More recently, a couple of weeks ago, along with a group of Somalis we protested the massacre of the Somali people by U.S. and UN troops in Mogadishu.

WDCU: I said before our break that if you don't know what's been going on with the Denny's restaurants, you must have been living under a rock. Maybe somebody *was* under a rock or out of the country or asleep for several months. Why don't you give them an update on why this demonstration is necessary.

Manning: In this area, Denny's hit the headlines when the six black Secret Service men were denied service out in Annapolis. Shortly after that, a black choir from North Carolina was denied service at the Denny's restaurant in Woodbridge, the one we're going to demonstrate at.

WDCU: A lady called me after the first incident with the Secret Service and said there ought to be a boycott and not go into Denny's anymore. I know, when you're on the road traveling you sometimes have to deal with whatever's available, but with a case as highly profiled, why would you go to a Denny's anyway?

Manning: Well, simply to enforce our right to equal access to public facilities. That was what a lot of people fought and died for during the civil rights movement around 30 years ago. And 30 years later it's still going on.

Caller: As black people it's so hard for us to make money. Why should we spend our time demonstrating to go into Denny's to buy food? Why don't we just pool our resources together? I have been in too many restaurants and there's only white people working in these restaurants, and it's mainly black people that's spending their money. We're begging them and being disrespected by them—it doesn't make sense.

Manning: What we look to do is to guarantee that blacks not only have the right to eat anywhere they want in this country, but also that they can afford to do so. You know that this is a fundamentally racist society. And it's racist not only in outright Jim Crow like Denny's, but also economically. The gap between blacks and whites is getting wider and wider. To achieve genuine freedom and equality is going to take a fight for a revolution in this country. Because racial oppression is integral to capitalism.

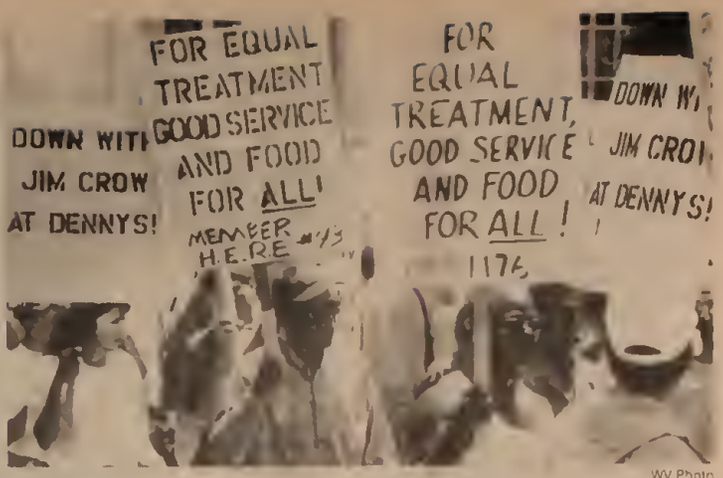
You've got a thin layer of the so-called "black leaders," mostly black Democrats who are up there saying, "you've got to believe in the system, everything takes time." You've got somebody like Doug Wilder, the governor of Virginia, right where these Denny's are. He's sitting in the statehouse surrounded by all these monuments to the Confederacy.

WDCU: Being from Virginia and having grown up in Richmond...you're exactly right! When Doug Wilder was inaugurated, one of the most telling things about the inauguration was to see young black boys swinging on the statues of Andrew Jackson.

Caller: We need to build a black-owned restaurant where every Denny's is. Therefore we drive them out of business. We have the Michael Jacksons, Jordans, we have the money.

Manning: By saying that all you've got to do is build your own restaurant—well, how many black-owned corporations are on the Fortune 500? Not a whole lot. But it's black work that created that wealth that built the Fortune 500. And what we're saying is that it's ours, black people and working people have built the wealth of this country with the fruits of our labor. We built it—let's take it. And that's the essence of what our organization is about. You know, we're for organizing the workforce in Denny's, for organizing the whole South, because traditionally "open shop" anti-unionism goes hand in hand with race-terror.

Caller: Let me make a little comment about a Denny's that I was denied service at, in Frederick, Maryland. My wife, myself, two children and a friend, we went there. We were seated. Three other groups of people came in. All were served, and we still had not been served, right? So finally they brought our food. My wife's food was ice cold. The steak that I ordered was about the size of a quarter and burnt. So I demanded to see the manager. The manager came out, and this is the way they get rid of you: 'Well, sir, if your wife doesn't like the service, you don't have to pay for it, you can leave.' So we left. I wrote the Chamber of Commerce and they didn't even have the decency to write me back. So I just felt I really wanted to say that you've got to stand for something or you'll fall for anything ■



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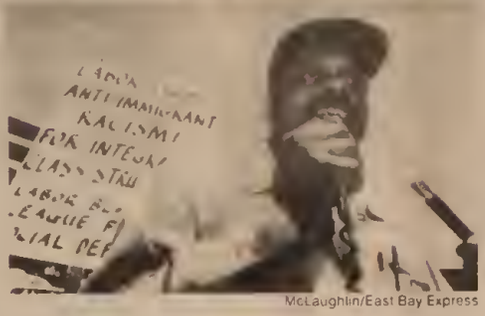


McLaughlin/East Bay Express

Emeryville, California: Workers from more than a dozen unions came out on July 3. Jeff Higgins, Bay Area Labor Black League, addresses the crowd.

Denny's...

(continued from page 9)

its racist policies towards African Americans. The ILWU firmly believes that 'An injury to one is an injury to all'." Other endorsers included SEIU Local 250, covering hospital workers throughout California; Hotel & Restaurant (HERE) Local 28; and SEIU Local 1877, Justice for Janitors, whose statement was also read at the demonstration. Democratic Congressman Ron Dellums endorsed the Bay Area protest.

A woman going in to eat at Denny's in Lexington, Massachusetts told reporters about her own experience with the restaurant chain's pattern of racism nationally. At a Denny's in Florida, she said, "they didn't want to serve us our food, they made us wait an hour." A spokesman for the protesters commented, "You never saw faster, better service at Denny's than the day we ringed it with picket lines." When management tried to co-opt demonstrators in Atlanta with offers of free lemonade, demonstrators spurned this pathetic ruse and chanted "Free food for the homeless!"

At the Emeryville, California protest, one of the speakers was Aretha McCullum, who suffered discrimination at the same Denny's when they demanded she "pre-pay" before being served. "It's a crying shame that my parents and grandparents were walking the same lines 30 years ago for civil rights," she told the crowd. Another of the rally speakers was from the "Santa Cruz Six," arrested for sitting in at Denny's in Santa Cruz in 1989 to protest discrimination against the homeless.

Steven Payne, a young black man who happened to be passing on his bicycle, talked with demonstrators and told his own story: "I came here to eat breakfast. When they brought the food they also brought the bill. I looked around and no one else had a bill on their table." At Woodbridge, Virginia, where 125 black members of the Martin Luther King Children's Choir had been refused service in May, Denny's brought in managers to wait on tables, perhaps wary of exposing their employees to calls for unionization.

Finish the Civil War!

"We chose the July 4th weekend to expose the hypocrisy of the so-called 'Liberty Weekend'," said Bernard Branche, spokesman for the Chicago Labor Black Struggle League. "What July 4th really means is racism and capitalist exploitation." In Los Angeles a sign said, "Rodney King Beating and Whitewash Trial, Waco Holocaust—There Is No Justice in Capitalist America!" There was a speaker from the committee for the outspoken harbor who was wantonly killed by police in Pasadena. At Emeryville, speakers recalled another victim of racist police

WV Photo

Chicago: Transit workers, students join the line. Democratic rights are indivisible—the fight against the open shop and the lynch rope go hand in hand.

murder—Jerrold Hall, shot in the back by a BART cop who is still on the job, while Hall's companion Henry Owens is jailed on frame-up charges.

Denny's would like to portray its deal with the NAACP as supposedly wiping out racism at the restaurant chain, making all further protests and victims' complaints irrelevant. But even the government's own people weren't buying it—on July 8, the black Secret Service men who had been denied service at the Denny's in Annapolis, Maryland announced they were expanding their legal complaint into a class action suit, because of the flood of victims' complaints which have poured in since their case drew wide attention.

Democratic rights are indivisible. Racism at Denny's is just the tip of the iceberg of the racist reality of America today. This campaign got its power from the intersection of blacks, reds and organized labor. With the established black "leadership" under the sway of the racist, capitalist Democratic Party, along with the ossified, racist union bureaucracy, it is the communists—armed with a program of class struggle that can mobilize the power of labor—who defend elementary rights of the oppressed.

The protests got a lot of coverage from some of the capitalist media, which reflected both the depth of outrage over Denny's racist policies and their concern over this combination. Many ignored the union participation and downplayed the integrated character of the demonstrations. Most extreme was a hostile, red-baiting piece broadcast by KTVU-TV Channel 2 in the Bay Area which openly sought to alibi Denny's.

Most of the self-proclaimed "socialist" groups which hover in the shadow of the Democratic Party proved indifferent or downright hostile to this basic act of political opposition to racism. Particularly telling was the response of the misnamed Revolutionary Workers League, which refused to endorse or even attend the demonstration in the Bay Area on the grounds that it was called by the LBL, which is fraternally allied with the Spartacist League.

Another centrist grouplet, the Revolutionary Trotskyist League, acting out a laborite parody, came with two leaflets: one for "the masses," which turned the political struggle against racism into an appendage of a purely economist struggle to "organize Denny's"; and another for the "sectarian" Spartacists, accusing us of making abstract "noises about the socialist revolution" while supposedly ignoring labor. With a protest built by labor support and including scores of unionists, the RTL felt compelled to endorse on the spot, so they could address the crowd.

The bottom line is there can be no liberation of black people, or Latinos and other oppressed minorities, without socialist revolution. Today a whole generation of ghetto youth are facing a future without jobs or decent education. But while suffering pervasive de facto segregation as an oppressed race-color caste, blacks are integrated into American capitalism at the bottom, with black workers occupying a strategic position in the organized labor movement.

As Don Alexander of the Spartacist League summed up: "We in the Spartacist League have fought and are fighting to smash this viciously racist capitalist system that breeds racial oppression like spoiled meat produces maggots, and in which the working class is brutally exploited.... Why do black people have to continually fight for the most elementary democratic rights in the U.S.? Why are blacks outcasts in the so-called 'free world' of savage racial and class oppression? It is because we live under a democracy for the rich; and the Civil War of 1861-1865 was never finished.... It will take a third American revolution—a workers revolution—to finish the Civil War by smashing capitalist rule and building a revolutionary workers state that will destroy racism and class exploitation root and branch."

A demonstration organizer noted, "Today's protests are a small example of how real gains are won in this racist society: through militant struggle, not backroom deals with corporation lawyers." In the Bay Area, by the end of the rally four people had joined the Labor Black League for Social Defense. ■

Abortion...

(continued from page 12)

Brandywine Valley clinic in North Wilmington, Delaware later that day.

In Philly, Spartacists engaged in lively discussion with supporters of NWROC, in particular over the Detroit election platform of their sponsor, the Revolutionary Workers League, which never mentions the word "abortion," never mind socialism. And the lead article on the Detroit campaign in the RWL's current *Fighting Worker* (July-August 1993) doesn't mention the "A" word, much less the call for free abortion on demand.

Unlike NWROC, which acts like a typical Stalinist front group, the Spartacus Youth Clubs openly assert our revolutionary Trotskyist politics and proudly sail under our own colors.

San Jose: Hundreds Mobilize to Block O.R.

Integrated and heavily working-class San Jose proved to be no refuge for the shock troops of Operation Rescue. O.R. mobilized only about 70 of the 1,000 goons that it had vowed would lay siege to the city on Saturday, and these met the stubborn resistance of at least 600 clinic defenders at several facilities in the San Jose area.

The SL and SYC organized a contingent of more than 30 to join in the clinic defense early Saturday morning. At midnight, in response to a report from the Bay Area Coalition for Our Reproductive Rights (BACORR) that O.R. planned a predawn attack on a clinic in Sunnyvale, we mobilized to be on site at 4 a.m. Upon arrival, the SL contingent joined in securing an entrance to the clinic, forming defense lines around the doorway.

As more clinic defenders arrived, along with a score of riot cops, Planned Parenthood announced that nobody would be allowed on clinic property who did not sign a "non-violence" pledge, the equivalent of the old "yellow dog" contracts whereby workers were required to sign away their union rights as a condition of employment. But when the SL, along with BACORR supporters, refused to abdicate the right to self-defense, the bourgeois feminists didn't hesitate to use the violence of the state—the cops—against clinic defenders.

As a phalanx of police advanced on the crowd, militants, including an elderly woman with a walker, linked arms in solidarity with the SL contingent. The cops backed down and let the militants stay. Planned Parenthood's violence-baiting attempt to remove militant clinic defenders was doing O.R.'s dirty work. The cops have repeatedly protected O.R., enabling it to shut down and terrorize the clinics.

Across the street from Planned Parenthood's main headquarters in San Jose, a few dozen O.R. prayed and wailed for TV cameras. When one fascist (complete with Hitler mustache) arrived with a sign calling to ban abortion and homosexuals and to stop the "White holocaust," the SL contingent led a crowd of activists in chanting "Operation Rescue and KKK: labor and blacks will sweep you away!" The coward slunk off.

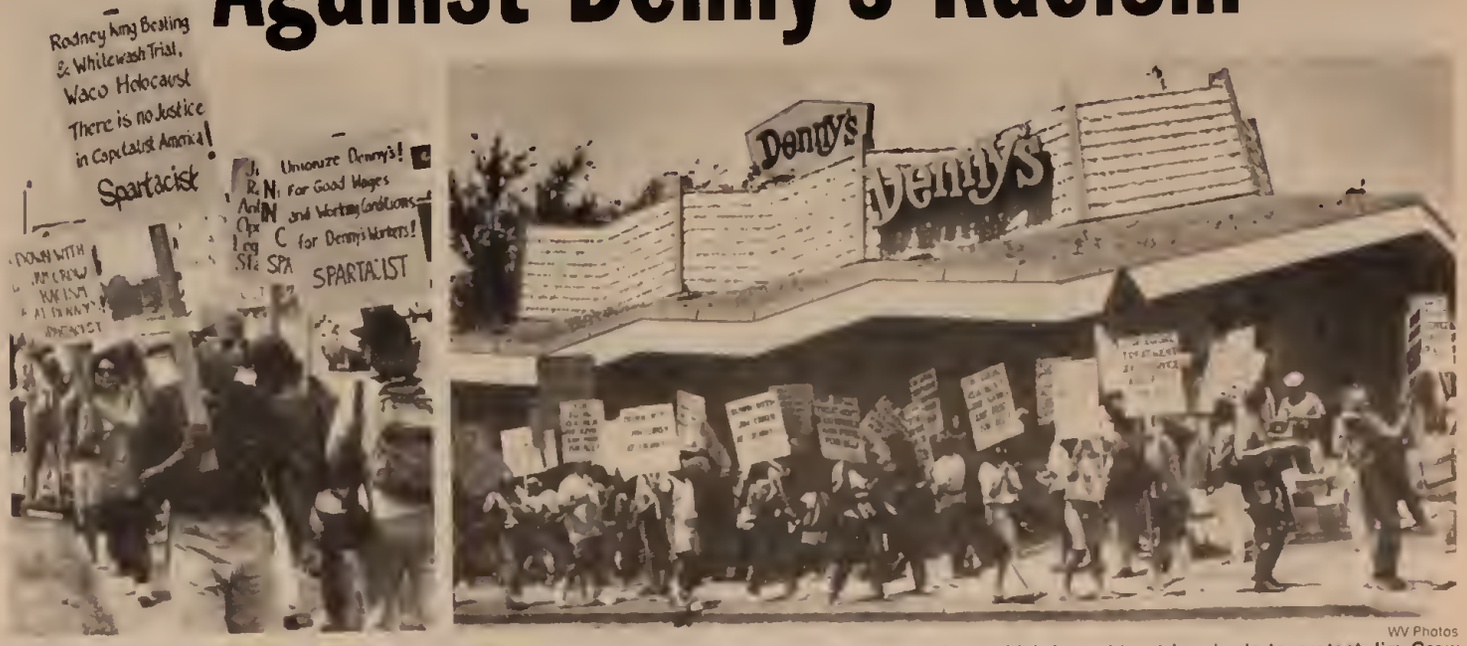
On Monday morning at the Women's Community Center, two SYC members were part of a team of escorts defending clients, many of them poor Hispanic women, from intimidation and harassment by a pack of more than 50 bigots. Abortion rights defenders picked up our contingent's chants of "Defend the clinics, take a stand—Free abortion on demand!" and "Operation Rescue—Hitler would have loved you!"

"Pro-choice" Democratic mayor Susan Hammer used the outrage against "right to life" terrorists to push through restrictions on the right to protest in San Jose. The so-called "bubble law" prohibits anyone from demonstrating within 100 feet of a health care facility, or coming within eight feet of a client. Another law that narrowly failed in the San Jose City Council would have allowed fines against arrested protesters of up to $10,000 per violation (dropped to $1,000 in a last-minute attempt to garner the necessary two-thirds majority vote).

Ostensibly to protect the rights of women, such laws will be used to bust strikes and quash political protest by leftists, workers and minorities. Along with 15 members of O.R., at least three clinic defenders were arrested Saturday for an alleged violation of the "bubble law." The racist Democratic Party of war and poverty won't fight anti-abortion terror! For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Coast-to-Coast Demonstrations Against Denny's Racism



WV Photos

From Virginia (left) to California, Labor Black Leagues and Spartacist League initiated demonstrations which brought out hundreds to protest Jim Crow discrimination at Denny's.

July 3 Labor/Black Protests

On July 3, several hundred people joined picket lines at Denny's restaurants across America, demanding "Down with Jim Crow at Denny's! For equal treatment, good service and food for *all*!" The demonstrations were initiated by the Labor Black League for Social Defense in the San Francisco Bay Area and called by the Spartacist League and Labor Black Leagues at six locations around the country. In Los Angeles and the Bay Area, Chicago, Atlanta, the Washington, D.C. area and Boston, integrated protests were held at selected Denny's restaurants: after noontime rallies, demonstrators went in to eat, to insist on equal treatment for all.

Three decades after the civil rights movement supposedly ended institutionalized Jim Crow racism, a national policy of old-style segregation at Denny's non-union chain of some 1,400 restaurants aims to drive blacks out. Among Denny's outrageous racist tricks: charging blacks-only "cover charges," demanding blacks and Hispanics "pre-pay" before getting their food, seating whites first, lousy service or no service for minorities, even closing down to avoid "blackouts" (management's racist term for too many blacks in the place).

"Denny's: Anti-Black, Anti-Latino, Anti-Gay," read one of the demonstrators' signs. Another declared, "Jim Crow Racism, Anti-Union Open Shop—Legacy of the Slavocracy." The Partisan Defense Committee carried signs saying,

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Battle Over Abortion Clinic Defense

On July 9, the anti-abortion terrorists of "Operation Rescue" opened their ten-day campaign to shut down abortion clinics in Philadelphia, Minneapolis, Cleveland, Dallas/Fort Worth, as well as San Jose, California, Jackson, Mississippi and Melbourne, Florida. The latter is the site of the clinic blockaders' 12-week "boot camp," where O.R. fuhrer Randall Terry made his infamous "the doctor is the weak link" speech one week before the murder of Dr. David Gunn in Pensacola.

In the main, the bigots' brigades failed in their objective to shut down the clinics, but the NOW/NARAL bourgeois feminists' bloc with the cops against leftists undercut protests. Mass clinic defense mobilizations were successful in keeping O.R. out in San Jose (see below). In Minneapolis, militant young activists have repeatedly battled the god squads in heated protests and faced police attacks. We publish below two on-the-spot reports of Spartacist interventions.

WV Photo

In Philadelphia, July 10, bourgeois feminists joined with cops to keep Spartacists and other militant clinic defenders (above) from confronting anti-abortion blockaders.

Philadelphia: Pro-Clinton Feminists Sabotage Clinic Defense

On the East Coast, Operation Rescue's target was Philadelphia, where a NOW/NARAL/Planned Parenthood coalition in league with Democratic mayor Rendell had passed an ordinance against clinic blockades. On July 9, O.R. made no attempt to shut down the three well-defended Center City clinics, and instead blockaded the Crozer Chester clinic in suburban Upland. But the feminist coalition grotesquely told clinic defenders to stay out of Chester, citing legalistic arguments like "the clinic is part of a hospital, so we're not allowed to defend it." NOW/NARAL would rather see a clinic shut down than see militant protest keep it open.

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs mobilized to join clinic defenders in front of the Elizabeth Blackwell clinic at 12th and Walnut in Philadelphia on July 10. Here was a good opportunity to sweep away the O.R. parading ominously across the street, but instead the bourgeois feminists were acting as ladies' auxiliaries for the cops, doing everything they could to prevent militant action against O.R.

Before O.R.'s offensive, a coalition leader had traveled to New York to actively *discourage* abortion-rights activists from coming to Philly. Those who refused to be fobbed off and came down to defend the clinics had to face a checkpoint of junior McCarthys demanding: "Do you agree with working with the police to keep the clinics open?"

When Spartacists, members of the Marxist-Leninist Party and others refused this loyalty oath, the cops stepped in to toss them out. Green-aproned monitors patrolled the crowd, fingering known leftists. A member of the National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition (NWROC) was threatened with arrest for loudly criticizing NOW's refusal to defend the Crozer Chester clinic.

Thanks to the feminists' attempts to throw out leftists and quash any attempt at mass action, the O.R. squads were not given the lesson they deserve, and were able to sneak away and overrun the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 581 30 July 1993

Imperialists Massacre Black Africans

U.S./UN Troops Out of Somalia!

Coutausse/Contact

Willens/AP

Streets of Mogadishu run with blood as UN "peacekeepers" mow down unarmed protesters. Somalis demonstrate hatred for new colonial occupation by "white warlords."

In the past two months, U.S. and United Nations "humanitarian" forces have turned the streets of the Somali capital of Mogadishu into a killing field, as the people of this small East African country have become the target of an ever more open and escalating colonial war. On July 12, U.S. Cobra attack helicopters—the same kind used in Vietnam—leveled what was allegedly the "command center" of leading warlord Mohammed Farah Aidid in central Mogadishu. This included Digfer Hospital, from which patients had been evacuated after an earlier American rocket assault last month left a gaping three-foot hole in the hospital's recovery room. The latest attack killed 70 or more people and wounded nearly 200, including Somali clan elders who were meeting in the building complex. "There were bodies all over the place," reported an American journalist on the scene, "they were mincemeat."

Since mid-June, when U.S. helicopter gunships bombed the capital and Pakistani UN "peacekeepers" mowed down unarmed protesters, Mogadishu has been subjected to repeated aerial bombardment, galvanizing widespread hostility to the neocolonial occupation forces. American jets arrogantly buzzed a demonstration by 2,000 Aidid supporters on June 19, as they protested the imperialist intervention and chanted "Down with Clinton!" Following the July 12 terror bombing, outraged crowds sought revenge by attacking a team of foreign journalists, killing four.

With the Somali adventure turning into a bloody quagmire, the imperialist thieves who make up the UN occupying forces are squabbling among themselves. Italy—the former colonial master of Somalia—has criticized the Americans' "cowboy" tactics and is calling for greater military restraint. Even the official newspaper of Italy's Catholic bishops, *Avvenire*, described the July 12 attack as a "vile American raid." But neither Italy's "soft cop" approach nor Washington's initial "humanitarian" posture can disguise the fundamental truth that the U.S./UN intervention in Somalia is a new colonial occupation of black Africa by the Western imperialists. When they're not gunning down defenseless civilians, the "new white warlords," as they're now called on the streets of Mogadishu, scream racist taunts and cries of "white power" at Somalis.

When lame-duck president Bush first sent American forces into Somalia last December under the guise of ensuring food aid to the famine-stricken country, much of the U.S. left acquiesced to the "humanitarian" scam. The Spartacist League opposed this racist military adventure: "behind this feigned concern by the racist American rulers for starving black Africans is the sinister reality of U.S. imperialism, which is using the famine in Somalia to justify direct military intervention in Africa" ("U.S. Global Cops Out of Somalia!" *WV* No. 565, 11 December 1992). Today, Western relief workers are among the sharpest critics of the U.S./UN intervention. "When the troops first came," one of them stated, "the humanitarian effort was their raison d'etre. Now we have become their fig leaf" (*Washington Post*, 12 June). Indeed, the worst of the famine had already passed by the time the U.S. moved into Somalia, and ten times more ($1.5 billion) is now being spent on the military operation than on "famine relief."

Last month American imperialism scrapped even the fig leaf of a "humanitarian mission" in favor of a "get tough" policy. After U.S. planes and helicopters bombed and strafed Aidid's headquarters in Mogadishu, the compound was overrun by UN troops spearheaded by the Pakistanis. Clinton triumphantly proclaimed: "The military back of Aidid has been broken. A warrant has been issued for his arrest." Acting like the Horn of Africa was the old Wild West, the U.S. proconsul in Mogadishu, retired admiral Jonathan Howe, offered a $25,000 bounty for Aidid's head, turning the local warlord into a popular hero. From his underground hideouts, Aidid has defiantly denounced the new colonial

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Background to the Balkans:
Imperialist Hypocrisy, Capitalist Counterrevolution

"Ethnic Cleansing" and Nationalist Wars

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Genocide "Made in USA"

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Stop the Execution of Gary Graham!

Despite numerous witnesses who support his claim of innocence, Gary Graham sits on death row in Huntsville, Texas facing execution on August 17. At the age of 17, Graham was charged with the shooting death of Bobby Lambert in a supermarket parking lot, convicted solely on the testimony of a witness who observed the gunman for "a split second" from about 40 feet away. Not one of the five other eyewitnesses identified Graham, and one says she has since seen Lambert's killer on the streets several times. Graham's court-appointed lawyer was *an acquaintance of the sole prosecution witness* and refused to investigate Graham's alibi defense. Four witnesses who were never called to the stand have come forward with affidavits saying that Graham was with them at the time of the shooting. Each of them has passed a lie detector test.

In a protest letter to Governor Ann Richards, the Partisan Defense Committee wrote, "We believe the racist death penalty is barbaric and an outrage against justice and decency. But that's putting it mildly where Texas is concerned." Texas leads the country with the highest proportion of poor, black, Hispanic and Native Americans on death row. With over 370 men and women sentenced to die, Texas churns out corpses like it used to pump oil. To make sure nothing interrupts this assembly line of death, a state law restricts the presentation of new evidence to *30 days after conviction*. A January Supreme Court decision upholding this law ruled that Texas death row inmate Leonel Herrera should die despite strong new evidence of his innocence. Four months later the executioner took Herrera's life. Meanwhile, in March, an all-white jury in Fort Worth let a fascist skinhead off with ten years probation for the premeditated murder of Donald Thomas, a 32-year-old black man.

Herrera was a Mexican American, Gary Graham is black: innocence is no defense to this country's rulers if you're poor, Hispanic or black. One of those fighting to prove his innocence is death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. An award-winning journalist, former Black Panther Party spokesman and supporter of the MOVE organization, Jamal was framed on charges of killing a Philadelphia cop and sentenced to die for his political beliefs.

For the past three years the white-supremacist South African government has not carried out a single execution. In that same period over 80 people have been sent to death chambers across the U.S., 20 so far this year alone, the highest rate of legal lynchings in over 30 years. Months after a Washington, D.C. referendum rejecting capital punishment, Waco mass murderer Attorney General Janet Reno is using a federal drug trial to shove the death penalty down the throats of the city's predominantly black population.

Harry Belafonte, Danny Glover, Coretta Scott King, country western singer Kenny Rogers, Amnesty International and all 17 Roman Catholic bishops in Texas are just a few of those who have spoken out in opposition to the death sentence against Gary Graham. Loretta Lambert, the widow of the man Graham was convicted of killing, wrote a letter to state officials saying, "I do not want the execution of a possibly innocent man on my conscience." Mobilize now to stop the execution. Save Gary Graham!

New York Times

Gary Graham

Send donations for Gary Graham's legal defense to: Gary Graham Defense Committee, P.O. Box 6668, Moraga, California 94570. For more information, contact Gary Graham Justice Coalition, P.O. Box 66806, Houston, Texas 77266, (713) 522-0254.

TROTSKY

LENIN

Black Liberation Through Workers Revolution

From our initiation of mass labor/black mobilizations to stop KKK/Nazi provocations to our recent nationwide campaign of protest against Jim Crow racism at the Denny's restaurant chain, the Spartacist League is guided by the understanding that black oppression is the bedrock of American capitalism. We seek to link the struggle for black equality to proletarian political power. In this, we stand on the heritage of the early Communist Party which, inspired by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks, broke from the outlook of the pre-WWI American Socialist Party, which at best was "color-blind" and at worst mirrored the overt racism of the AFL unions. Today we carry forward the authentic communist program, and look to the doubly oppressed black proletarians to play an exceptional role in the revolutionary struggle against American capitalism.

The Negro workers in America are exploited and oppressed more ruthlessly than any other group. The history of the Southern Negro is the history of a reign of terror—of persecution, rape and murder. The formal abolition of slavery made it possible for the northern capitalists to penetrate the south and to bring poor Negro labor north. This was, however, detrimental to the interests of Southern capitalists, and they have sought by every means to maintain the enslavement of the Negro. It is in order to subjugate him and break his spirit, that secret murder societies such as the Ku Klux Klan have been established. Because of the anti-Negro policies of organized labor, the Negro has despaired of aid from this source, and he has either been driven into the camp of labor's enemies, or has been compelled to develop purely racial organizations which seek purely racial aims. The Workers Party will support the Negroes in their struggle for Liberation, and will help them in their fight for economic, political and social equality. It will point out to them that the interests of the Negro workers are identical with those of the white. It will seek to end the policy of discrimination followed by organized labor. Its task will be to destroy altogether the barrier of race prejudice that has been used to keep apart the Black and white workers, and bind them into a solid union of revolutionary forces for the overthrow of our common enemy.

—*Program and Constitution, Workers Party of America* (1921)

Free South Korea Hyundai Strikers!

On July 20, the South Korean government unleashed an army of police to smash a five-week work action at Hyundai (see "Hyundai Strike Jolts South Korea," *Workers Vanguard* No. 580, 16 July). As 10,000 riot cops massed outside the Hyundai Motors plant in Ulsan, another 1,800 stormed the Hyundai Precision and Industry Co. plant in Changwon, taking 288 workers into custody. Five union leaders for whom arrest warrants had been issued managed to escape.

Invoking strikebreaking "emergency" laws that haven't been used since 1969, the government of former "dissident" Kim Young Sam outlawed any job actions at Hyundai until August 8. In a July 26 protest to the South Korean Embassy, the Partisan Defense Committee wrote:

"South Korea's 'economic miracle' has been built on the blood, sweat and corpses of the working class. As these workers demand more than starvation wages, they are met with yet another wave of brutal state repression. This puts the lie to Kim Young Sam's election being hailed as a 'victory for democracy.'

"Despite pre-election talk of amnesty, thousands of trade unionists and leftists continue to swell Korean jails while the butchers of Kwangju, Chun Doo Hwan and Roh Tae Woo, walk the streets with impunity. Riot police unleashed against student protesters; the mass arrest of striking workers—it didn't take long for Kim's 'democratic' façade to fall.

"We demand that all Hyundai strikers be freed and all charges dropped. Cancel all arrest warrants against union leaders. Free all trade unionists and leftists. Hands off the independent unions."

* * *

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013. ■

Reuters

Hyundai workers clash with South Korean riot police.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 581 **30 July 1993**

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

U.S. Troops in Somalia: In Defense of Empire

As the night sky over Mogadishu explodes into blazing light, UN/U.S. armed forces clash with Somali irregulars in the Horn of Africa.

The East African nation, already ravaged by famine and the disintegration of the fallen Barre regime, is now the setting for war.

So-called "Peacekeeping Forces" of the UN shoot live rounds into crowds of demonstrating Somalis, killing and wounding scores of them, and further defaming the dead by calling them "shields" for Somali gunmen.

Curiously, only the "shields"—Somalian women and children for the most part—are hit by gunfire, not gunmen.

Curious too, how troops kill unarmed demonstrators, mostly women, as part of a "Peacekeeping" mission.

The U.S., although not yet involved in ground activity, has unleashed repeated air attacks on the capital city, making President Clinton's first use of arms as Commander in Chief (if one excludes the Waco Massacre) in East Africa, against a small Somali militiaman commanding a minute squad of what appears to be armed (with small arms) children.

In a world where small wars and silent holocausts approach normalcy, where Serb/Muslim intergroup hatred has spawned concentration camps, mass rape and "ethnic cleansing" of beleaguered Muslims, the United Nations can only drop leaflets and MRE food packages. But that is Europe—where we are told centuries of old hatreds make military intervention ill-advised.

Where U.S. air forces dropped food relief to Bosnia-Herzegovina, they drop bombs in Mogadishu, E. Africa.

To "send a message" to a Somali general, his home, offices and supporters were bombarded by U.S. air fire. Bosnian and Serb "cleansers," we can assume, do not need any "message."

In truth, however, every act, even non-action, has a message.

The so-called "International Community" (actually a minority of the world's people) have used force in an attempt to humble an African militia leader who has sought to control his own homeland.

That same UN/U.S. force has refused to raise a finger where European militias have virtually razed cities and scattered countless numbers of Muslim families to "ethnically cleanse" Bosnia-Herzegovina.

To my mind, that's quite a message.

It is also illustrative of the way the UN has become the henchman of imperialist power.

It doesn't matter if the generals are Black, White, hetero or homo, male or female: They serve the interests of this system.

Nor does it matter if the President is Democratic or Republican—They fight to preserve the system.

Is it coincidence that Clinton's first military strike—into the Horn of Africa—comes days after his lowest poll readings?

The American people, if they have shown anything in two centuries of existence, have shown a passion for war.

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Jamal faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, Drawer R, Huntingdon, PA 16652.

Letters

Bill Whitney 1913-1993

Vancouver, B.C.
19 July 1993

Dear Comrades,

I have sad news. Our comrade Bill Whitney, for six decades a fighter for revolutionary Marxism, died at home on June 23. He was 80 years old, and had been ill for many years.

Bill joined the Trotskyist International Left Opposition in 1932, was active in the Spartacus Youth League, and became a founding member of the Canadian section of the Fourth International. At various times Bill was Vancouver branch organizer and a member of the National Committee of the Canadian group.

For many years, Bill carried on a correspondence with Peng Shu-tse, founding member of the Chinese Communist Party and leader of the Chinese Trotskyists, which began during the fight against Michel Pablo's liquidationist revisionism. Indeed, against the majority of the Canadian leadership, Bill was an early opponent of Pabloism. Reportedly, around 1953, U.S. Socialist Workers Party leader James Cannon, worried about the Canadian section, asked, "Where's Whitney on this?" Bill replied, "Against Pablo!" adding, "and where's Cannon been" in this fight? Bill was never shy in strongly expressing his opinions.

We first met Bill and Lillian, his lifelong comrade and spouse, in 1974, shortly after establishing our Vancouver local. Bill and Lillian declared themselves sympathizers of our tendency in the late 1970s, and in September 1992 they became consultative members of the International Communist League.

From helping Australian comrades on a campus sale in Melbourne while on holiday there in 1990, to accompanying comrades to pulp workers picket lines on Vancouver Island in the summer of 1992, Bill found new political energy in his association with the ICL. He spoke at the November 1990 Trotskyist League forum in Vancouver celebrating the anniversary of the 1917 October Revolution and the fusion of the TL with a group of comrades who had broken from Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat. With his delight in talking to young comrades, Bill was a living link between the earlier generations of revolutionary Trotskyists and those who today stand on their shoulders.

To Lillian and to all of Bill's family we extend our heartfelt condolences. To commemorate Bill's life, steadfastly devoted to the struggle for the communist future, we will be holding a memorial meeting on August 29 in Vancouver.

Comradely,
Oliver Stephens

Courtesy L. Whitney

Bill Whitney

"Collective Memory of the Working Class"

The following letter, accompanied by a generous contribution, was recently received by the Prometheus Research Library, the central reference archive of the Spartacist League. With its present occupancy at risk, on May 3 the PRL launched an urgent public fund appeal to assist in preserving and securing these premises (see "Prometheus Research Library Fund Appeal," WV No. 575, 7 May).

Portland, Oregon
26 June 1993

Comrades,

Enclosed is a donation for the PRL. It has been said that a major function of the communist party is to serve as the "collective memory" of the working class. Indeed, some artificial intelligence theorists see all mental activity as the sifting and recombination of memory to formulate a program or plan of action. Thus the struggle against capitalist and Stalinist lies and fabrications, that is, setting the record straight, is a vital component in the struggle to overcome the crisis of leadership.

Yours in struggle,
Geoffrey W.

Please help us to preserve and upgrade our premises and maintain our unique collection. Send checks, payable in U.S. dollars to "PRL Special," to: Prometheus Research Library, Box 185 Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013.

More on ADL Spies and Apologists

Oakland, CA
21 June 1993

Dear Editor:

Your coverage of the Anti-Defamation League's spying has been helpful in exposing its pernicious role as finger-man for U.S. imperialism. However, in your last article, "ADL's Massive Spy Operation" ([*WV* No. 577] 4 June 1993), you leave Stephen Schwartz off the hook, referring to him as a "professional anti-Communist" and his piece in the *Wall Street Journal* as an "apologia."

WV readers should know that Schwartz brags that he himself has been involved in these same kinds of spying operations, against not only the CPUSA but other organizations within the workers movement. A three-part series entitled "Private Spies," produced and broadcast in the Bay Area by KRON-TV in November 1987, documents how right-wing groups have spied on leftists and passed their information on to government intelligence agencies.

The reporter quotes Schwartz as identifying himself as part of a "commie-watching network," a member of the Institute for Contemporary Studies, founded by former Reagan top cop Ed Meese. Furthermore, Schwartz, she says, boasts of having addressed the White House and briefed Oliver North and then-CIA Director William Casey.

On camera right-wing social democrat Schwartz brays about his spying, "If any leftist group has an open office where there are a lot of people around and, you know, you can walk in and if there's something lying on the desk, you don't have to filch it. You might just write down what's on it. You see a list of names or something like that." This information, he snidely remarks, is then passed on to government officials.

Schwartz, a Zionist, is an ardent apologist for Croatian fascist Franjo Tudjman, mimicking the despicable Nazi-Zionist collaboration during WWII. But his article in the *Wall Street Journal* wasn't simply an "apologia" for the ADL. It was a defense of spying on the left, something he's been up to his eyeballs in for years.

For the Defense of the Workers Movement,
Jack Heyman

Part One of this article was published in Workers Vanguard *No 580, 16 July.*

Background to the Balkans: Imperialist Hypocrisy, Capitalist Counterrevolution

Der Spiegel

Communal warfare in former Yugoslavia has killed tens of thousands and driven millions from their homes.

"Ethnic Cleansing" and Nationalist Wars

PART TWO OF TWO

The hideous communal massacres and forced population transfers now referred to as "ethnic cleansing" are not unique to the Balkans, but a common occurrence in imperialist and nationalist wars in areas of nationally and ethnically mixed populations. The German Nazis, in addition to their "final solution" aimed at exterminating the entire Jewish people and their genocide of Gypsies, sought as well to carve out *Lebensraum* (living space) for a Greater Germany in the Slavic regions of East Europe. This was carried out on a vast scale using the *Einsatzgruppen* death squads. Their terrorist techniques have been copied by right-wing dictatorships around the globe (Pinochet's DINA secret police, for example, were advised by the former SS designer of mobile gas chambers). And a notable application of "ethnic cleansing" since World War II is the ongoing war by Israeli Zionists seeking their own *Lebensraum* against the Palestinian Arab people.

In the 1948 war, the single most terrifying event for the Palestinian Arab population was the massacre of 254 largely unarmed villagers, including many women, elderly and children in the village of Deir Yassin. Bodies were mutilated and the 150 survivors were paraded through nearby Jerusalem in open lorries to be spat upon. The "official" Zionist version is that this notorious atrocity was carried out solely by the terrorist Irgun. In reality the Haganah (the "Labor"-Zionist dominated Jewish national force) commanding officer of Jerusalem fully backed the operation, providing arms and ammunition for the Irgun, and the Haganah's Palmach commando forces provided artillery support for the raid. And Deir Yassin was hardly unique. In one incident, on 1 May 1948, the Zionists attacked the village of 'Ein az Zeitun, rounded up about 70 Arab inhabitants and took them to a nearby gully where, on orders of the Palmach commander, they were assassinated.

Not surprisingly, the details of Zionist atrocities have been extensively covered up by the Israeli government and the Zionist press. But, largely in the past decade, the grisly details of many incidents have begun to come out, many of them collected in Israeli historian Benny Morris' *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949* (1987).

In early July 1948, the Zionists swept the Arab population from the villages of Ramle and Lydda near Jerusalem in conditions reminiscent of the worst horrors of U.S. atrocities in Vietnam. After two days of shelling and bombing the towns, future Israeli army chief Moshe Dayan led a jeep commando into Lydda on July 11, machine-gunning men, women and children, whose bodies filled the streets. The following day, the adjoining town of Ramle was seized as Israeli troops went on an orgy of slaughter, firing and lobbing grenades into houses.

In an article translated and distributed by Israel Shahak, the courageous defender of Palestinian rights (and survivor of the Nazis' Bergen-Belsen death camp), Guy Erlich reports that, according to documents in the Israeli army archives, when a group of Arab fighters had holed up in a small mosque in the center of Lydda, the Palmach commander ordered it blown up. "A group of 20 to 50 of the city's residents was then brought in to clean the mosque and to bury the remains. When they finished their work, they were also shot, and thrown into the graves they themselves had dug."

On direct orders from Israeli "Labor" prime minister David Ben-Gurion, the entire population from both towns was expelled on a forced march into the desert. Estimates of the numbers of refugees involved range from 75,000 to 100,000 (the towns' normal population had been swollen by refugees). The desperate refugees were stripped of their possessions, food and water, and were driven into the desert by Israeli mortar fire. Untold hundreds died from exhaustion, dehydration and disease as they trudged for several days in the hot July sun. An Israeli soldier described the horrible trail that the refugee column left in its wake: "to begin with utensils and furniture and in the end, bodies of men, women and children, scattered along the way."

Some details of a massacre which took place in the southern village of Ad Dawayima at the end of October 1948 first came to light in the mid-1980s. According to a contemporary inquiry carried out by the left-wing Zionist Mapam party (which kept it secret in order not to "harm" the state of Israel), later uncovered by Benny Morris:

> "One soldier boasted that he had raped a woman and then shot her. One woman, with a newborn baby in her arms, was employed to clean the courtyard where the soldiers ate. She worked a day or two. In the end they shot her and her baby."

An Israeli soldier testified that they "killed about 80 to 100 Arab men, women and children. The children they killed by breaking their heads with sticks. There was not a house without dead."

Institute for Palestine Studies

Jaffa suburb of Manshiyeh after April 1948 Zionist bombardment and assault drove out the city's 70,000 Arab inhabitants.

Marxism and Interpenetrated Peoples

These mind-numbing atrocities were part and parcel of the consolidation of the Hebrew-speaking population in Palestine into a nation. For much of the left, these crimes against the Palestinian Arab people leave the Hebrew-speaking nation with the mark of Cain, denied the historical right to existence. But Marxists do not accept the nationalist framework of "collective guilt," which seeks to punish future generations for the crimes of their forebears. While championing the cause of the oppressed against their oppressors, our answer to national subjugation is not to reverse the terms of oppression. As internationalists we politically oppose all variants of nationalism, and fight to eradicate all forms of national and other social oppression through workers revolution.

What's posed in Palestine are *conflicting national rights of two peoples inhabiting the same territory*. In the mid-1970s, the Spartacist League carried out a discussion on the national question regarding interpenetrated peoples, prompted by a reconsideration of our position on the 1948 war in Palestine. At the time a whole spectrum of New Leftists, Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists had taken up the cause of a mythical, classless "Arab Revolution," portraying as anti-imperialism the hostility to Israel of the whole panoply of Arab rulers who participated with the Zionists in the dispossession of the Palestinian masses. But as we noted in our series "Birth of the Zionist State" (*WV* Nos. 33 and 45, 23 November 1973 and 24 May 1974):

> "Marxists do not pretend to sit with the gods on high, majestically rewarding the good but oppressed peoples with the right of self-determination and dispersing to the four corners of the world the bad oppressor peoples."

Our fundamental methodology concerning the national question remained unchanged throughout this discussion. as Leninists, we uphold equally the national rights of all peoples, in this case of both the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples, while defending the Palestinian people against Zionist state

terror. On this basis, in 1948 we would have been for military support to an independent Palestinian force, had one existed, against the Zionist state and the Arab League armies, *both* of which sought to suppress the Palestinian Arabs' national existence. Likewise, Marxists would have stood for revolutionary defensism of the Hebrew-speaking people in the event of an irredentist onslaught by the Arab bourgeois regimes threatening the survival of the Jewish population in Palestine.

Previous to that discussion, the Spartacist League had held the position that the intervention of the Arab League in May 1948 threatened the survival of the Hebrew people and its right to self-determination. While opposing partition and fighting for the return of the expelled Palestinians, we supported the call for a victory of the Haganah over the Arab Legion. However, re-evaluation of the events of 1948 clearly indicated that the Arab armies never threatened the existence of the Hebrew nation. Our conclusion was expressed in the following motion adopted by the SL Central Committee on 16 March 1974:

> "The correct Trotskyist policy toward the 1948 Palestinian War was one of revolutionary defeatism (and exercise of self-*defense* by specific villages and settlements when under attack) because:
> "1) the democratic issue of self-determination for each of two nationalities or peoples who geographically interpenetrate can only conceivably be resolved equitably within the framework of the proletariat in power;
> "2) concretely in 1948—the Zionist-led Jews possessed the social/military organization to achieve and expand their own nation-state. The Palestine Arabs were disorganized, ineffectual and betrayed on all sides. With the exception of the battle for Jerusalem, the Trans-Jordan (and British-inspired and backed) war aims were to compete with the Jews for the partitioning of the Palestinian Arabs' lands. The role of other foreign Arab armies was essentially to posture, seeking to deflect discontent within their own states."
>
> —quoted in *WV* No. 45, 24 May 1974

This discussion of the national question, in a situation where the Palestinian Arabs and the Hebrew-speaking people could each set up their own state only at the expense of the other nation, had broader implications for interpenetrated peoples in general:

> "When national populations are geographically interpenetrated, as they were in Palestine, an independent nation-state can be created only by their forcible separation (forced population transfers, etc.). Thus the democratic right of self-determination becomes abstract, as it can be exercised only by the stronger national grouping driving out or destroying the weaker one.
> "In such cases the only possibility of a democratic solution lies in a social transformation."

Under capitalism, one nation is necessarily pitted against another for markets and scarce resources, even at the most basic level—like division of the waters of the Jordan (or the Euphrates), or distribution of oil wealth. Such conflicts can only be equitably resolved in an internationally planned economy. Only under proletarian rule, in a socialist federation of the Near East, is it possible to assure the just national rights of all the peoples of the region. Socialist revolution will require a sharp break with the prevailing nationalist consciousness, pointing to the formation of a binational, Hebrew-Arab workers state, but a socialist federation could also encompass distinct national states.

We noted at the time that such considerations apply as well in other situations where there is a communal/ethnic patchwork, which is of particular relevance today in Yugoslavia:

> "For example, the decomposition of the old multinational Turkish empire precipitated a period of intensified murderous national conflict in the Balkans. The centuries of national hatreds and massacres between for example the Serbian and Croatian peoples exceeded the history of national strife between the Hebrews and Arabs in the Near East. The only basis for the unity of the Serbs and Croats (and other peoples) of Yugoslavia was the triumph of the partisan armies, against all of the nationalists, following World War II in a struggle which broke the bounds of capitalism and resulted in the creation of a deformed workers state in Yugoslavia."
>
> —*WV* No. 45, 24 May 1974

But with its Stalinist-nationalist politics, the Tito regime could not establish a real equality among the Yugoslav peoples or go beyond the narrow limits of Yugoslavia to fight for a socialist federation of the Balkans, for that would have posed socialist revolution in capitalist Europe and a proletarian political revolution throughout the Soviet bloc.

The current butchery in Yugoslavia demonstrates how rapidly this partial resolution of the national question could unravel as capitalist rule returned. But

WV Photo

Spartacists demonstrate in defense of Palestinian rights. Only proletarian revolution can provide a just solution to national question in the Near East.

even in the most embittered nationalist conflicts under capitalism, opportunities do arise for united class struggle which can be seized by revolutionary internationalists. In Cyprus, the national question was sharply posed in the summer of 1974 when Turkish troops invaded the island to counter a military coup by right-wing Greek officers of the Cyprus National Guard opposed to the Nicosia government under Archbishop Makarios, which was backed by the petty-bourgeois Stalinist AKEL. The heavily interpenetrated Greek and Turkish populations of Cyprus were mutually hostile (particularly after several generations of British colonial "divide and rule"), so that any of the proposed solutions under capitalism—union with Greece (Cyprus has a Greek majority), partition between Greece and Turkey, or even a federated independent state—meant mass population transfers and guaranteed further communal wars.

Ultimately, the Cypriot population was forcibly separated by the Turkish troops into an ethnically "pure" Greek region in the south and a Turkish region in the north, as about a third of the island's population—some 160,000 Greek and 65,000 Turkish Cypriots—were driven from their homes. But we noted that in the first days after the Cyprus coup and up to the Turkish invasion, there was a basis for united action by Turkish and Greek Cypriots against the military junta:

> "For a historical moment the interests of democracy were flatly counterposed to nationalism among the dominant people on the island. This was seen in the reported instances of pro-Makarios Greeks who were saved by ethnic Turks from the initial National Guard onslaught, and notably in a first-ever united Greek and Turkish Cypriot demonstration against the junta, in London on July 16. At that time the basis existed for a vast popular uprising which would very quickly have become transformed into a battle on class lines within the Greek community."
>
> —*WV* No. 50, 2 August 1974

The most explosive and enduring national conflict in West Europe pits Irish Catholics against Scottish- and English-derived Protestants in Northern Ireland (Ulster), who centuries ago were colonized into Ireland as a club against the Catholics. The 1921 partition by British imperialism, setting up the Catholic-dominated Irish Republic in the South while retaining Ulster with a Protestant majority under British rule, created a situation where the exercise of full self-determination by either community in the North necessarily means oppression for the other. An independent capitalist Ulster would necessarily maintain the oppression of the Irish Catholic minority; on the other hand, forced unification of the whole island (in the name of "Irish self-determination") is a call for the oppression of the Protestants in a Catholic-dominated reactionary clericalist Irish Republic.

In our "Theses on Ireland" (*Spartacist* No. 24, Autumn 1977), while calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the British Army from the North, we noted that the only equitable resolution of the conflicting claims of these interpenetrated peoples is through an Irish workers republic as part of a socialist federation of the British Isles. The "Theses" note that there have been examples in the history of the Irish labor movement of significant workers' solidarity which has temporarily cut across the sectarian divisions, concluding:

> "The instances of class solidarity are not proof of a deep-seated strain of class unity or that the situation is not poisoned by sectarian hatreds, but indicate that the opportunity can arise for a revolutionary organisation, though perhaps hitherto isolated, weak and small, to intervene, altering the course of the conflict toward a class determination and proletarian revolution."

Examples of significant working-class solidarity across the sectarian divide include the 1919 Belfast engineers strike and the mass unemployed movements of the 1930s.

The Formation of Multinational States in East Europe

While instances of interpenetrated peoples are to be found in the advanced capitalist (imperialist) countries, as the example of Ireland shows, this is relatively rare. For the most part, this phenomenon presents itself in countries of intermediate economic development, particularly in East Europe and the eastern Mediterranean, for concrete historical reasons. In the nation-states of West Europe, the creation of a relatively nationally homogeneous population (a factor favoring the extension of commodity exchange) was accomplished in past centuries, and was intimately linked to the development of the national market and the rise of the bourgeoisie. Differing populations were assimilated into the dominant national culture partly through coercion—sometimes quite brutal—but largely through economic forces with the development of trade and production.

However, in the present imperialist epoch, when capitalism is no longer in its progressive phase but instead decaying, with the massive destruction of productive forces symbolized by two world wars in this century, every attempt at "nation-building" in the colonial and ex-colonial countries inevitably runs up against the barriers preventing them from achieving sustained economic development. One need only look at the post-colonial economic retrogression of Africa (which apologists for a U.S.-dominated "New World Order" use to justify the reintroduction of colonialism under the guise of UN "trusteeship"), and the "lost decade" in Latin America due to the bank-engineered "debt crisis" which has driven down the living standards of the masses by 50 percent or more. With the economic pie shrinking drastically, attempts at compacting nations lead to the annihilation of national minorities, often in the guise of "punishing" minorities who under colonial "divide and rule" had been favored by the imperialists (e.g., Tamils in Sri Lanka).

The development of the classic nation-states in West Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries (and elsewhere in the 19th) was the launching pad for the industrial revolution and the emergence of the great world imperialist powers. But at the same time, the consolidation of the French nation-state was carried out through more than five centuries of almost uninterrupted warfare, from the Albigensian Crusade of the 13th century, through the Hundred Years War in the 14th and 15th centuries, to the Religious Wars in the 16th century and the Fronde in the 17th century. It began with the famous order of the early 13th century French commander as he launched the assault on the southern Languedoc region—"Kill them all! God will look after his own"—and went through the expulsion of the Jews in 1394 and the expulsion of the Huguenots (Protestants) in 1685.

The centralization of state power in the absolute monarchy, exemplified by the "Sun King" Louis XIV, reflected the rise of the bourgeoisie and served as a powerful instrument for national

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AP photos

1974 Cyprus coup provoked Turkish invasion (left), leading to partition. Demonstration of Greek and Turkish Cypriots in London's Hyde Park (right) cut across national lines.

"Ethnic Cleansing"...

(continued from page 5)

consolidation. But it was left to the bourgeoisie, in the Great French Revolution, to carry out the final consolidation of the French nation. It is a reflection of the weight of feudal provincialism that in the France of 1789 peasants generally preferred to speak local dialects: Provençal was widely spoken in the south, and in the border regions Basque, Catalan, Breton, Flemish, German and Italian were common. The revolutionary bourgeoisie ran roughshod over local particularisms, imposing the French language in school and administration, even prohibiting Breton parents from giving their children Celtic names. With the spread of general education, universal military service and improved communications, in the course of the 19th century a culturally homogeneous French nation was consolidated.

In East Europe the development of the first centralized states proceeded quite differently from the experience in the West, leaving a legacy of unconsolidated national groupings and interpenetrated peoples. While the consolidation of bourgeois nation-states in the West included the forcible assimilation of various feudal remnants, in the East multinational states were formed in which a myriad of nationalities were ruled over by a dominant national group—Germans in the Habsburg (Austro-Hungarian) Empire, Great Russians in the Tsarist Empire. The Bolshevik Revolution pointed the way to resolving this dilemma by combining the unfinished tasks of the bourgeois revolution—including national emancipation—with the tasks of the socialist revolution, confirming Trotsky's theory and program of permanent revolution. Elsewhere, in East Europe (and now, with the destruction of the Soviet workers state, throughout the former USSR) the patchwork quilt of peoples led to communal conflict and revanchist drives by competing nationalities.

In the West, absolute monarchies took shape as the harbinger of the bourgeois revolutions, reflecting the *weakening* of the feudal order through the growth of an urban mercantile class; in East Europe, the growth of absolutism led to a *consolidation* of the hitherto poorly developed feudal system (the "second serfdom"). The centralized absolutist states which emerged in the 17th century in the East—Prussia, Russia and Austria—were heavily militarized, fiercely repressive machines of a landed aristocracy intent on imposing a reinforced feudal order to squeeze surplus product out of the peasantry. The consolidation of these fortified absolutist states, in the absence of a dynamic urban bourgeoisie, tended to freeze social development, preserving overlapping and ethnically intermixed distinct populations that had long since been homogenized in the West.

If East Europe was a communal hodgepodge, dotted with a host of peoples—Jewish villages in the Russian Pale, interspersed among Poles, Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Great Russians; the Slovaks, Ruthenians (Ukrainians), Magyars (Hungarians), Moldavians (Romanians) in the Transcarpathian region; German baronial landlords in the Baltics; Saxon settlers fortifying the Habsburg eastern border in Transylvania; etc.—this was even more the case in the Balkans, whose extended occupation by the Ottoman Empire starting in the 14th century assured them a position as the most backward societies in Europe.

The Ottoman Empire was a case of what Marx referred to as "oriental despotism," with a bureaucratic state machinery whose "economic bedrock... was the virtually complete absence of private property in land," which was considered to belong to the Sultan (Perry Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State* [1974]). Class structure was undeveloped, cities were state administrative centers, providing scant margin for the development of a vigorous bourgeoisie. Balkan society under the Ottomans underwent regression to primitive local institutions—the village, tribe and *zadruga* (extended communal family)—many of whose provincial customs and clan loyalties have endured.

The various Balkan peoples were further scrambled by the centuries-long conflict between the Ottoman and the Habsburg Empires, making the Serbs, for example, not only the largest national group of the former Yugoslavia but also the most dispersed. Groups of Serbs were repeatedly propelled north by the advance of the Ottomans, who in the early 16th century pushed as far as the gates of Vienna. As part of their military defenses, both the Ottomans and the Habsburgs deployed colonies of Serbs in a broad arc along the fault line between the two empires. The predominantly Serb area of Croatia today, the Krajina, is in part the result of Habsburgs encouraging Serbian settlement along the "military frontier."

Bildarchiv der Osterreichischen Nationalbibliothek

1848 uprising in Vienna threatened to bring down Habsburg dynasty. Tsarist-backed counterrevolution in Austria-Hungary perpetuated reactionary monarchies in East Europe.

Awakened to independent life by the gradual development of bourgeois relations, the subjugated nations in East Europe could not form themselves into national states without confronting the resistance of the ruling strata of the dominant nations which had control of the imperial states. They responded (as did Ireland in the West) by fights for national independence, such as swept East Europe in the revolutionary 1848 "springtime of peoples."

Marx and the "Remnants of Peoples"

The Marxist attitude toward the national question in general, and interpenetrated peoples in particular, today in the epoch of imperialism differs significantly from what it was in the earlier period of capitalist development. In the mid-1800s, Marx and Engels judged the aspirations of East European nationalities to national independence according to their ability to consolidate modern independent nation-states favorable to economic development. They envisaged Central and East Europe divided into three great states—Greater Poland, Greater Germany and Greater Hungary. The western and southern Slavs, whom they considered too small, dispersed and backward, were expected to assimilate into these larger national units. Engels wrote:

> "Nobody will venture to say that the map of Europe is definitively established. But any changes, if they are to endure, must increasingly tend by and large to give the big and viable European nations their *real* natural frontiers to be determined by language and fellow-feeling, while at the same time the remnants of peoples that can still be found here and there and that are no longer capable of national existence, remain incorporated into the larger nations and either merge into them or are conserved as merely ethnographic relics with no political significance."
>
> —Friedrich Engels, "Po and Rhine" (April 1859)

In the Revolution of 1848, Marx and Engels distinguished between "revolutionary-democratic" and "reactionary" nations on the basis of whether their national struggle contributed to the European revolution or impeded it. And the South Slavs were distinctly in the latter category. For Marx and Engels, the national question in East Europe was subordinate to the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany. This included the task of German national unification, which implied a radical redrawing of borders throughout East Europe and an inevitable war with Russia, the main bastion of reaction in Europe.

Marx and Engels were adamantly committed to an independent Poland, since the partition of Poland was the cement that bound together the Holy Alliance of Prussia, Austria and Russia. But they observed that since the South Slav "residual peoples" were condemned to disappear, they necessarily played a reactionary role in the 1848 Revolution. The Croats, fearing national oppression of the Croatian minority by the dominant Magyars in an independent Hungary, sought to *preserve* the Austro-Hungarian Empire and helped the tsarist army smash the Hungarian revolution. At one point, in the early 1850s, Marx and Engels left open the possibility that the South Slavs would unite against their Ottoman oppressors. But in 1882, Engels noted with exasperation that "the smaller Slav nations have come to look to the Tsar as their only liberator" (letter to Bernstein, February 1882).

But with the advent of the imperialist epoch, the fundamental terms of reference were changed, which Marx and Engels were beginning to realize when they changed their position to favoring Irish independence in the 1870s. The 1896 (London) Congress of the Second International passed a resolution stating: "This Congress declares that it stands for the full right of all nations to self-determination...," Given the slicing up of the various nations and nationalities of southeastern Europe and the competing interests of the Habsburg, Tsarist and Ottoman Empires, the development of the social-democratic movement in the region in the early years of the 20th century brought forward the demand for a *Balkan federation* directed against all the competing imperialist powers. In January 1910, the Social Democratic parties and groups of southeastern Europe met in Belgrade and formulated a common program:

> "To free ourselves from particularism and narrowness; to abolish frontiers that divide peoples who are in part identical in language and culture, in part economically bound up together; finally, to sweep away forms of foreign domination both direct and indirect that deprive the people of their right to determine their destiny for themselves."

In July of that year, the Slavic Social Democratic parties met in Sofia at the invitation of the Bulgarian Workers Party to work out a positive program. Commenting on this, Leon Trotsky wrote:

> "The only way out of the national and state chaos and the bloody confusion of Balkan life is a union of all the peoples of the peninsula in a single economic and political entity, on the basis of national autonomy of the constituent parts...
>
> "State unity of the Balkan Peninsula can be achieved in two ways: either from above, by expanding one Balkan state, whichever proves strongest, at the expense of the weaker ones—this is the road of wars of extermination and oppression of weak nations, a road that consolidates monarchism and militarism; or from below, through the peoples themselves coming together—this is the road of revolution, the road that means overthrowing the Balkan dynasties and unfurling the banner of a Balkan federal republic."
>
> —"The Balkan Question and Social Democracy" (August 1910)

As a war correspondent during the Balkan Wars which led up to World War I, Trotsky noted the dreadful communal slaughter and forced population transfers, as the Ottoman Turks were driven out of the Balkans and then the various Balkan nationalities fell at each other's throats. In a March 1913 article he warned prophetically: "European equilibrium, which was highly unstable already, has now been completely upset. It is hard to foresee whether those in charge of Europe's fate will decide this time to carry matters to the limit and start an all-European war. One result, however, of the chauvinists' efforts is already obvious: throughout Europe a frenzied growth of militarism is taking place" (Leon Trotsky, *The Balkan Wars 1912-13* [1980]).

The monstrous slaughter of World War I, which had been triggered by the Balkan Wars, gave rise to the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and revolutionary situations throughout the continent. While the imperialist "peace" treaties sowed the seeds of future irredentist wars by deliberately cobbling together states with large national minorities, the young Communist parties saw that the just resolution of national claims among these highly interpenetrated peoples could only be achieved under the dictatorship of the proletariat. At its founding conference in May 1919, the Bulgarian Communist Party declared that the independence of the Balkan peoples could only be assured by a Balkan Federation of Soviet Socialist Republics. In January 1920, the Balkan Social-Democratic Federation was renamed the Balkan Communist Federation. And in a declaration of March 1920 to the newly formed Communist parties of Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia and Turkey, the Communist International declared:

> "Only the victory of the proletarian dictatorship can unite the masses in a Balkan or Balkan and Danubian federal, socialist, Soviet republic, liberate them both from the feudal capitalist exploitation of their own and the foreign bourgeoisie as well as from colonial servitude and national dissensions."
>
> —Jane Degras (ed.), *The Communist International 1919-1943*, Vol. I (1956)

The Bolsheviks and Multinational States

V.I. Lenin, in his article "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (February-May 1914), underlined essential propositions of the Marxist position on the national question in the imperialist era: "on the one hand, the absolutely direct, unequivocal recognition of the

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Genocide "Made in USA"

It is the height of cynicism for the American bourgeoisie, drenched in blood up to its elbows, to take a posture against "ethnic cleansing" in the former Yugoslavia. These are the people who wiped out over two million Vietnamese, dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and, using the "food weapon" and IMF "shock therapy," condemn entire countries to starvation. U.S. capitalism was literally born in genocide and forced population transfers—namely, the extermination of the American Indians and the kidnapping and subjugation into slavery of millions of black Africans. The legacy of Hispanic colonialism in the New World is no less bloody.

This destruction of humanity on a vast scale was an integral part of the origins of capitalism. Karl Marx gives a vivid portrayal of the primitive accumulation of capital:

> "The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, signalised the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief momenta of primitive accumulation. On their heels treads the commercial war of the European nations, with the globe for a theatre."
>
> —*Capital*, Vol. I, Chapter 31

For generations, bourgeois ideologues covered up the enormity of the extermination of the American Indians by pretending that the continent was virtually "empty" when the Europeans arrived.

Oxford University Press

Wounded Knee, South Dakota, December 1890: Bodies of nearly 300 unarmed Sioux men, women and children massacred by U.S. troops, thrown into mass grave.

Library of Congress

More than twelve million enslaved black Africans were forcibly transported to the New World. One in ten died in the harrowing "Middle Passage."

Hispanophiles vituperated against the so-called "black legend" of the monstrous crimes of Spanish colonial rule.

But in the mid-1960s a detailed study by anthropologist Henry Dobyns on "Estimating Aboriginal American Population: An Appraisal of Techniques with a New Hemispheric Estimate" (*Current Anthropology*, October 1966) argued on the basis of a broad range of data that the population of the New World at the time of the European conquest was much higher than had been previously accepted. He estimated "a hemispheric average depopulation ratio between 20 and 25 to 1," meaning that a staggering *95 percent* of the population of the New World, some 90 million people or more, perished as a result of the European conquest. This figure is now widely recognized among anthropologists.

This means that the total native population that died under the European onslaught may have been greater than the total population of West Europe at the time of Columbus' voyage!

When Christopher Columbus stepped off the boat on the island of Hispaniola in 1492, an estimated seven to eight million people lived there, according to the magisterial three-volume work of Sherburne Cook and Woodrow Borah, *Essays in Population History: Mexico and the Caribbean* (1971). Several decades later, the native population of the island "became extinct." Throughout Mexico, Central America and South America the Spanish conquest left millions dead from war, massacres, disease and being worked to death in the mines.

In his *Brief Relation of the Destruction of the Indies*, written in 1542, the Dominican friar Bartolomé de las Casas described the carnage he witnessed in the early 1500s in Hispaniola:

> "They entered in the villages, and left neither children nor old people, neither pregnant women nor those who had recently given birth that they didn't cut out their wombs and chop them into pieces, as if to give them to some pigs in their stys. They made wagers as to who could cut a man open down the middle with a single slice, or who could cut off a head with a pick, or who could open up the entrails. They took babes, by their feet, from the breasts of their mothers and bashed their heads against the rocks.... They built big gallows, with the feet almost touching the ground, and then in groups of 13 by 13, in honor and reverence for Our Redeemer and the twelve apostles, and throwing wood on the fire they burned them alive."

Naturally, such scenes were not shown in the recent spate of films on Columbus' "discovery" of the Americas.

This is not to deny that there was plenty of wanton killing among the indigenous population, particularly the most advanced peoples who had already reached the stage of class societies and had consolidated states. The Aztecs, in particular, practiced ritual sacrifice on a vast scale. Cortes' chronicler, Bernal Díaz, writes that in the Mexican capital of Tenochtitlán, in the plaza of Xocotlán, "there were piles of human skulls so regularly arranged that one could count them, and I estimated them at more than a hundred thousand" (*The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico, 1517-1521*).

While a lot of racist nonsense has been written as pseudo-scientific explanations for Aztec cannibalism, Mexican anthropologist Yolotl González Torres stated flatly: "It is, however, unquestionable that in no other people on the planet did human sacrifice have such importance in ritual, nor was it practiced in such large quantities, as in the Mexican society" (*El sacrificio humano entre los mexicas* [1985]). But even among the Aztecs the scale was minuscule compared with the horrendous massacres carried out by the "civilized" conquerors.

Yet the small bands of Spaniards were able to subdue a whole continent precisely because they represented a higher level of social development, expressed for example in their superior military technology.

The devastation of Latin America was the dreadful consequence of the Spaniards' drive to exploit the Indians' labor and carry off the wealth of the continent. But in the U.S., where the European settlers were uninterested in exploiting the Indians and rather wanted to take their land, they carried out a policy of systematic and deliberate *genocide* of the native population, coldly wiping out *millions* of people.

From the governor of New Netherlands, who introduced scalping to North America as a means by which Indian-hunting bounty seekers could claim their payments, to the 1838 "Trail of Tears," where thousands died as the entire 14,000-strong Cherokee nation was force-marched from their home in Georgia to the barren Oklahoma plains, to the final massacre at Wounded Knee, South Dakota in 1890 when the U.S. Army assassinated 300 unarmed men, women and children—the westward march of U.S. capitalism was guided by the spirit of General Sheridan's notorious remark: "There are no good Indians but dead Indians." The few hundred thousand survivors of that genocide and their descendants were imprisoned in squalid "reservations" under government guard, where they continue to endure Third World conditions of poverty and police-state terror.

The genocidal destruction of the Indians was a key event in building the American nation because it involved a fundamental social transformation which laid the basis for the development of capitalism in North America. At bottom, it was a battle between incompatible systems of production and ways of life—the Europeans' nascent capitalist society based on private ownership in land (and all means of production) against the North American Indians' primitive communistic society.

Lacking the tools and productive capacity for modern warfare, the Indians were unable to defend their existence. Establishing private property in land laid the basis for the expanding market in agricultural products, the accumulation of capital and the development of capitalist society in the U.S. This transformation was carried out according to the only rule capitalism knows: dog eat dog. The extermination of the Indians, which was glorified in the popular culture as a celebration of U.S. imperial might, left a birthmark of racism on U.S. capitalism from its inception.

Another cornerstone of the construction of the American nation—and of the legacy of capitalist racism—was the trade in African slaves, who were transported to the New World to be tortured and worked to death in the mines and plantations. This brutal forced population transfer began from the very start of the European conquest (Columbus even had African slaves among his crew on his first voyage of discovery).

The historian Basil Davidson estimates in his book *The African Slave Trade* (1980) that throughout the period of the Atlantic slave trade, from the beginning of this huge forced emigration in the middle of the 15th century until it came to an end in the 1880s, at least twelve and a half million captives

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"Ethnic Cleansing"...

(continued from page 6)

full right of all nations to self-determination; on the other hand, the equally unambiguous appeal to the workers for *international* unity in their class struggle." This position was adopted by the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920, in the "Theses on the National and Colonial Question," drafted by Lenin. In response to the scandalous support for European colonialism by the reformist Social Democrats, the Comintern insisted on the duty of supporting struggles against colonialism and imperialism.

Lenin's theses were amplified in the discussions on the national question at the Comintern's Second Congress, most notably by M.N. Roy's supplementary theses (which were adopted in amended form) emphasizing the contradictions between the bourgeois-democratic nationalist movements and the masses of workers and poor peasants struggling for liberation. In addition, a Ukrainian Jewish delegate of the Communist Party of Russia, A.N. Merezhin, drew on the experience of the Russian Revolution in areas of interpenetrated peoples in proposing an amendment to the "Theses on the National and Colonial Question":

> "The experience of the mutual relations between majority nationalities and minority nationalities in territories with mixed populations (the Ukraine, Poland, Byelorussia) has shown that the transfer of power from the hands of the big bourgeoisie to the hands of the petty-bourgeois groups that are forming republican-democratic states does not reduce, but on the contrary greatly sharpens internal national frictions. Republican democracy, forced by its struggle against the proletariat to substitute national war for the class struggle, quickly became permeated with xenophobia. It easily converts to its own use the experiences of the old masters of national oppression and applies them ardently. Inciting the popular masses of one nation against those of another, it uses the state apparatus to organize mass pogroms aimed against the dictatorship of the proletariat....
>
> "This same experience showed that no 'democratic' forms within a republican-democratic order, including the national-personal autonomy defended by Austrian Social Democracy, can ensure protection of the rights and cultural interests of the minority nationalities in areas with a mixed population or guarantee their true equal rights and equal influence in affairs of state."
>
> —*Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples, Unite! Proceedings and Documents of the Second Congress, 1920* (1991)

So already by 1920 the Bolsheviks had run up against the problems posed in regions of intermingled peoples, at least implicitly recognizing in this case that only under proletarian rule was a just and democratic resolution of the national question possible. The Caucasus, with some 50 highly interpenetrated nationalities scattered through this mountainous region, was a particular example of the intractability of the national question under capitalism.

After the October Revolution, from 1917 to 1921 the Mensheviks held power in Georgia, while bourgeois nationalists controlled Armenia and Azerbaijan (except for the proletarian oil center of Baku). In April 1918 they proclaimed an independent Transcaucasian Federal Republic. But the "unity" between these bourgeois regimes quickly broke down in national conflicts. There were repeated border clashes between Armenia and Azerbaijan, and full-scale war between Georgia and Armenia was stopped only by the intervention of Britain. Meanwhile, the Menshevik regime in Georgia—while touted by Social Democrats internationally as a showcase of "self-determination"—launched a brutal campaign of "ethnic cleansing" against the Ossetians in the north, the Abkhazians in the west, and the Muslim Adzhars.

At the close of the Civil War, the Bolsheviks took power in Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan through a combination of local uprisings and Red Army intervention. In Georgia, the regions which had undergone fierce nationalist repression under the Mensheviks were declared autonomous republics (South Ossetia, Abkhazia) and an autonomous region (Ajaria) within the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic. A number of autonomous regions were set up throughout the Caucasus, setting an internationalist framework for relations among peoples. An Autonomous Region of Kurdistan (so-called "Red Kurdistan") was established in 1923 between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

But it was over the national question in the Caucasus that the conservative, bureaucratic-centralizing tendency in the young Soviet state first raised its head. And it was precisely on this issue that Lenin took up his last battle, a political fight against the developing Stalinist bureaucracy. In early 1922, Stalin, as head of the Council of Nationalities, highhandedly forced the Georgian, Armenian and Azerbaijani republics into a Transcaucasian federation. That summer, he sent a commission including Dzerzhinsky, head of the Cheka, and Manuilsky to fight the "national-communist" deviation. In the autumn, Georgian CP leaders Mdivani and Makharadze were removed from their posts.

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1920 Baku Congress, organized by the Communist International to spread revolutionary struggle among Eastern peoples.

In September 1922, Lenin objected to Stalin's "autonomization" plan to bring the Transcaucasian republics into the Russian federation, and proposed instead a Union of Soviet Republics of Europe and Asia. But Stalin transformed the Transcaucasian federation into a single federal republic in order to lessen its weight in the new USSR. When Lenin received reports that Stalin's deputy Ordzhonikidze had physically attacked one of the Georgian opposition leaders, he ordered his own investigation and broke with Stalin. In December Lenin proposed to Trotsky a bloc against Stalin's Great Russian chauvinist policies on the national question. (Though Trotsky did not take this up at the 12th party congress in early 1923, it was addressed by Christian Rakovsky, who was to be a co-leader with Trotsky of the Left Opposition.) Lenin noted that, in the hands of an alien apparatus shot through with bourgeois and tsarist holdovers:

> "the 'freedom to secede from the union' by which we justify ourselves will be a mere scrap of paper, unable to defend the non-Russians from the onslaught of that really Russian man, the Great-Russian chauvinist."
>
> —"The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomisation'" (December 1922)

Lenin called for "exemplary punishment" to be meted out against Ordzhonikidze, for a reinvestigation of the Dzerzhinsky commission, and for detailed rules defending the national languages in the non-Russian republics, commenting: "It would be unpardonable opportunism if, on the eve of the debut of the East, just as it is awakening, we undermined our prestige with its peoples, even if only by the slightest crudity or injustice towards our own non-Russian nationalities." In addition, in a postscript to his suppressed "Testament" Lenin called for Stalin's removal as general secretary.

Stalinist rule would become notorious for Great Russian chauvinism, anti-Semitism, national oppression and forced population transfers. In 1929, for example, Stalin put an end to the autonomous republic of "Red Kurdistan," and in the 1930s he deported many Kurds from the Caucasus to Central Asia. The Leninist forms of national and autonomous republics and autonomous regions were maintained, but gutted of their genuinely internationalist content. It was possible for a time to *suppress* national antagonisms, but not to *transcend* them, which would require extension of the revolution to the advanced capitalist countries. It is not communism that has given rise to the explosion of bloody nationalist wars, but rather the Stalinist perversion of and denial of communism, ultimately leading, under imperialist pressure, to counterrevolution, bringing with it the vast escalation of nationalist revanchism.

Yet even as Stalinism has collapsed throughout East Europe and the former Soviet Union, West Europe has seen some of the sharpest class struggles in decades. The gruesome national-communal slaughter in the former Yugoslavia and ex-Soviet Caucasus, the high-tech mass murder in the Persian Gulf War, the spread of mass unemployment and homelessness even in the richest imperialist countries, vividly demonstrate that modern capitalism offers only the promise of deepening barbarism. The words of the 1848 Communist Manifesto remain true today:

> "The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself *the* nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word.
>
> "National differences and antagonisms between peoples are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world-market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto.
>
> "The supremacy of the proletariat will cause them to vanish still faster. United action, of the leading civilised countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat.
>
> "In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end."

Today in the aftermath of the collapse of the Stalinist-ruled degenerated and deformed workers states, "all the old crap" of the pre-World War I era has returned with a vengeance. "Ethnic cleansing," fascist pogroms, anti-Semitic attacks, daily terror against immigrants and minorities—these are part and parcel of the triumph of the "national principle" which the imperialists have pushed throughout the Cold War as a weapon against the Soviet Union and the "captive nations." And the grandiose promises of "European unity" sound ever more hollow as inter-imperialist rivalries intensify.

In the era of globalization of production, the contradictions between the increasingly international economic system and the narrow limits of the nation-state become ever more acute. Already twice in this century such contradictions have led to world wars and the annihilation of untold millions. The barbarism of capitalist rule is a stark reality; we communists fight for a world cleansed of class exploitation and nationalist fratricide. Workers of the world, unite! ■

Genocide...

(continued from page 7)

were transported (about one-tenth of them died on shipboard from the inhuman conditions), while many millions more perished in Africa as a consequence of the hunt for captives or their imprisonment awaiting transportation. This does not include those who died due to the (likely less extensive) non-Atlantic slave trade to the Near East and Asia.

The forced transfer and enslavement of masses of black Africans was a vital component of the consolidation of capitalism in the U.S. Slavery, which was sanctioned by the Founding Fathers in the U.S. Constitution, was an essential institution for the Southern planters because, in a situation where land was plentiful and labor lacking, it provided the manpower necessary for the large-scale operations needed for crops like sugar, tobacco and cotton. The commercial export of these cash crops to Europe was key to the economic development of the American colonies. Export of slave-produced cotton comprised nearly 40 percent of American exports in the early 19th century and made enormous profits for the Northern merchants and shippers.

One historian has summarized the crucial role of slavery in the founding of the United States by concluding that "slave labor of blacks was an integral part of the process by which the American industrial economy got started," and "the existence of slavery made agriculture not only a viable industry itself, but also the one that produced a substantial part of the capital essential to the development of the rest of the economy" (Donald Robinson, *Slavery in the Structure of American Politics 1765-1820* [1971]). This point is underlined by Peter Kolchin in his book *Unfree Labor* (1987), a comparative study of American slavery and Russian serfdom. As Kolchin notes, while serfdom had become a fetter on economic development and was abolished by the tsar, in the U.S. it took a civil war to smash the chains of human bondage.

The American Civil War simultaneously freed the slaves and definitively consolidated the American nation, but the democratic tasks of this bourgeois-democratic revolution were left unfinished. U.S. blacks remain a race-color caste, integrated in production but forcibly held at the bottom of U.S. society. It will take a working-class socialist revolution to finish the work of the Civil War. That would be a giant step toward a future international socialist society that will relegate capitalist-spawned "ethnic cleansing" to the prehistory of mankind. ■

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

You Don't Have to Be in the Mafia to Loot the Teamsters

When the government first announced they were going to "RICO" the Teamsters six years ago, putting the union under the thumb of federal judges and administrators, we said, "If 2,000 lawyers of the crooked 'Justice' Department get mixed up with the Teamsters, who is corrupting whom? Is this a fusion, a hostile takeover or what?" Since then, the feds have used their "Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act" weapon to run amok in the union, expelling officials, taking over locals and robbing the Teamster treasury blind.

The newest government capo is named Thomas Puccio, who made his bones prosecuting acquisitive Congressmen in the Abscam scandal. Now he is running another scam as "trustee" of Teamster Local 295, whose 1,800 members truck and warehouse the air freight at New York City's JFK and Newark airports. Puccio pulls down a cool $250,000 a year and his Labor Department gumshoe gets another $150,000—all out of union dues! Now, the *New York Times* and Clinton's "Justice" Department are gunning for the 1,300 Teamster clerks at the airport in Local 851. Based on the testimony of one Alphonse D'Arco, a government canary who says he is the former boss of the Lucchese mob, Puccio now wants to pull off a RICO takeover of Local 851—presumably doubling his fee at the same time. Teamster International president Ron Carey quickly dropped any opposition to this latest government seizure, clearing the way for Puccio to expand his territory.

Puccio is continuing the 1950s vendetta of Robert Kennedy, whose "Get Hoffa Squad" also targeted Local 295, a stronghold of then Teamster president Jimmy Hoffa. Kennedy's Senate investigations were aimed at breaking the power of the Teamsters. Liberal witch-hunter Kennedy persecuted Hoffa in order to go after the Master Freight Agreement. Half a century of government prosecutions, takeovers and "trusteeships" have never been directed at "mob corruption"—their target has been the Teamster union's power to shut down trucking across the country.

In the 1980s the FBI formed an anti-Teamster task force called the "Liberatus Squad" and planned their assault on the union. In 1989 the Teamster bureaucracy capitulated to the feds' RICO suit, signing a consent decree that gave federal judge David Edelstein and a three-man Internal Review Board enormous power to throw out union officers and approve appointments and expenditures. The board includes a high-priced Republican mouthpiece named Frederick Lacey, *who sits on the boards of the Teamster employer Anheuser-Busch and the notorious Pinkerton Company goons!* For this, Lacey bills the union $385 an hour! And sitting alongside him is former FBI and CIA chief William Webster.

This "Company" review board has purged 185 Teamster officials and taken over nine locals. Now with the contract for 165,000 Teamsters at United Parcel Service expiring July 31, the bourgeoisie is cranking up their media campaign against the "mob-dominated Teamsters." The feds are even complaining that Carey, whose victory in a government-run election was greeted by a *New York Times* editorial titled, "Virtue Triumphs at the Teamsters," isn't compliant enough! What more do they want? Carey's already forked over $2 million in Teamster cash to Clinton's election campaign and imposed givebacks in airlines and trucking. And on June 15, he "trusteed" Local 705 in Chicago, the 14,000-member freight and UPS local, at the demand of Lacey's troika.

This is the "Teamster Revolution" that outfits like Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) and the *Labor Notes* crowd are braying about. They brag that "TDU is now a player in national Teamster politics as never before." And the Solidarity outfit, braintrusters for this "sue the union" gang, gushes that "several TDU members have moved into high-ranking positions" in the Teamsters (*Against the Current*, March-April 1993). This is their payoff for numerous court suits against the union, and for giving the G-men a blueprint for the government's takeover campaign.

Aligning themselves with counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, Solidarity boasts in their magazine *Against the Current* that "Fighting for democracy has been a popular cause in the world lately, and TDUers have felt proud to be part of it in their own way." Like their bourgeois masters, for whom it was always "hate the unions, hate the Soviet Union."

We say: Hands off the Teamsters! Feds and RICO finks out!

WV Photo

New York, 1991: White Rose Teamsters strike was knifed when bureaucracy bowed before capitalist court injunction.

Illinois Workers Rally in the "War Zone"

CHICAGO—Unionists in downstate Illinois call the area a "war zone." At the A.E. Staley corn processing plant in Decatur, 750 members of Allied Industrial Workers (AIW) Local 837 have been pitted against this subsidiary of the giant British sugar conglomerate, Tate & Lyle PLC. Working without a contract since last October, they have now been locked out. In February, Staley unilaterally imposed draconian work rule changes, including attacks on seniority and a 12-hour shift scheme that allowed the bosses to work union members up to 16 hours in a single day without having to pay overtime. This parallels the attacks of another Tate & Lyle subsidiary, Domino Sugar, in New York. After a six-month strike at Domino, in March the International Longshoremen's Association tops caved in to the company's "last offer" and sent workers back to face layoffs, job combinations and widespread harassment.

But it isn't only Staley workers who are under the gun in the "war zone." On June 26, a Decatur rally in solidarity with the Staley workers drew over 4,000 unionists from all over Illinois. Among them were UAW members at area Caterpillar plants who have been working under a company-imposed takeaway "contract" since the UAW tops knifed the CAT strike in April 1992. They were joined by Electrical workers who had been locked out this spring by the Central Illinois Public Service Co., downstate Illinois' largest utility, as well as by striking coal miners, operating engineers, rubber workers and AFSCME government workers. Unionists lined the road outside the Decatur Caterpillar plant.

But the man chosen to emcee the rally is the embodiment of why the workers at Staley, Central Illinois power and CAT find themselves up against the wall: Ray Rogers of Corporate Campaign, Inc. Along with UAW New Directions "dissident" Jerry Tucker, Rogers has signed on as an adviser to Local 837, "advising" the union tops in their disastrous anti-strike policy of "in-plant" work slowdowns, coupled with "corporate campaign" pressure tactics. Even the haughty capitalist *New York Times* (13 June) is promoting the "in-plant strategy" in the "age of givebacks," calling it "an amalgam of two proven labor tactics"—the sit-down strike and the slowdown. An immense gulf separates the no-strike "in-plant strategy" from the heroic sit-down strikes of the 1930s, which not only halted production—and profits—but challenged the very right of capitalist private ownership.

Rogers has racked up an impressive record of *defeats* that has persuaded the AFL-CIO tops that his "corporate campaigns" pose no challenge to their jobs as agents of America's capitalist rulers. He gained notoriety in 1985-86 as leader of the Hormel meatpackers strike in Austin, Minnesota, where his strategy of boycotts, civil disobedience and reliance on the capitalist courts *diverted* the strikers from the crucial task of stopping Hormel's scab production through mass pickets and sit-down strike action. Like the Hormel strikers, Staley workers have shown a readiness to fight: on June 16 they walked out, winning the reinstatement of a fired union member. But at the rally Rogers offered up the most diversionary of boycotts, telling unionists at the rally that *they'd* be "union-busters" if they didn't cancel their insurance policies at...State Farm!

The impotence of the labor bureaucrats' "inside game" was laid bare when, less than 24 hours after the June 26 rally, Staley locked out the entire workforce. At 3:00 a.m. that Sunday, production workers were told to gather up their belongings and escorted out of the plant by security guards. Now Staley threatens to replace the AIW members with scabs. At Caterpillar, a similar "in-plant" campaign by the company cops in the UAW bureaucracy has left workers isolated and divided. At one plant, Caterpillar is recalling laid-off unionists as temporary workers for $8.50 an hour—without any medical benefits.

The way to beat the capitalist union-busters is to stop production, halt shipments and choke off profits! That means *militant strike action and plant occupations*, enforced by *mass pickets to keep out scabs*. To play hardball you need a class-struggle leadership that won't play by the bosses' rules. ■

WV Photo

Workers demonstrate outside Caterpillar plant in Decatur, Illinois. "Inside game" is playing by the bosses' rules.

Germany...

(continued from page 12)

been thrown onto the scrap heap by the Treuhand (Trusteeship Agency) executors of counterrevolution. A sign in the workers' headquarters depicts the Treuhand's claws digging into a factory labeled "DDR," and the sense is widespread, as one miner put it, that "The fuse which we lit here is going to burn in all east Germany."

Declarations of support have poured in to the defiant Bischofferode miners from workers throughout Germany, as well as from miners in Holland and Belgium, and striking Timex workers in Scotland. Some 100,000 D-marks ($58,000) have been donated to the miners' solidarity fund, 50,000 in the last three days alone. A July 10 support rally in Bischofferode drew 5,000 workers, and a smaller "day of action" a week later featured two dozen local truckers who drove their rigs up to the plant gates.

Yet while the miners see their struggle as linked with that of the entire working class, four decades of political atomization under Stalinist rule, as well as their present desperate circumstances, foster disbelief in the possibility of extending the struggle. Indeed, the miners have neither stopped extracting and shipping potash during the protest nor appealed for solidarity strike actions by other workers, like those at BASF. Instead they have appealed to the European Community Commission in Brussels to prevent the mine closure on the grounds that it would violate EC "anti-cartel" regulations. But the EC's "anti-cartel" rules will be applied only to protect powerful capitalist interests, not to save workers' jobs.

Spartakist photos

Bischofferode, Thüringen: Banner outside plant gate reads "This Plant Is Occupied." Five thousand workers rally in support of potash miners, July 10.

IG Farben in the Fourth Reich

With the annexation of the DDR by West German imperialism in 1990, the Thomas Münzer potash mine—named after the communistic leader of the German peasant revolt in the 1500s—was taken over, along with other East German enterprises, by the Treuhand. Now the Treuhand plans to close the mine as part of a merger deal with BASF, which will receive a $600 million bribe to destroy the eastern potash industry. BASF is a successor to the infamous IG Farben, an industrial pillar of Nazi Germany and a major employer of slave labor (one of its synthetic oil plants was constructed next to the Auschwitz death camp). The Farben bosses were bankrolling Adolf Hitler years before he came to power in 1933. After the war, they took on new corporate identities, like BASF and Bayer, and sponsored a new generation of political agents, prominent among them one Helmut Kohl, who served his apprenticeship at BASF as a protégé of Nazi slave-driver Fritz Karl Ries.

What worries the Fourth Reich's capitalist rulers about Bischofferode is that it will be an example for the angry and desperate working people of eastern Germany. A hostile front-page editorial in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (19 July) sneered: "What do they want anyhow? The guarantee of a job without work financed down to pensioner age by the state (as in DDR times)?... It won't make things easier for those who have to pay if a gains-of-the-DDR consciousness arises in the east."

And attempts by the capitalists to shift the cost of the leveraged buyout of the DDR to the western German working class will intensify class struggle there as well. In a *Spiegel* (19 July) interview, Treuhand manager Klaus Schucht worried that the example of Bischofferode could have "a powerful effect also on businesses in the west.... How will we then be able to carry out further employment changes in Germany?" Ruhrkohle, the country's largest coal producer, recently announced plans to slash 14,000 jobs, while BASF intends to lay off 15 percent of the 4,000 workers in its pharmaceutical division. And on July 21, some 8,000 Thyssen steel workers demonstrated in the Ruhr city of Duisburg against mass layoffs.

So the German rulers have moved to end the Bischofferode action quickly. The CDU government of Thüringen, with Kohl's backing, offered to provide the 700 potash miners with other jobs for the next two years. When this was rejected, they promised that the new employment would be maintained indefinitely. But the miners didn't buy this either. "Promises are not laws. That is why we have to continue fighting," stated miners' spokesman Giebert Sommerfeld.

For Workers' Solidarity Action, East and West!

The Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD), which was unique in its unambiguous opposition to capitalist reunification from the outset, has intervened heavily in this struggle, appealing for solidarity from other sectors of the workforce and pointing to the need to bring to bear the heavy battalions of the West German labor movement against BASF. In a July 16 leaflet, which has been widely distributed in both German and Turkish, to harbor workers, factories and workers' demonstrations, to Turkish communities and immigrant hostels, the SpAD has advanced a strategy aimed at mobilizing action in support of the beleaguered Bischofferode workers. Quoting Thomas Müntzer's 1525 *Manifesto to the Miners*, "Onward, onward, onward, while the fire is hot!", the leaflet raised the call:

> "Organize solidarity strikes! Shut down the BASF mines near Kassel! Extend the struggle, into the west as in the east; to the Ruhr, to the heavy battalions of the working class in steel, auto, shipbuilding. The numerous immigrants, among them tens of thousands of Turks and Kurds, who play a key role in production, can employ their fighting experience in the front ranks."

In the present context of anti-immigrant frenzy sweeping Europe, with massive deportations and hideous terror-bombings in Germany, the unity of the proletariat is an urgent necessity. The Bischofferode workers know what these racist atrocities mean; one miner noted: "We are the new Turks." In turn, when a nearby refugee hostel received a bomb threat aimed at pitting them against the miners, the refugees spurned this provocation and joined in solidarity with the potash workers at the plant gate. One hunger striker said: "We are fighting for you all. No matter where you live, where you reside, what you are, what skin color you have, what your beliefs are, fight with us!"

Bringing into play the social power of the West German workers is key to winning this fight! But the bourgeoisie's Social Democratic (SPD) prop and the DGB trade-union tops are dead set against such a course. On the eve of the July 17 solidarity rally, the IG Bergbau miners union leadership took out a half-page strikebreaking ad in a local paper, urging the workers: "End the hunger strike now, don't endanger what's been won." Is it any surprise that IG Bergbau head Hans Berger, who openly proclaims "Bischofferode cannot be preserved," sits on BASF's board of directors?

Actively promoting defeatism over Bischofferode is Gregor Gysi's Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), successor to the former DDR ruling party, now an East German version of the SPD. While Gysi visited the miners to proclaim his support, the PDS' *Neues Deutschland* (20 July) condescendingly lectured: "You can't win jobs by striking. This lesson of the market economy we have all learned in the meantime." At the same time, the PDS is seeking to exploit popular sympathy for the hunger strikers in order to push its popular-front "Committee of Justice," which embraces such right-wing politicians as CDUer Diestel, to promote the capitalist reconstruction of eastern Germany. The PDS actively fosters East German parochialism, which was already very much in evidence among the potash miners.

Indicative of the PDS' appetites, *Neues Deutschland* (26 July) features on its front page a slogan from Bischofferode which reflects lingering anti-communism among the workers, "Chancellor Kohl, should we drive you out to Chile too?" This refers to former DDR head Erich Honecker's move in January after the charges against him were dropped in an anti-Communist witchhunt trial. But the witchhunt against the former DDR leaders is aimed at "demonizing" the deformed workers state and such social gains as guaranteed employment, and intimidating workers in the east who would stand up to the bosses' attacks.

To reverse the mass unemployment and all-sided devastation imposed by the bourgeoisie requires a revolutionary struggle for power, led by a Trotskyist party forged in combat against the social-democratic misleaders of all stripes. Despite the important defeat represented by the destruction of the DDR deformed workers state by imperialist capitalism, the German proletariat remains the most powerful in Europe, and its militancy was shown by East German metal and steel strikes this spring and last year's massive West German public workers strike. As the headline of the SpAD leaflet declared, "Bischofferode: Battle Cry to Workers in East and West! Overthrow Kohl/Treuhand Gang, Kick Out SPD/DGB Traitors! For a Workers Government!" ■

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Somalia...

(continued from page 1)

occupation of Somalia. Meanwhile, his gunmen, aided by intelligence from sympathetic Somali nationals employed by the imperialist occupiers, wage guerrilla attacks on the U.S./UN forces.

The U.S. overlordship of Somalia has also been undercut by its Italian NATO ally. During World War II, Anglo-American imperialism took over the Horn of Africa from Mussolini's "new Roman empire." In the subsequent Cold War against the Soviet Union, the Italian ruling class—fearful of the militant, pro-Communist Italian proletariat—was slavishly loyal to its big brother in Washington. But with the Cold War over, the Italians are dreaming of a bit more independence from superpower America, especially in a region of their one-time colonial empire. All factions of the fractured Italian bourgeoisie united around this new imperialist campaign. The killing of three Italian soldiers, their first combat fatalities since WWII, exacerbated disgruntlement over the way the Americans were running the operation in Somalia.

In early July the commander of the Italian UN contingent in Mogadishu, General Bruno Loi, carried out his own private negotiations with Aidid, who was trained at the Italian military academy in the '50s. As a result Italian troops were allowed to reoccupy Checkpoint Pasta, named after a demolished spaghetti factory. In turn, they promised not to resume weapons searches in the surrounding area. And following the Americans' July 12 bombing raid, Italy's defense minister Fabio Fabbri called for "a cooling-off period to reduce tension, the suspension of combat operations and a renewed effort to restore dialogue," as Rome threatened to pull its troops out of Mogadishu entirely. To punish the Italians for their effrontery, Washington had its stooges at the UN fire Loi for "insubordination." The Italian government responded by declaring that its general in Mogadishu took orders from Rome, not New York, and would remain in place. And Washington backed off.

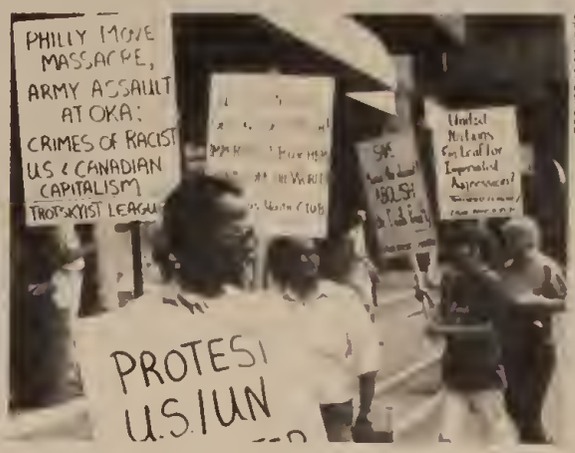
Behind the diplomatic row between Rome and New York is a general feeling in European ruling circles that America's Rambo methods in Somalia are designed more to bolster Clinton's feeble popularity at home than to restabilize the neocolonial order in the Horn of Africa. France and Germany have to some degree echoed Italy's criticisms of Washington's policies, and the conservative London *Financial Times* (14 July) wrote: "The rising death toll—35 UN troops, more than 100 Somalis—and the UN's decision to single out Gen Aideed as the chief villain in a land of feuding warlords, has stoked Somali hatred against what is now perceived by many as a foreign occupation force."

At the same time, Germany—the dominant imperialist power in Europe—is using the UN intervention in Somalia as a pretext to scrap its constitutional prohibition on deploying combat forces outside West Europe. Some 1,700 Bundeswehr troops have now been airlifted to Mogadishu. The embryo of a new Afrika Korps? Our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany wrote:

> "The masters of the German Reich are mobilizing again, 'step by step' according to war minister Rühe. First it was sending cruisers to the Adriatic, naturally only as 'observers.' After that came the Balkans, this time 'for historic reasons' from a safe distance of 5,000 meters high with AWACS reconnaissance planes—rather than with tanks as in the Second World War, when the Nazis slaughtered hundreds of thousands of Gypsies, Jews and Slavs. Now the first troop contingent is being sent to Somalia."
>
> —*Spartakist*, July-August 1993

Similarly, Japan—the other major imperialist power defeated in World War II—has, under the cover of the UN "peacekeeping" occupation of Cambodia, sent combat troops back into Southeast Asia for the first time since 1945.

UN "peacekeeping" operations have become both a means of legitimizing the imperialist policing of the impoverished African and Asian masses, and an arena for the imperialist powers to jockey for position against one another. Whether carried out in the name of "humanitarianism" or a "New World Order," working people in the U.S. and throughout the world must oppose imperialist military intervention in Somalia, the Balkans, Cambodia and everywhere else on the face of the planet. ■



Vancouver, June 26: Trotskyist League protests imperialist intervention in Somalia.

Abortion...

(continued from page 12)

militant defense, in San Jose and nearby Los Gatos and San Mateo, the SL and SYC joined forces with other militants to repeatedly rout the O.R. fanatics, repulsing attempts to break through the defenders' lines and terrorize clients.

The SL/SYC's role in this successful united-front clinic defense apparently drove one self-styled militant group into a frenzy, as the Revolutionary Workers League's NWROC came out with a cop-baiting slander sheet smearing our comrades. We reprint below a 23 July Bay Area SL/SYC leaflet in response to the RWL/NWROC.

Why NWROC Lies

On Wednesday, July 14, some 50 "Right to Life" terrorists of Operation Rescue (O.R.) attacked the Los Gatos Choice clinic just outside of San Jose. It began with an assault by ten O.R. creeps who busted their way through a line of clinic defenders. Dodging two baton-swinging cops, a handful of clinic defenders gave chase, removing five anti-abortion thugs and successfully preventing their attempt to block the back door of the clinic.

A militant defense line of members of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club, the National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition (NWROC) and the Bay Area Coalition for Our Reproductive Rights (BACORR) kept the clinic open. O.R. goons who sat down in front of the main entrance, pushing against the row of clinic defenders, were ousted. When an SL supporter chanted "O.R., KKK" at a screaming O.R. provocateur who was terrorizing a clinic client, the anti-abortion bigot made a citizen's arrest and had the cops haul him to jail on charges of "assault." A young leader of NWROC was also arrested for "trespassing," after the cops grabbed her by the face and dragged her out of the defense line!

Three days later, NWROC came out with a new edition of its bulletin "The Organizer." Completely disappearing the SL/SYC—not to mention any organization other than their own—from any role in defending the clinic, "The Organizer" obscenely libels our comrades as "fingermen" for the cops:

> "The cops also arrested two pro-choicers. One was a young NWROC leader and supporter of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). She was essentially fingered as a communist by the Spartacist League (SL), whose supporters screamed at her and other RWL supporters and used their first names repeatedly in front of two cops who were listening to the argument only ten minutes before O.R. hit the clinic."

What gives here? NWROC postures as the militant, "in your face" alternative to the bourgeois feminists of NOW/NARAL and Planned Parenthood who look to the cops, courts and above all to the "Billary" Clinton White House for their salvation (or more appropriately, their careers). But when one of their supporters gets arrested, NWROC blames it not on the cops, not on Operation Rescue, not on the NOW/NARAL "ladies auxiliary" to the Democratic Party. No, they blame it on the communists of the Spartacist League. As an aside, they laconically add that the "second arrestee was an SL supporter." (Maybe he fingered himself as a red?)

In San Jose, Planned Parenthood announced that nobody would be allowed on clinic property who did not sign their yellow-dog pledge vowing not to stop O.R. but to leave it to the cops. When the SL contingent refused, followed by BACORR supporters, the bourgeois feminists went running to the cops demanding that they remove us. With their slanders against the SL, NWROC serves the cause of the red-hunting ladies of NOW/NARAL and Planned Parenthood who want to keep all militant abortion rights activists away from "their" clinics.

Stalin is credited with the observation that paper will take anything that is written on it, and he certainly knew whereof he spoke. His slander that Trotsky was an agent of various imperialist police agencies was more than simply a war of words. It was a setup for repression. In its own penny-ante way, NWROC's attempt to finger us as some kind of provocateurs who set up militants for arrest, plays straight into the hands of the anti-abortion terrorists and the cops who would desperately love to bust up the politically diverse forces that united in militant defense of the clinics. What's necessary now is a united defense of all arrested anti-O.R. activists, not NWROC's slimy backstabbing slanders. Drop the charges against all clinic defenders!

If it wasn't intended to have such sinister implications, NWROC's inept slander would be completely laughable. Here we have an affiliate of the Revolutionary Workers League, a self-proclaimed communist organization, complaining about being fingered as...communists! We can't help it if the RWL/NWROC have a "closet rule" against their members "exposing" themselves as some kind of reds.

However, we will point out that, in this instance, the RWL's supporters were engaged in the rare practice of handing out their organization's press, *Fighting Worker*. One can only presume that they felt secure in the knowledge that no one, not even the cops, would think this was a "communist" (shudder) newspaper. Moreover, we can't help but note that our political discussions with the RWL/NWROC supporters "exposed" them not as communists but as a bunch of phonies. But maybe the bourgeois state is gunning for centrists?

What is really goring the RWL's ox is that three of their youth members in the Bay Area were recently won to the Spartacist League. They got fed up with being closet reds whose role in life was to slink around various feminist coalitions trying to pressure liberals to be more "militant." After being put in internal quarantine by the RWL leadership, which didn't want them "infecting" other young members with their political differences, they resigned and joined the Spartacus Youth Club.

Now these young comrades can fly under their own colors as open reds with a genuinely communist program. As opposed to the RWL's opportunist practice of duplicitously attempting to "bore from within" various rad-lib coalitions, they can now work with other forces on a principled united-front basis. The fight for abortion rights requires mobilizing the power of labor to defend the clinics and to fight for free abortion on demand and free quality health care for all. That is what the Spartacist League fights for, as part of our struggle to build a revolutionary party which will serve as a tribune of all the oppressed and organize to sweep away this entire disgusting system.

Despite our manifest political differences with NWROC and BACORR, we stood together to stop Operation Rescue. Of course, this flies in the face of the RWL's attempts to portray us as the sectarian, do-nothing, parasitical "Count Draculas" of the left. Their only recourse is to lie about us—but slander has long been the refuge of the politically bankrupt.

The RWL has some big problems. In San Jose, they pose as *the* militant clinic defenders. Yet in their election platform in black Detroit, there is no mention of defense of abortion rights. They are so manifestly incapable of answering our politics and so evidently worried about exposing their ranks to the Spartacist League that they refused to come out to, much less even give a paper endorsement for, our recent nationwide protests against racist segregation at Denny's restaurant chain (despite our encouragement).

Similarly, the RWL abstained from our 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization which stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982. In the aftermath they denounced this action as a "fraud," reviled the militant black workers and youth who participated in it as "dupes" and obscenely smeared the SL as "carpetbaggers," appropriating the disgusting racist slur used by the defeated remnants of the Southern slavocracy for "Northerners" who helped organize the freed slaves after the Civil War.

We have yet to encounter anyone who buys NWROC's lies. Even they felt compelled to put away this issue of "The Organizer" when we came out to defend a clinic in San Mateo last Saturday. But as the old saying goes, "A lie travels round the world while truth is putting on her boots." While NWROC's smear job might not play in San Jose or the Bay Area, doubtless the RWL will try to foist it on the uninitiated elsewhere. *Caveat emptor*—buyer beware.

If you want to find out about the real thing, get a copy of "Whither the RWL," which documents the fight of RWL youth members in the Bay Area who were looking for the program of genuine Trotskyism. To any militant youth around the RWL (or trapped inside it) who want to break with centrist politics and "come out of the closet" as unashamed, unabashed reds: the Spartacus Youth Club extends an open hand. Join us! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Defend Abortion Clinics!

San Jose: "Right to Life" Bigots Spiked

After bragging of "the biggest pro-life offensive in five years," Operation Rescue's seven-city, ten-day "Cities of Refuge" crusade ended July 18 in a big fizzle. Faced with poor turnouts and evident demoralization among his flock, embittered O.R. führer Randall Terry vented his rage by pointing to the Midwest floods as a sign of god's wrath. But these "god squads" remain a deadly danger, underscored by their continuing threats to stalk and harass abortion doctors in the wake of the murder of Dr. David Gunn last spring.

Yet the mass clinic defense which could have handed the anti-abortion bigots a resounding defeat was sabotaged nationwide by the bourgeois feminists of NOW, NARAL and Planned Parenthood. Instead these ladies' auxiliaries of the Clinton White House relied on court injunctions and the cops, *demobilizing* abortion-rights forces and allowing O.R. their only victory, a blockade of a clinic near Philadelphia.

In some areas militant clinic defenders were able to decisively spike O.R.'s attacks. As we reported last issue, in Philadelphia and the San Francisco Bay Area, Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club supporters mobilized to defend the clinics, raising the call for free abortion on demand and linking the fight for women's rights to the class struggle against capitalism. Defying the NOW/NARAL feminists' ban on

continued on page 11

WV Photo

July 17: Militants defend San Mateo clinic against Operation Rescue terrorists.

Capitalist Reunification = Mass Unemployment

East German Hunger Strikers Fight for Jobs

BERLIN, July 26—A hunger strike by potash miners in the east German town of Bischofferode has become a focus of working-class resistance to the devastation wrought by capitalist reunification, which has left nearly half the workforce of the former East Germany (DDR) effectively unemployed. Now in its fourth week, this desperate and courageous action has had an electrifying impact throughout Germany, galvanizing widespread contempt for the Christian Democratic (CDU) government of Chancellor Helmut Kohl while provoking a frenzy of vitriol from the bourgeois media.

Faced with the threat of takeover and closure by the BASF chemical giant at year's end, the 700 potash miners launched a protest occupation of the shaft on April 7. As miners get off their work shift, they join a round-the-clock protest picket at the plant gate, where a huge banner reads, "This Plant Is Occupied." On July 2, forty of them embarked on the hunger strike, stretched out on cots in the plant cafeteria. Inside, the walls are bedecked with solidarity statements and slogans. One sign depicts a gleeful Kohl feasting on a chicken dinner in front of the skeleton of a dead miner. Another reads, "Should unemployment in the east lead to civil war? Then let it!"

Six of the miners have now been hospitalized. Those who become too ill to continue the hunger strike have had their places taken by others, including miners' wives, sympathetic students and an elderly pensioner who came down from Berlin to solidarize with their action. The women workers and miners' wives have pushed forward to play an active role. Every day up to 20 women go down the shaft to participate in the occupation, 600 meters (2,000 feet) underground. Many of the wives formerly worked at the only other factory in town, a textile mill which was shut down after reunification.

DPA

Women workers and miners' wives join Bischofferode potash mine protest occupation.

In the ex-DDR, the women workers have been the most vulnerable to unemployment and the dismantling of essential social services (like child care). Despite the restriction of abortion rights, the birthrate in the east has fallen dramatically, an index of the population's lack of optimism about the future.

Ironically, workers in this region voted heavily for Kohl's CDU in 1990, lured by the siren song of a Mercedes-Benz in every garage. Today they are animated by a bitter hatred for the western German ruling circles, who promised them instant prosperity with reunification, only to deliver degradation and misery. "They only want the east to be a market for western German goods and not a productive society at all," exclaimed hunger striker Gerhard König, "we are only rubbish, garbage to them."

Through their dramatic action, the potash miners in this small Thüringen town have become the voice for millions of workers in the former DDR who have

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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The Deutschmark That Ate Europe

"New World Disorder"

Last fall, German bankers killed off the illusion of European economic "unity." Late last month they ignominiously buried the corpse. After a successful speculative assault on the French franc, the remains of the European Monetary System (EMS), which fixed exchange rates among European currencies, were formally laid to rest. Henceforth these currencies will be allowed to fluctuate over a 30 percent range of their previous parity against the German deutschmark. The counterrevolutionary reunification of Germany, which was billed as the cornerstone of a united capitalist Europe, has turned out instead to be its undoing.

For the past decade, *le franc fort* (the strong franc) has been held up as a prime symbol of French national grandeur. As long as parity was maintained between the franc and the deutschmark, French ruling circles could pretend that the European Community revolved around a Bonn-Paris axis. But, like the Maginot Line in 1940, the *franc fort* has now been swept away by the overwhelmingly superior strength of a resurgent Germany. Today it is the bankers of Frankfurt who openly call the shots.

And the French bourgeoisie is howling in impotent rage. "The Franco-German axis,

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Gorka Lejarcegui

Exhausted currency trader during the run on the French franc.

"Free Market" Misery Fuels Exodus

Explosion Builds in China

John Gittings

Girard/Contact

Impoverished peasants leave the countryside, lining up for railroad tickets to Beijing (left), as pro-capitalist economic policies widen gulf between rich and poor.

The dramatic sight of a ship jammed with Chinese emigrants disgorging its human cargo as the *Golden Venture* ran aground off New York City in June highlighted the plight of the many thousands fleeing the effects of capitalist market "reforms" in the People's Republic of China. The smuggler ship's name aptly captures the aspirations of the new Chinese millionaires and foreign investors who see a clear field for exploitation in the country's burgeoning "free market." But the cracking of the "iron rice bowl"—the guarantee of lifetime employment and social welfare ushered in by the 1949 Revolution—has meant untold misery for hundreds of millions of workers and peasants in the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state.

For Workers Political Revolution!

A couple of months ago, it seemed as if every major U.S. newspaper featured a "special report" on China's booming economy. Long gone are Western recriminations over the bloody suppression of the Tiananmen uprising four years ago. Hailing "China: The Emerging Economic Powerhouse of the 21st Century," *Business Week* (17 May) gushed that "The Chinese are rushing toward prosperity—and there seems no stopping their momentum," and urged the Clinton administration to embark on "A New China Policy for a New China." The *New York Times* (23 July) headlined: "China, Barreling Along the Capitalist Road, Now Posts Strict Speed Limits." And the mouthpiece of the Swiss bankers, the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (23 March) asked, "China's Economy as a Model of Reform?"

By dismantling central economic planning, loosening monetary controls and opening huge swaths of coastal China for foreign exploitation over the past 14 years, Deng Xiaoping's "socialism with Chinese characteristics" had seemingly created a fifth "Asian tiger," potentially dwarfing Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan and the Philippines. To keep population growth down, the bureaucracy imposed mandatory birth control and sterilization policies, restricting families to one child each. The International Monetary Fund and the CIA now rank Deng's China as the world's third largest economy, trailing only the U.S. and Japan. Disgruntled ex-bureaucrats in the former Soviet Union and imperialist spokesmen alike see in the "Chinese road" of creeping capitalist restoration tightly controlled by the ruling Communist Party apparatus a positive model in contrast to the chaos of Yeltsin's Russia.

The London *Independent* (30 November 1992) remarked last year: "As Russia's economy sinks deeper into crisis, many are now looking with envy at Peking's successful reforms." But eight months later, the same paper wrote, "As Russia stumbles to its feet, the 'Chinese model' is collapsing" (*Independent*, 22 July). What is behind this shift?

The steady accumulation of enormous contradictions in China's economy and society has turned the country into a pressure cooker waiting to explode. Deng's injunction that "to get rich is glorious" has fueled the rise of a layer of greedy speculators and entrepreneurs, most of them drawn from the *taizidang*—the "prince's party" of privileged offspring

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Protest Racist Cop Killing of Baraka Hull

OAKLAND, California—Around noon on July 30, Baraka Patrick Hull, a 19-year-old black man, sat in a car with his friend, parked in a driveway on 73rd Avenue in Oakland. When a police car pulled up behind them, blocking their car, the two youths fled. As Hull ran down the street, white Oakland cop Gil Tournour shot him in the back at close range. An hour later Hull was dead. His crime? The cop thought he looked "suspicious."

Outraged residents from the largely black and Hispanic neighborhood say they saw Tournour gun down Hull in cold blood. Witnesses reported that the cop chased the black youth for less than 100 feet and then stood behind a tree to shoot him down. "You shot my baby, you shot my baby," Hull's mother, Brenda Curry, who lives a few houses from the scene, cried at the cops. "My son wasn't doing anything, and you murdered him" (*Oakland Tribune*, 31 July).

Neither the *Tribune* nor *any* area newspaper bothered to report that the grief-stricken mother was *arrested and handcuffed* by the cops at the scene for protesting her son's murder (a shocking scene shown on KTVU Channel 2 news)! Subsequently leaflets endorsing the racist cop murder of Hull were left on the Currys' doorstep! No doubt the work of the cops, fascists or both.

WV Photo

August 7: Demonstration outside Oakland police headquarters called by Hull family members.

According to civil rights attorney John Burris, who is investigating the shooting on behalf of Hull's family, the young man fled in order to hide two "illegal" handguns he was carrying (*Oakland Tribune*, 3 August). The Oakland Police Department seized on this to invent an after-the-fact scenario to alibi the killer cop, claiming that "at one point...Hull turned to his left and pointed a semi-automatic pistol under his left arm at Tournour." But this lying cover-up was flatly contradicted by eyewitnesses who told reporters that Hull *never had a gun in his hand*.

The spot where Hull died quickly became a memorial, where residents have left flowers and handwritten tributes to the victim. Father of a young daughter, Baraka Hull worked nights for UPS and lived with his father, Glenn Hull, in South San Francisco. He often visited the East Oakland neighborhood where his mother and grandmother live, and where he was murdered.

Hull had a good reason to believe he should run for his life. Attorney Burris told a representative of the Partisan Defense Committee that he has recently represented four cases of individuals shot in the back by Oakland cops. The truth is that Hull was killed solely because he was black. To the racist cops, two black youths sitting in a car in East Oakland is automatically "suspicious," and when Hull ran, he was automatically "guilty."

And it's not just black youth who are victims. We remember Charles Briscoe, a black machinist brutally and sadistically murdered by the Oakland cops. (Briscoe's murder was protested by a large rally organized by members of his union at Oakland City Hall.) Not long ago Le Var Burton, the black actor, was pulled over while driving his Mercedes because he supposedly fit the profile of a "gang member"—i.e., a black man in a fancy car.

On August 7, in an action called by Hull family members, some 50 demonstrators protested Hull's murder outside Oakland Police Headquarters. In attendance were Hull's father, mother, stepmother and uncles, including Mark Curry, a star of the TV sitcom "Hangin' With Mr. Cooper." The family is demanding the firing of Tournour and an investigation into the police department's "deadly force" policy.

Members of the family of Jerrold Hall, who was fatally shot in the back by a white BART cop last year in a similarly wanton act of racist murder, were also present. Demonstrators carried signs denouncing the Oakland police department for genocide and a number of black children held signs reading "I don't want to be next, let me live past 19 years old."

A dozen supporters of the Labor Black League for Social Defense, Partisan Defense Committee and the Spartacist League joined the demonstration with signs including "Rodney King, Jerrold Hall, Baraka Hull—Victims of Racist Cop Terror and Murder" and "Racist Killer Cop Tournour Belongs Behind Bars!" We also carried signs highlighting our fight to build an integrated workers party that includes in its program "For Labor/Black Defense Against Racist Cop Terror!" Baraka Hull was a member of Teamsters Local 278 at UPS. The Bay Area's integrated labor unions should protest against this outrageous killing and in defense of minorities against racist attack.

A generation of black youth have been written off as "surplus population" by the racist rulers of this country. The shooting down of black youth in the streets is not a question of "bad cops" or "bad police departments." The cops will not be "controlled" by "civilian review boards" or black faces in high places—whether it's Oakland's new black police chief Joseph Samuels or Elihu Harris, Oakland's black Democratic Party mayor.

The cops are the backbone of the capitalist state, which along with the army, courts, prisons and FBI constitute the armed coercive force by which the ruling class maintains its class dictatorship over the working class. Cop terror in the ghettos and barrios across America is part of maintaining their bloody racist class rule. The murderous, racist police will be swept away for good when the workers take power in their own name in a socialist revolution! ■

China and Permanent Revolution

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Russian October Revolution of 1917 was a confirmation of the perspective of permanent revolution advanced by Leon Trotsky in 1905. Trotsky held that in economically backward Russia, the tasks of the democratic revolution—agrarian reform, national consolidation, etc.—could only be carried out through workers revolution that would necessarily pass over to socialist tasks. In his 1917 "April Theses," Lenin came to the same conclusion, preparing the Bolshevik victory. In a negative sense, the defeat of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, a result of Stalin's subordination of the working class to the weak national bourgeoisie represented by Chiang Kai-shek, demonstrated the validity of the strategy of permanent revolution in all colonial and semi-colonial countries in the imperialist epoch. In all cases, the key is a Bolshevik party theoretically armed to lead the workers to power.

The politics of the Communist International in China showed convincingly what the Russian revolution would have been converted into if the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries had not been thrust aside in time by the Bolsheviks. In China the conception of the permanent revolution was confirmed once more, this time not in the form of a victory, but of a catastrophe.

It would, of course, be impermissible to identify Russia and China. With all their important common traits, the differences are all too obvious. But it is not hard to convince oneself that these differences do not weaken hut, on the contrary, strengthen the fundamental conclusions of Bolshevism. In one sense tsarist Russia was also a colonial country, and this found its expression in the predominant role of foreign capital. But the Russian bourgeoisie enjoyed the benefits of an immeasurably greater independence from foreign imperialism than the Chinese bourgeoisie. Russia itself was an imperialist country. With all its meagerness, Russian liberalism had far more serious traditions and more of a basis of support than the Chinese. To the left of the liberals stood powerful petty-bourgeois parties, revolutionary or semirevolutionary in relation to tsarism. The party of the Social Revolutionaries managed to find considerable support among the peasantry, chiefly from its upper layers. The Social Democratic (Menshevik) Party led behind it broad circles of the urban petty bourgeoisie and labor aristocracy. It was precisely these three parties—the Liberals, the Social Revolutionaries, and the Mensheviks—who for a long time prepared, and in 1917 definitely formed, a coalition which was not yet then called the People's Front hut which had all of its traits. In contrast to this the Bolsheviks, from the eve of the revolution in 1905, took up an irreconcilable position in relation to the liberal bourgeoisie. Only this policy, which achieved its highest expression in the "defeatism" of 1914-17, enabled the Bolshevik party to conquer power.

The differences between China and Russia—the incomparably greater dependence of the Chinese bourgeoisie on foreign capital, the absence of independent revolutionary traditions among the petty bourgeoisie, the mass gravitation of the workers and peasants to the banner of the Comintern—demanded a still more irreconcilable policy—if such were possible—than that pursued in Russia. Yet the Chinese section of the Comintern, at Moscow's command, renounced Marxism, accepted the reactionary scholastic "principles of Sun Yat-Sen," and entered the ranks of the Kuomintang, submitting to its discipline. In other words, it went much further along the road of submission to the bourgeoisie than the Russian Mensheviks or Social Revolutionaries ever did.

—Leon Trotsky, "Revolution and War in China" (January 1938)

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ILWU: Contract Threatens Coast Unity

SAN FRANCISCO, August 8—Longshoremen up and down the West Coast are voting on a contract which threatens to carve up the union, setting port against port and local against local. At a "stop work" contract meeting of Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) on August 5, members of the SF local were met by unionists shipped up from Los Angeles by the International to tell them to vote for the contract. But one group of older black longshoremen, deeply angry over the contract, told them in no uncertain terms to get back to L.A.

Workers in the Bay Area are furious over the proposed surrendering of intra-port travel payments (normally made to longshoremen when, for instance, they must travel from their San Francisco base to the Oakland port) which add up to as much as $5,000 a year. When details became known on July 1, Local 10 workers struck in protest for a day. The contract also contains a virtual pay freeze and continues the divisive *four-tier* wage system. Sharply increased pensions are the "sweetener"—although it will take a worker hundreds more hours of work per year to qualify for a full pension credit. But the monetary details are only the tip of the iceberg of this rotten deal.

The real kicker in the proposed new contract is the much-ballyhooed Section II, "Framework for Special Agreement." Here the union bureaucrats and the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) bosses agree to negotiate a *separate* agreement in 1994 which ominously talks about "company by company, terminal by terminal" negotiations, "eliminating redundant jobs due to automation," and "the elimination of unnecessary or outdated Contract provisions or work practices." Like the union hiring hall? This section, if implemented, would give a *blank check* to the bosses to "rationalize" the waterfront as they see fit, forcing workers to compete against each other, "company by company" and "terminal by terminal," in the name of "competitiveness." It would destroy the coastwise standards won by the historic maritime 1934 strike and jeopardize the existence of the ILWU.

WV Photo

ILWU longshoremen outside L.A.-area container facility protest Southern Pacific's union-busting in February 1992.

ILWU International president David Arian promotes the "framework" as the wave of the future, which "will address the employers' needs" and "their legitimate desires to modernize operations" (*Dispatcher*, 14 April and 27 July). He claims that the PMA will give the union "top to bottom" jurisdiction on the waterfront. So where will Arian's new jobs come from? That's "sensitive," and neither side will elaborate in public. But it's obvious that Arian's corporatist deal with the PMA rests on *raiding* other unions like the Machinists and the Teamsters, setting up deadly jurisdictional warfare on the docks.

In his July 19 speech to the ILWU's Coast Caucus—where fully 40 percent of the delegates voted against the agreement—Arian attempted to browbeat the delegates with his version of the alternative that faces the union—the defeats suffered by Australian and New Zealand dock workers. In Australia, under the 1989 Enterprise Bargaining Agreement, the union tops, the bosses and the government ganged up to wipe out over 4,000 jobs—effectively cutting the workforce in half since 1990. Union control of hiring has been cut back, manning scales torn up, casual labor increased, and nationally uniform conditions are gone. Arian threatened that to fight means death, as in New Zealand, where "half the workers on the waterfront today are nonunion working for six dollars an hour, with the union workforce working right next to them and the government persecuting them." But these defeats came at the hands of Arian's counterparts in the trade-union bureaucracy, pursuing exactly the same kind of class collaboration the ILWU bureaucracy is shoving down longshoremen's throats here.

But Arian needn't have gone all the way Down Under for his example. His supporters from L.A. Local 13 write that "Under this contract certain sacrifices will be made. Historically, Harry Bridges confronted the same situation during the M&M negotiations." The 1961 "Mechanization and Modernization" (M&M) contract negotiated by Bridges was a watershed for the union, the beginning of a long, agonizing decline in size. Bridges accepted the introduction of "labor-saving" machinery at the workers' expense, in exchange for the "Pay Guarantee Plan" (PGP), which the bosses use to blackmail the union, threatening to cancel the PGP at even the hint of job actions.

Like the division of the union into "A" men and second-class "B" men, and the creation of a privileged layer of steady

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Romanian Miners Strike Against Capitalist Austerity

For the third time since the fall of the hated Ceausescu regime in 1989, the miners of Romania's Jiu Valley are in revolt. The 45,000 miners of the Transylvanian Alps coal basin downed tools August 1, after the government rejected the union's demands for doubling the monthly wage to 224,000 lei ($280), and proposed huge wage differentials between coalface and above-ground mine workers. Now, with the minority "social-democratic" government hardlining it, the miners are threatening to take their protest to the streets of Bucharest once again.

For the workers of Romania, while life under Ceausescu was bad, life under pro-capitalist austerity "reformers" is even more miserable (see "Capitalism Is So Bad, Romanians Say Life Was Better Under Ceausescu," *WV* No. 571, 12 March). Since 1989, the ex-Stalinists of the National Salvation Front (NSF) led by President Ion Iliescu have imposed "free-market reforms" in Romania which have led to galloping 230 percent annual inflation. Under pressure from the International Monetary Fund bloodsuckers, the government ended food subsidies last month, and this month introduced a value-added tax, which hits workers and poor people hardest.

Meanwhile, as ethnic/nationalist warfare and persecution sweep through East Europe, tens of thousands of Roma (Gypsies) have been forced to flee Romania to neighboring countries as their homes have been razed. But as Germany has slammed shut the gate to refugees, the first to be sent "home" by the chartered planeload are the Roma, more than 500,000 of whom were annihilated by the Third Reich.

Financial Times

August 1: Tens of thousands of Romanian coal miners go on strike.

Despite the immiseration of the Romanian people, the IMF last month refused a loan to Romania because of "doubts about the commitment to free-market reforms"—they'd prefer an even more right-wing government. Thus Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu is refusing even to negotiate with the miners, hoping to make a good impression on the imperialist bankers cartel. Meanwhile, the state sector workers are outraged by the measly 20 percent pay raise offered by the government, and the union of railway mechanics called for a strike in sympathy with the miners. Earlier this spring, tens of thousands of workers joined in protests and warning strikes, calling for "no more hunger and poverty" and demanding the resignation of President Iliescu and the government.

Miners union leader Miron Cosma, who had initially capitulated to the government at the negotiations in Bucharest, was forced to race back to the mine headquarters at Petrosani July 29 after workers staged a walkout demanding his dismissal. Cosma, who has on repeated occasions aided Iliescu, reluctantly called the strike, threatening, "We do not want to go to Bucharest, but everything is possible."

Although the militant miners are ready and willing to fight against the IMF "shock treatment," it will take more than trade-union struggle to defeat the capitalist onslaught and combat the growing menace of nationalist chauvinism. The rump-Stalinist Socialist Labor Party, which is strong among the Jiu Valley miners, supports the minority NSF government.

As we noted in the main document of the Second International Conference of the International Communist League:

> "The nascent bourgeois states of East Europe are, however, *extremely weak and fragile*. They have brought untold misery to the working people of the region without as yet generating a new class of capitalist proprietors.... The new East European regimes face a fundamental contradiction of trying to restore capitalism without capital. . . These brittle and shallowly rooted bourgeois-restorationist regimes can be shattered by an explosion of working-class struggle."

The Jiu Valley miners (who struck against Ceausescu himself in 1977) have twice mobilized in Bucharest to defend the NSF government: the first time against reactionary rioters preparing for a right-wing coup in June 1990; the second time to oust technocratic prime minister Petre Roman in September 1991. And if Iliescu hadn't capitulated then to the miners, they probably would have swept him away too. But today, with the IMF and World Bank wolves howling at the gates, the courageous Romanian miners are in urgent need of a genuinely communist—i.e., Trotskyist internationalist—party to lead them in a revolutionary struggle extending from the Balkans across East Europe and the ex-USSR. ■

Mississippi Valley Collection / Sorrell/Ebony

28 March 1968: Martin Luther King marched in support of striking Memphis sanitation workers (right). King was assassinated one week later.

Massive Army Spy Operation Stalked Martin Luther King

It has been known for years that Martin Luther King, Jr. was the target of a massive surveillance and disinformation campaign by the FBI and other government police agencies. The FBI's COINTELPRO (Counterintelligence Program) sought as one of its main goals to "Prevent the *rise of a 'messiah'* who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement." The Atlanta FBI had a "Destroy King" squad. But a recent investigative report by Stephen G. Tompkins in the Memphis *Commercial Appeal* (21 March) reveals a far more extensive and sinister spy operation carried out by the U.S. Army against the slain civil rights leader.

King was struck down 25 years ago, as he stood on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel in Memphis on 4 April 1968. James Earl Ray immediately pleaded guilty to being the lone assassin. Yet, at the moment of his murder, King was being secretly tracked by droves of Army intelligence officers and, apparently, elite Green Beret "counterinsurgency" squads.

Summarizing the results of his exhaustive 16-month investigation—based on reviewing "a trail of memos, memoirs, diaries and meeting notes" as well as classified government documents and interviews with nearly 200 people—journalist Tompkins judiciously writes that there is "no hard evidence that Army Intelligence played any role in King's assassination." But the wealth of material amassed by Tompkins (who now works for the governor of Tennessee) makes it abundantly clear that the Army was prepared to use any weapon against King and was "desperately searching for a way to stop him."

U.S. Army Intelligence and Security Command photos

U.S. Army inteillgence Command operations room at Fort Hoiabird, Maryland (left), as agents conduct domestic radio surveillance in 1968.

"Klan Special Forces"

Army Intelligence first started a dossier on King in 1947, when he was photographed with other Morehouse College students at a meeting with a "suspected Communist." Ten years later, "Army spies pegged King as a Communist tool" when he spoke at an integrated school in Tennessee. As King went on to become the most prominent spokesman of the liberal civil rights movement, Army Intelligence and a host of other spy agencies began dogging his every step and eavesdropping on every conversation. King had been the target of FBI surveillance and dirty tricks for years before his murder, going back to a COMINFIL ("Communist infiltration") campaign in 1962, which was the precursor for the later COINTELPRO operation aimed at destroying the Black Panther Party and other militants (see "Why the FBI Tried to Destroy M.L. King," *WV* No. 396, 31 January 1986).

As Tompkins documents, the Army spy operation against King was part of a covert war against black America dating back to at least 1917, on the eve of the Bolshevik Revolution, when a domestic espionage network was set up to go after militant socialists, revolutionary syndicalists like the Industrial Workers of the World, and "Negro unrest." King's maternal grandfather, head of the Atlanta NAACP, was an early target, as was his father, who participated in the National Negro Congress, associated with the Communist Party.

Tompkins reveals that government spying on the civil rights movement was so massive that, beginning with the 1963 Birmingham civil rights campaign, the Army was deploying high-altitude U-2 spy planes, notorious for infiltrating Soviet airspace, to track black protesters! On at least *26 occasions* over seven years the military used U-2s in domestic spy flights, taking off from the super-secret "Site 98" outside Nellis AFB in Nevada, as well as SR-71 "Blackbird" reconnaissance planes.

When Maj. Gen. William Yarborough was appointed Army assistant chief of staff for intelligence in late 1966, he brought with him the conviction that King and other black activists were directly bankrolled by China or the Soviet Union. The liberal preacher was an ideological opponent of black radicals, who rightly viewed him as a conciliator of the racist status quo. But the feds were determined to prevent the rise of a "black messiah." The convulsive growth of black militancy in the urban ghettos coupled with massive antiwar protests sweeping the campuses made the Pentagon brass feel like they were fighting—and losing—a war on two fronts, particularly in the wake of their humiliation at the hands of the Vietnamese NLF during the January 1968 Tet Offensive. It looked as though "the empire was coming apart at the seams," Yarborough said later.

Yarborough presided over what Tompkins terms the "largest domestic spy network ever assembled in a free country." Six regional Military Intelligence Groups ran 304 different offices around the country, while a seventh (the 116th MIG) operated exclusively in Washington, D.C. and the "super-secret" 902nd MIG headquartered in Falls Church, Virginia was controlled directly by Yarborough. Army Intelligence maintained its own dossiers on nearly 81,000 individuals and more than 211,000 organizations, with access to an additional 21 million files held by the Defense Central Index of Investigation, the FBI, CIA, Secret Service and other spy agencies.

Before taking charge of Army Intelligence, Yarborough had commanded the Green Beret training school at Fort Bragg. Insisting that the Green Berets and Army Intelligence could "mutually support" each other in "counterinsurgency operations both foreign and domestic," Yarborough began making use of these hard-bitten killers on the home front. Prominent among them was the 20th Special Forces Group based in Birmingham, Alabama, which included some of the worst dregs from the Vietnam War, "those who had worked in murky clandestine operations with the CIA, the Special Operations Group (SOG) or the top secret Detachment B-57"—like the infamous Phoenix "rural pacification" program which assassinated tens of thousands of Vietnamese. For the racist killers of the 20th, according to one counterintelligence officer, "Birmingham became Saigon. The rural South was in-country and at times things got out of hand."

When black Detroit erupted in the summer of 1967 in the largest inner-city rebellion yet seen, Yarborough ordered his men: "Get out your counterinsurgency manuals, we have an insurgency on our hands" (quoted in Frank J. Donner, *The Age of Surveillance*). Tanks rolled through the streets of the Motor City, blasting away at anything that moved and killing 43 people.

Tompkins notes that the military churned out plans—which were kept secret even from civilian police agencies—for possible counterinsurgency operations the following summer in 124 cities, complete with "maps with all 'sensitive areas' marked, landing zones,

secret storage sites for riot gear and weapons, and files on all civic leaders and known troublemakers." Green Beret units were dispatched to 39 cities—including Memphis—to "scout sniper sights." Detroit mayor Cavanagh ordered a special $9 million bond issue to buy machine guns, M-1 carbines, tear gas guns and grenades, armored vehicles, a helicopter and a spotter plane. Memphis cops set up five new "anti-sniper" squads.

Meanwhile, the army itself was secretly shoveling weapons and funds to metropolitan police departments and right-wing groups. The 109th Military Intelligence Group gave money to Baltimore's Inspectional Services Division to spy on "black radicals." The 116th allocated $270,000 to Washington police in 1967 and 1968. In Chicago, the 113th MIG supplied the right-wing "Legion of Justice" terrorists with tear gas and electronic surveillance equipment for use against antiwar groups. In the South, the 20th Special Forces set up a paramilitary training base in Cullman, Alabama for KKKers who called themselves "Klan Special Forces" and "soon became the 20th's intelligence network."

When King began speaking out against the Vietnam War in 1967, an army report frantically warned that "Negro troops are unsettled." In February 1968, Yarborough's top aides held a strategy meeting at Army Intelligence Command headquarters at Fort Holabird, Maryland to map out a systematic campaign to stop King, who was then organizing a "Poor People's Campaign" march on Washington for April. A secret Pentagon report warned that the march would be "a devastating civil disturbance whose sole purpose is to shut down the United States government," and blasted King as "a Negro who repeatedly has preached the message of Hanoi and Peking."

Army and police teams photographed King at a prayer march at Arlington Cemetery on February 6, and then used the pictures for dart practice. Later that month, an intelligence report noted: "Indications from reliable source are MLK will be in Memphis to support union striking city." When a March 28 demonstration for striking Memphis sanitation workers was attacked by cops, leaving one black youth dead and 60 injured, the FBI used this to warn that "acts of so-called non-violence advocated by King cannot be controlled. The same thing could happen in his planned massive civil disobedience for Washington in April."

As King returned to Memphis on April 3, he was shadowed by the 111th MIG. Also in Memphis, on an "unknown mission," was an "Operation Detachment Alpha 184 Team" of Green Berets. Tompkins' research could account for only eight members of the usual complement of twelve on this team. The following afternoon, King was shot dead. Hundreds of thousands of blacks took to the streets in outrage, as America's inner cities went up in flames. Congressmen looking out of the Capitol Building in Washington, D.C. could see the smoke spiraling skyward.

Feds and Klan Go Hand in Hand

One way or another, Martin Luther King was a victim of the very forces on whom he preached reliance. While urging the black masses to "turn the other cheek," King appealed for the organized violence of the capitalist state to be used in the service of reforming an unreformable system of racist oppression. He looked to the cops even to quell *black* rebellion. When the Los Angeles ghetto of Watts exploded in the summer of '65, King despicably declared, "It was necessary that as powerful a police force as possible be brought in to check them."

Indeed, the cops and troops were used *exclusively* to check black unrest. When Birmingham police chief Bull Connor unleashed his stormtroopers against King's protests in 1963, the Kennedy White House sent in 3,000 troops only *after* black demonstrators started defending themselves against the racist thugs. Despite occasional token reforms and lip service to black rights, the capitalist government—at every level—worked hand in hand with the Dixiecrat segregationists and racist mobs, from FBI Klan "informant" Gary Rowe, who was complicit in the 1964 Birmingham church bombing and the 1965 murder of civil rights activist Viola Liuzzo, to the feds' role in the 1979 KKK massacre of five Greensboro leftists.

AP

Birmingham, 1963: As police chief Bull Connor unleashed his stormtroopers against civil rights protests led by Martin Luther King, Army Intelligence U-2 spy plane flew overhead.

Several months after King's murder, then attorney general (and current liberal darling) Ramsey Clark gleefully reported to his boss, Lyndon B. Johnson, that the predicted summer of violence which King's march was to have triggered never happened. Far from being a "rogue operation," the whole FBI/Army vendetta against King was tied to the White House through the Interdivisional Unit set up by Clark in 1967. Clark's chief liaison with Yarborough was Warren Christopher, now Clinton's secretary of state. (Clark and Christopher furiously denied involvement until confronted with internal memos they had written.) And from the massacre of an integrated religious commune in Waco to the police-state occupation of South-Central L.A. last spring, the capitalist government's war against black America remains in high gear.

King's death coincided with the demise of the liberal movement he embodied, whose reliance on the Democratic Party of war and racism hit a dead end when they tried to tackle the economically entrenched segregation in the North. In the end, he was a victim of the system he tried loyally to serve. As we noted in 1986, "If the FBI did not pull the trigger, they fueled the social climate that spawned the vermin like James Earl Ray. King tried to serve both the oppressed and the oppressor, but the latter would not accept a dual loyalty." ■

Malcolm X Called It "The Farce on Washington"

August 28: Liberals/Reformists Want a Repeat

Karl Marx remarked that if everything in world history occurred twice, the first time was tragedy, the second time farce. Well, if the 1963 March on Washington was, as Malcolm X called it, a farce, what does that make its 30-year anniversary, the "August 28 March on Washington for Jobs, Justice and Peace"? Initiated by Coretta Scott King and endorsed by the NAACP and the AFL-CIO, the march's sponsors are focused on pressuring the Democratic White House for their various agendas. The moribund Communist Party USA (which outlived the collapse of Soviet Stalinism by force of lethargy) is whooping it up, hoping to breathe new life into its shopworn reformism.

But blacks and all poor and working people will not be served by trooping for Clinton. Desperately needed is a class-struggle fight to mobilize the power of labor and blacks in defense of their rights and their lives. And this fight must be waged *against* the Democratic Party government, and the sellout union bureaucrats and black misleaders that prop it up. That means *strikes* that stop scabs in their tracks, not crawling before the capitalist politicians in Congress to pass toothless laws against "replacement workers." It means *labor/black mobilizations* against racist terror, and a fight to abolish the racist death penalty, the legal lynching overwhelmingly of young black and Hispanic men by the capitalist state. It means *defense of abortion clinics*, not reliance on feminist lawyers and their Democratic Party friends. Most of all, it means building a *fighting workers party* to galvanize and organize the struggle, through a *break* with the Democrats, whose reason for existence is to keep the working class and minorities in line.

One thing's for sure, you won't find these kinds of politics on the platform in Washington on August 28. Now that Clinton's in, the CPUSA's *People's Weekly World* (24 July) hastens to assure us that "August 28 is not anti-administration," unlike "Solidarity Day of August 1981" in the first year of the Reagan administration. But that massive march, called after Reagan's mass firing of the striking air controllers, was held to blow off steam and kiss off the PATCO strikers, while social-democratic sellouts like IAM head Bill Winpisinger refused to shut down the airlines and win this crucial labor battle.

"Keep the Dream Alive!" headlines a leaflet for the August 28 march from DC 37 municipal workers, referring to M.L. King's famous "I Have a Dream" speech at the '63 march. Radical SNCC students responded then with a button, "I Have a Nightmare."

The 1963 March on Washington was an attempt to channel the mass struggle for black rights into pressure politics for the passing of a civil rights bill and to cement ties with the Democratic Party. Even the most conservative civil rights leaders initially saw the march as a means to put the heat on the Kennedy administration, which was dragging its heels on the bill and other anti-discrimination legislation. But when Kennedy called the "respectable leaders" into the Oval Office for a conference, they quickly changed their minds. They changed their destination from the White House to the Lincoln Memorial, issued a march handbook deleting a "statement to the president" and a call to confront Congress. Participation was denied to "subversive" groups, and speeches were censored. Although John Lewis of SNCC was invited to speak, he was pressured into deleting from his prepared text the sentence, "We cannot depend on any political party for both Democrats and Republicans have betrayed the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence."

Although the '64 Civil Rights Act was a supportable declaration of minimal democratic rights, the march was meant to build support for precisely that party whose purpose was to sabotage any attempt by blacks to gain those rights.

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- Activists Remember the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Power Era
- Imperialism Starves Africa
- U.S. Global Cops Out of Somalia!
- Vancouver: 3,000 Drive Off Fascist Skinheads
- Georgia: Down With the Flag of Slavery
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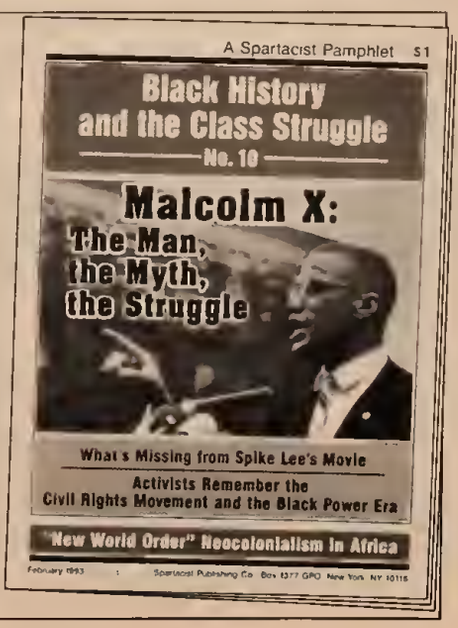

Harlem Benefit for Jamal, Graham

Urgent Call: Stop the Execution of Gary Graham!

"A Literary Benefit for Two Black Writers on Death Row" was held in the Harriet Tubman School auditorium in Harlem, August 5. Some 200 people turned out to hear prominent stage and screen personalities Danny Glover and Ruby Dee read from the works of prisoners Mumia Abu-Jamal and Gary Graham. NYC judge Bruce Wright was also a featured speaker.

The hour of execution looms for Gary Graham, who has been scheduled for judicial murder by the state of Texas on August 17. At press time, a judge's order for an evidentiary hearing or a stay of execution is being appealed by the state. Mumia Abu-Jamal is a death row political prisoner in Pennsylvania. A Philadelphia radio journalist, Jamal is a former Black Panther and supporter of the MOVE organization.

WV Photo

Danny Glover and Ruby Dee read from writings of Mumia Abu-Jamal and Gary Graham at Harlem benefit, August 5.

The case of Gary Graham has become a symbol of the 2,700 prisoners on death row across the U.S. Sentenced to death at age 17 despite substantial evidence of his innocence, Gary Graham has become a symbol of the government's vindictive campaign to wield the executioner's ax, and to hell with the evidence. Graham was railroaded on charges of shooting a man in a supermarket parking lot despite numerous witnesses who have attested to his innocence. His court-appointed "defense attorney" was an acquaintance of the sole prosecution witness. Graham's case has recently been championed by the NAACP and taken up by the Congressional Black Caucus.

The August 5 Harlem meeting was co-sponsored by Amnesty International, along with the Black Panther Newspaper Committee, the Gary Graham Coalition, the Hunter College Black Student Union and the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal. This marked an important change on the part of Amnesty International, USA, which had until recently avoided taking up the cases of black political prisoners.

Speaker after speaker linked the racist death penalty to the history of

New York Times

Gary Graham

repression of the black populace of the U.S. Former political prisoner Dhoruba bin Wahad linked the death penalty to the government's COINTELPRO program aimed at intimidating black youth and forcing them out of political struggle. More than one speaker bitterly contrasted the adulation accorded black imperialist front man, General Colin Powell, with the judicial torture meted out to Graham and Jamal.

Civil rights attorney Leonard Weinglass, chief counsel for Mumia Abu-Jamal, repeated the call for an urgent fight to stop the execution of Gary Graham. The U.S. has been executing people this year at a rate higher than at any time in the last 30 years, he noted. "Even countries like South Africa have not executed in three years, and the pace of executions is quickening very rapidly. If they can get past Gary, if they can get past Mumia, then it is indeed very serious."

In the words of Gary Graham, "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere." Stop the executions!

ILWU...

(continued from page 3)

men, Bridges' M&M contract laid the basis for the erosion of jobs that Arian continues today. Against this strangling of the union, there must be a fight for jobs for all—including "B" men and casuals—at full pay and pensions, with special training and recruitment programs for minorities and women.

Arian says "the days when we could win some measure of justice by simply establishing a picket line...are long gone." Arian, and bureaucrats like Richard Trumka of the Mine Workers, are the offspring of the anti-communist, union-busting Taft-Hartley law, tied by a thousand strings to the bosses' government, steeped in the world of Labor Board rulings and begging Congress. PMA bosses wondered, after years of "quiet" under former union chief Jimmy Herman, if Arian, a "self-avowed socialist," was going to "spell trouble." Well, Arian quickly "clarified that he is not a socialist" (*Journal of Commerce*, 3 April 1992). His sabotage of a coastwide action against Southern Pacific Railroad's firing of 300 Los Angeles ILWU workers last year reassured the PMA.

The same bureaucracy which is sinking the ILWU retails the most disgusting "defense" of "American jobs" in its *protectionist* opposition to the Free Trade Agreement which aims at the creation of a "Fortress North America" to wage trade war against Japanese and European rivals. Criticizing Bush last year for "ripping away at the fabric of American life," Arian rants that the government holds "our agriculture industry hostage to low-wage foreign competition" and "they subvert laws, such as the Immigration Act, which were intended to protect American workers" (*Dispatcher*, 24 March 1992)!

On the eve of the contract, the shippers' *Journal of Commerce* (1 July) noted that the longshore union, "by virtue of its control over dock work in ports handling roughly half of the country's imports and exports, is considered one of the most powerful in the country." Instead of chauvinist appeals, what's needed is *international workers unity*. And waterfront unions from Vancouver, Canada to Veracruz, Mexico are well placed to be in the forefront of militant *class* struggle against their respective capitalist rulers and the bosses' "free trade" fraud. But that requires a leadership that fights, in Trotsky's words, to transform the unions into "instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat" (*Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay* [1940]). ■

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Malcolm X...

(continued from page 5)

Characterizing the march as the "Farce on Washington," Malcolm X wrote:

> "In '63 it was the march on Washington. In '64, what was it? The civil-rights bill. Right after they passed the civil-rights hill they murdered a Negro in Georgia and did nothing about it; murdered two whites and a Negro in Mississippi and did nothing about it. So that the civil-rights bill has produced nothing where we're concerned. It was only a valve, a vent, that was designed to enable us to let off our frustrations. But the bill itself was not designed to solve our problems."
>
> —George Breitman, ed.,
> *Malcolm X Speaks* (1965)

Malcolm gave voice to and reflected the feelings of thousands of young black radicals whose experience in "the movement" was leading them to break with the pacifism and Democratic Party liberalism of their leaders, in the direction of the initially contradictory politics embodied in the slogan of black power. For these radicals, Malcolm's writings demolished the politics of Martin Luther King, who had come to see the 1963 march as the high point of his career. Today, this does not prevent such craven social democrats as *Socialist Action* from lauding the "evolution" which "moved Dr. King from the path of reform and the belief that American institutions can be fixed to a more radical outlook" (*Socialist Action*, April 1993). This blatant rewriting of history, echoing a longtime CP theme, erases the central political fight between the right and left wings of the civil rights movement, so as to hide the reformists' own tailist role in it.

Thirty years after the '63 March on Washington, the desperate plight of black people in this deeply racist country is far worse. Massive layoffs and the deindustrialization of American capitalism have decimated the black proletariat and marginalized millions into the forgotten wastelands of South-Central and the South Bronx. While fire-bombers torch West Coast NAACP offices, Clinton's "justice" minister Janet Reno and the feds unleash a fiery inferno on "dissenters" like the small Christian sect in Waco, Texas.

The "black power" radicals correctly rejected the program of liberal integration into this racist capitalist system. But they never found the link between the ghetto and the factory, the program of *revolutionary* integrationism, and soon consolidated around the dead end of black nationalism. Our fight is to forge the multiracial vanguard party of the proletariat that champions the cause of all the oppressed. *For black liberation through socialist revolution!* ■

Split in the BT

Fox Photos Ltd

From the Snake Pit of Anti-Spartacism

This summer we have produced a new issue of our *Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League* series. The subject matter is a bulletin titled "Bureaucratic Centralism in the IBT," the product of a recent split in the "International Bolshevik Tendency" between its two main North American centers (Toronto and the SF Bay Area). Published by the Bay Area ex-BTers, the 130-page bulletin is esoteric, apolitical, personalist and grotesque. Yet it has been the source of some real reading pleasure at least for members of our organization, who have relished its recasting of *Darkness at Noon*-vintage anti-communism as a *Peyton Place* soap opera. This collection of documents and other communiqués from inside the BT demonstrates, and in their own only too colorful words, that everything we have ever said about them is more than true.

Regular readers of *WV* will be familiar with the BT. A small collection of embittered ex-members who left our organization coincident with the opening of imperialism's "Cold War II" against the USSR, for the past ten years the BT has been animated by a fanatical hatred of, and pathological obsession with, the Spartacist League. To cover for their own cowardly departure from our organization, the BTers came together (in some cases after having voted for each other's expulsions) to retail lurid tales of Spartacist "degeneracy" and "bureaucratism." But if ever there was a degeneration product of the SL, the BT is it.

The reflection of every flinch and deformation produced by the pressures of the racist and anti-Soviet ruling class, they attracted to their ranks some of the worst elements who ever spent any time in our organization. It is not an easy thing to get expelled from the Spartacist League, but the BT managed to collect a high proportion of those who were. We urge the curious among our readers to order the new bulletin and see for themselves that the BT and their erstwhile comrades of the ex-BT ("Communist Workers Group") are, as we have always said, a collection of petty bureaucrats, thieves, liars, brutes and sociopaths.

While shot through with references to the SL as the ultimate "bureaucratic" evil, the reader will find in the bulletin a squalid tale of a real bureaucratic snake pit. There are no financial guidelines, no organizational rules, no codified rights for sections or locals much less the (minuscule) membership. They can't even decide if they have one or two "sections" in North America! The "International Secretariat" simply makes up the rules as it goes along to feed their egos and/or serve perceived factional advantage.

A Falling Out Among Thieves

The opposition in the Bay Area BT was headed by Gerald Smith and Fred Riker. They went into revolt over the production of their own local journal, *1917 West*. Met with resistance by the BT's "International Secretariat," they simply took the money and ran to the printers. This was hardly a novel course of action for these two birds. Both of them were expelled (separately) from the SL on charges of financial chiseling and malfeasance, following a history of generally behaving as abusive bullying pigs. The BT, claiming our charges against these "victims" were inventions of the SL's "bureaucratic regime," demonstrated their regard for Riker by making him the Bay Area treasurer (meanwhile Gerald was made a full member of their "International Executive Committee").

Now here's how Fred responds to charges of "misappropriating" funds for the *1917 West* affair: "Fred said that he would 'deck' any comrade who used the word 'misappropriate'.... Fred's parting words to Boyd were to the effect: 'If you use that word I'll blow your head off'." Later, Fred resigns, cutting off the Bay Area BT's computer linkup and holding the phone and bank account (both in his name) hostage. Then there's Gerald. He abstains on a motion that he refrain from calling a woman comrade "a bitch." Later he gets into a fistfight at 14th and Franklin Streets in downtown Oakland with the local BT organizer.

Despite the BT/ex-BT fascination with things financial, the documents presented in the new bulletin don't mention an earlier split among their German comrades, which similarly took place over money. To summarize this tale, the Germans (who are scarcely mentioned in the bulletin in any context) rushed to "regroup" with a couple of swindlers who had stolen a car and a bank account of our German section. Our comrades had alerted the public in an article, "They Stole the Wrong Car." But this only egged on the BT, which published a lengthy joint document with these elements. Less than a month later, the Germans had put out a new edition of this document with a postscript explaining that "alien elements, careerists" whose "only tie to Trotskyism" was their "justified later stand against the slanders of the ICL" (i.e., our public exposure of their theft), had just departed after swiping "sizeable sums of party money"!

Representing the BT's "International Secretariat" in the fight against the Bay Area is Tom Riley, who has long claimed he was the victim of a major "purge" in our Canadian section in the early 1980s (in fact, he quit). The new bulletin shows Riley to be a preening, strutting martinet who makes up the "rules" as he goes along. Thus, in his pronouncement on the fistfight between Smith and the Bay Area organizer, he devises guidelines for when it is justified for one member to slug another first! This was certainly convenient given that the leadership-loyal local organizer threw the first punch—he was "criticized" while Gerald was suspended from membership.

In the documents, Riley complains of Gerald's "verbal abuse, unruliness, rudeness and other forms of non-socialist behavior which have moreover sometimes been accompanied by expressions of social backwardness on the gay question and particularly the woman question." But everyone recognized that Gerald and Fred were pigs; indeed Riker wore it as a badge of honor, belching out that he and Smith "are what passes for here as worker intellectuals." But none of it ever bothered the priggish Riley until Riker and Smith got in *his* way.

The "Politics" of Ego and Opportunism

Riley is the strutting editor *máximo* of the BT, who evidently demands that any and every piece of copy produced by every BTer anywhere pass through his computer for editing before publication. He can't understand why Smith and Riker got so uppity over this, particularly given his close collaboration in the production of Riker's *Militant Printer*. Riley fondly remembers "the considerations and suggestions that I made regarding the tricky tactical questions which arose last year in connection with the pensioners and the health care plan." The result was an article proposing to ax the retirees from the union's medical plan (see "BT Sleazeball Says: Ax the Pensioners," *WV* No. 550, 1 May 1992).

In fact all sides agree that, with the exception of one article, every piece in *1917 West* was thoroughly edited by Riley. This was purely a manifestation of bureaucratic egotism, for the BT's political line, such as it is, is determined by unrestrained local opportunism. So when Gerald wanted to make time with the anarcho-liberals of "Copwatch"—a "police reform" group in Berkeley—*1917 West* (October 1992) was devoted to an article which, pandering to California yuppie fear and loathing of the black and Hispanic masses following the 1992 L.A. upheaval, obscenely offered "socialism" as the answer to "fighting crime" (see "Cops, Crime and the BT," *WV* No. 569, 12 February). Similarly during the Persian Gulf War, the Bay Area BT repeatedly revised a leaflet to ditch whatever parts (e.g., the demand to "break the blockade of Iraq") might offend the "yellow ribbon" popular front.

Such political matters did not impinge on the BT split according to the documents. What gored Riley's ox about *1917 West* was that he saw it as competition with *his* journal, *1917*. In revenge, Riley demanded the Bay Area local foot the bill for *1917*, modestly writing that "A local that thought it had enough money to do a flashy printing job on a local paper with a circulation of 300 or so, could and should be tapped for money for the publication of the world's best Trotskyist journal."

Welcome to "Billstown"?

Running through the melodrama of the Bay Area "worker intellectuals" vs. His Editorship in Toronto is another element: the ascendancy of one Bill Logan. Logan was expelled from our organization by the delegates to our international conference in 1979, on charges of being "a proven, massive liar and a sexual sociopath who manipulated the private lives of comrades for reasons of power politics and his own aberrant appetites and compulsions." An extensive investigation culminated in a trial by an International Control Commission which heard hours of painful testimony, in particular from our Australian section where Logan had served as the national chairman. Recognizing that this man was unfit for membership in any working-class organization, we took the unusual step of making the internal bulletins documenting the evidence against him available to the public in Australia and New Zealand.

Within the past few years, Logan moved in on the BT, which happily embraced him as the ultimate "victim" of the SL "regime." But the new bulletin shows him practicing his old tricks, with the members of his "Permanent Revolution Group" in New Zealand as his guinea pigs. A report by the PRG organizer says: "Bill came up with the idea of a one-off session, which we have called 'Communist Criticism', where all comrades were expected to comment openly and frankly on the good and bad characteristics of other comrades.... The criticism session was held on a whole Sunday and then over two normal meeting nights." This new "idea" for intimidating, humiliating and manipulating the membership is nothing but the old "criticism/self-criticism sessions" given currency among New Leftists during the Maoist "Cultural Revolution." Now the BT internationally is invited to admire Logan's creative views of the organizational question as he subjects his New Zealand followers to *three days* of this torment.

What next for this unsavory outfit? In the short run, nothing much has changed, as—despite a vicious split where both sides have nailed their antagonists as liars and thieves, bureaucrats and bullies—*both* groups come out to our public meetings and denounce us as a "bureaucratic cult"! But new conflicts of ego and appetite are surely in store for this small snake pit of self-inflated "leaders" of the "International BT." We invite you to obtain our new issue of *Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League* as we all await the next installment in the sordid BT saga. ■

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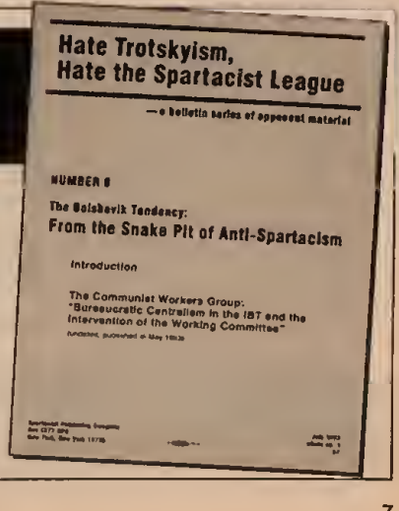

Young Spartacus

James P. Cannon and the Fight to Build the Revolutionary Party

Origins of American Communism

Young Spartacus *is pleased to print here a presentation on the foundations of American communism by comrade T. Marlow to the Spartacist League's East Coast educational last spring. The main reading for this educational was the book,* James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism: Selected Writings and Speeches, 1920-1928, *published by the Prometheus Research Library in 1992. Comrade Marlow's remarks have been slightly edited for publication*

PART ONE OF TWO

An obvious question, particularly for younger comrades to ask, would be: "Why this book? Why Cannon and why this period of his life?" Looking at the bedraggled remnants of the long-since Stalinized and ossified Communist Party USA, one would hardly be able to believe that in its early years the American Communist Party (CP) was a revolutionary organization with a lively (to put it mildly) internal life. For most of those years, James P. Cannon was a recognized national leader, not only of his own faction but also at times of the party itself.

What the Prometheus Research Library's book presents is a selection of the most important writings and speeches by Cannon from this period, which should be taken as a valuable supplement to Cannon's own book *The First Ten Years of American Communism* (1962) and the two-volume history of the early Communist Party by Theodore Draper (*The Roots of American Communism* [1957] and *American Communism and Soviet Russia* [1960]). Cannon's works from the later period of his life are available in the books published by Pathfinder Press, which were edited by the late George Breitman, who got us started on this project in the first place. I say "available" lightly, since the Socialist Workers Party now prices its books at rates so exorbitant as to make a Moscow black-marketeer blush. I think that our hook fits well in Cannon's own conception when the American communists started Pioneer Publishers—to make good quality political books available to the working class at prices they might even be able to afford.

Despite the many problems which plagued the CP in the 1920s it was *then* that it tried to be a revolutionary party and it was from *that* party that the cadres were found to regenerate a genuine Leninist, i.e., Trotskyist, organization in this country. That is our own history—and the material in the book has to be read and assimilated, not dismissed as perhaps interesting ideas from seven decades ago. Assimilating that history means knowing where they were right and also where they were wrong.

Library of Congress

Industrial Workers of the World rally in New York draws Yiddish-speaking workers, Irish socialists. Immigrant workers were prominent in early Communist Party, which sought to win IWW revolutionary syndicalists to Bolshevism.

Many of the problems faced by Cannon then are similar to those we face today—a resurgent bourgeoisie and a politically backward proletariat on the defensive. With the ignominious collapse of Stalinism and the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, our world is shaped by increasing inter-imperialist rivalries, while the working class is saddled with, at best, a grotesquely reformist leadership. The question was then, and is now: how does one build a revolutionary party and extend its influence into the mass of the workers? Just as in the 1920s, those workers organized in trade unions represent a minority, and even these are saturated with bourgeois ideology. Surmounting this obstacle is the primary question we face: to construct the mass vanguard party required to lead the workers to power and eliminate the capitalist system before the bourgeoisie gives us another 1914—and this time it will be a world war with nuclear weapons.

no credit

James P. Cannon (center) with Max Eastman (left) and IWW leader "Big Bill" Haywood, in Moscow at Fourth Congress of Communist International, 1922.

James P. Cannon— The Finest Communist America Has Yet Produced

In the history of American communism, the tactical questions were inevitably subordinated to a more fundamental one: upon what *political basis* is the revolutionary party to be built? Here we have an advantage Cannon lacked in the 1920s, which is the theoretical heritage of the Trotskyist Left Opposition, and Cannon's own hard-won lessons. Cannon became the principal founder of American Trotskyism and later was a leader of the world Trotskyist movement.

After World War I, the U.S. was an imperialist power in its adolescent strength and except for a brief period of anti-Communist hysteria in 1919-1920, there were nearly two decades of nominal bourgeois democracy. This allowed the CP of the '20s and both the Stalinized CP and the Trotskyists of the '30s more freedom of action than was available in Europe. The American Trotskyists were spared much of the direct persecutions that their European comrades faced, both from Stalin's GPU (forerunner to the KGB) and the fascists. In addition, the American CP was *relatively* less policed by the Stalinized Comintern of the later

History of the Marxist Movement

'20s. In particular, when the anti-Trotsky campaign began in earnest in the mid-1920s, the Americans were less directly affected because the American CP was regarded as a distant outpost, and rather less important in the Comintern's factional struggles than the Germans, for instance. The result was that when Cannon was expelled in 1928, he left as *a credible political leader*, one who carried with him about a hundred capable members of his faction in the CP. This was in sharp contrast to the European supporters of Trotsky's Left Opposition, most of whom were mercilessly hounded and discredited within their own parties *before* they were expelled. They came out as isolated individuals, while Cannon brought with him a cadre which could and did form a serious political organization.

Why did Cannon take the leap in 1928? What had prepared him, unlike any other central leader of the CP, to break with his past and embrace Trotskyism, knowing as he did what kind of ostracism that would mean from former friends and comrades? Cannon is quite candid about the many mistakes he made in the early period, and noted:

> "With inadequate theoretical schooling I was already groping my way to the conception, which later became a governing principle, that a correct political line is more important than any organizational question, including the question of party control."
>
> —*The First Ten Years of American Communism*

Cannon was obviously not indifferent to the question of party leadership, as is amply demonstrated in our book and in his *First Ten Years*. However, around 1925 he began to understand more clearly that *political principle* was more important than whatever temporary factional advantages could be obtained by compromising those principles. This happened precisely when all of his factional collaborators and opponents were learning exactly the opposite lesson.

Cannon's history after the 1928 expulsion is well known and outside of the scope of this talk. Suffice it to say that when he died in 1974, *Workers Vanguard* ran a short obituary which pretty well summed up the man:

> "James P. Cannon was the finest communist political leader this country has yet produced. In his prime he had the evident capacity to lead the proletarian revolution in America to victory."

What distinguished Cannon from his contemporaries in the CP was that he never gave up the revolutionary perspective of his youth. He could be (and was!) as good a factionalist as the others, but he didn't succumb to the disease of the power games, which the others did. They either ended up as Stalinized shells of their younger days, or as outspoken agents of American imperialism. In any case they have left the American proletariat nothing with which to arm itself for the necessary class battles before it. Cannon was quite unique in that regard; for that alone we honor him and we carry on the fight he began, despite the later degeneration of the party he created in 1928.

People of that calibre are quite rare, and that in itself is reason enough to study Cannon's writings from this important formative period. We have a plaque at the Prometheus Research Library with a quote from the philosopher George Santayana: "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it." It's not a new idea: about 2,000 years ago, the famous Roman orator Cicero stated, "Not to know what happened before one was born is to remain a child." With that in mind, let's study the lessons from Cannon's work in the early days, "grow up" a bit and be better communists.

Impact of the Russian Revolution

American Communism was hardly formed by Bolshevik parachutists in 1917—the early movement came from within the indigenous radical movement in the U.S., with its warts and all. Cannon was himself part of that tradition, having early on joined the Socialist Party (SP) in 1908. Three years later he broke from the SP and went into the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW, "the Wobblies"), where he served as an agitator and organizer during and after the First World War. He might have remained as such, a good field worker trained under the tutelage of Vincent St. John, affectionately known as "the Saint." The event which interrupted this process, and which has shaped the rest of the history of this century, was the Bolshevik Revolution.

Cannon notes in the *First Ten Years*:

> "The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was the *action* that brought the American communist movement into existence. Everybody knows that, and it is usually taken for granted that the *ideas* of the Russian Bolsheviks shaped the new movement from the start. Draper proves conclusively—and this is one of his major contributions to an understanding of the period—that this was not really the case. It took quite a while for the influence of Bolshevik ideas to come up even with the authority of their action."

Trotsky was known to some of the SP left wing from his brief stay in New York in 1917; Lenin was virtually unknown. In fact, it wasn't until about 1918-1919

Mishkin

John Reed, Communist leader and author of *Ten Days That Shook the World*.

that basic articles by Lenin and Trotsky were available in English (first published in the *Revolutionary Age*, then edited by Louis Fraina). But if the theoretical ideas of the Bolsheviks were largely unknown to the future Communists, the *fact* of the revolution made a big splash in the American radical milieu. Cannon later summarized what must have been the feelings of many throughout the world: "The Russian Bolsheviks on November 7, 1917, once and for all, took the question of the workers' revolution out of the realm of abstraction and gave it flesh and blood reality."

The impact of the Bolshevik Revolution cannot be underestimated. For the first time a party committed to openly socialist goals had conquered political state power. Even the hidebound reformist leadership of the American SP in 1918 said, "We glory in their achievement and inevitable triumph." Words like this from the likes of Victor Berger, an open white racist and one who reveled in the appellation "the American Bernstein," should give one an idea of how little was known about the Russian Revolution in this period. (Eduard Bernstein was the prominent German Social Democratic revisionist of Marxism, whose opportunist economist adaptation to the existing prevalence of capitalism was combatted by the then-Marxist Karl Kautsky and also Rosa Luxemburg at the turn of the century.)

Cannon left the IWW to join up with the pro-Bolshevik left wing then developing within the SP. This was no isolated minority—by early 1919, the left wing probably had about two-thirds of the party membership behind it. This fact

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IWW militants deported as a result of the Palmer Raids.

was not lost on the conservative SP leadership of Hillquit and Berger—in the summer of 1919 they proceeded to purge whole branches and especially the East European foreign language federations, where the left wing had most of its strength.

In part, the actions of the right-wing leaders of the SP brought the split to a head, but it wasn't entirely clear whether or not the lefts could have creamed them in a showdown fight and thereby taken over the party with all the physical resources (buildings, press, etc.) it possessed. Rather than having to start from scratch, the early American CP might have had more members and much greater resources at hand. That such an obvious contest was not made can be laid at the doorstep of the foreign language federations, chiefly the Russians, which dominated the membership of the SP left wing.

Cannon refers to the Russian federation "madmen" who forced what he thought was a premature split in the SP in 1919. He spoke bitterly about the treatment of the few English-speaking delegates from the "western states," which Cannon said was how the "madmen" defined "the whole country west of Manhattan Island." The Russian federation leaders in particular thought themselves superior to the "backward" American country bumpkins, and they didn't disguise their contempt. Many if not most were closer to the Mensheviks politically. But *after* the Bolshevik Revolution, they thought themselves to be anointed Bolsheviks by the mere accident of nationality and language.

Lenin himself had prescribed a split with the Social Democrats, but not the idiocy which the "American" Russians then perpetrated. (By the way, the American SP was against the war, unlike the main European social-democratic parties.) The net result of all this foolishness was not only that the left wing did not make a real fight for the leadership of the SP but that American Communism was graced not by one, but *two* parties at its birth. One was the Communist Party of America (CPA), which included the bulk of the East European language federations along with Ruthenberg; the second was the Communist Labor Party (CLP) of John Reed et al., who at least tried to get what they could out of the old SP. (Reed is best known for his book, *Ten Days That Shook the World*, a chronicle of his experiences in Russia during the Bolshevik Revolution.) Cannon eventually joined Reed's CLP, perhaps because it wanted to root the party in the American working class. Evidence for this is that the CLP had its strength in the Midwest, which also corresponded to the geographical strength of the IWW.

Communists and the IWW

That brings up a question: why didn't more of the syndicalist-oriented militants from the IWW flock to the Communists? At least superficially there was good reason to believe that it was possible. For example, at the 1905 founding convention of the IWW, Bill Haywood himself had pointed to the importance of the 1905 Russian Revolution, and said this was an example the American workers should follow.

Cannon also cites Haywood's favorable reception of a friendly letter from the Comintern in 1920, inviting the IWW

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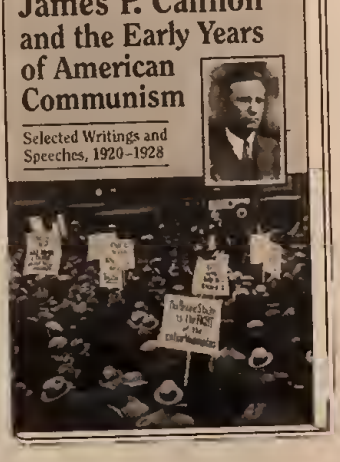
Prometheus Research Library Book

James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism

Selected Writings and Speeches, 1920-1928



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Young Spartacus

SWP Anti-Gay Bigots vs. "Rainbow Curriculum"

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), a weird reformist group long infamous for its shameless tailing of petty-bourgeois movements, recently published a nasty piece of anti-gay bigotry in its newspaper. In a 7 June *Militant* article, oh-so-evenhandedly headlined "Behind Debate on N.Y. School Curriculum," the SWP claims there's no difference between the paternalistic, right-wing religious totalitarians led by Pat Robertson/Cardinal O'Connor and the liberal proponents of the "Rainbow Curriculum"!

The SWP says "so-called multicultural education is no more an advance for working people than Buchanan's attempt to return to teaching the 'Ten Commandments'." The "Rainbow" approach proposed last year by schools chancellor Joseph Fernandez sought to instill a little basic decency and tolerance for gays and lesbians in the city's turbulent and miserable public schools. But that, along with his earlier distribution of condoms, set off a firestorm of reaction that eventually toppled Fernandez.

While giving lip service to "civil rights for gays," the SWP piece goes out of its way to suck up to anti-gay bigots. "Liberals put wind in sails of rightists," they claim: "liberals who champion this curriculum attempt to use the classrooms not to teach facts, including on sex education, but to impose their particular views of certain lifestyles." "Certain lifestyles," eh? This loaded code word—you know it's not the Mormons they're talking about—is the "polite" way to put down gays and lesbians.

This slimy anti-gay assault can only help fan the flames of all-sided hatred being whipped up by professional politicos/bigots like O'Connor and Republican "Great White Hope" Rudolph Giuliani. In contrast to the SWP's bigotry, in our article last winter, "NYC Curriculum Battle Flashpoint for Anti-Gay Bigotry," we noted: "One needn't agree with the liberal premises of the curriculum's proponents to understand the need to defend it against the bigots' assault" (*WV* No. 568, 29 January).

The *Militant* quotes a supposedly horrid piece of "Rainbow" advice: "A pamphlet distributed under Fernandez's chancellorship, for example, which encourages condom use, recommends among other things: 'For anal intercourse, lube up the receptive partner's anus (asshole) as well.... Do it! (Have fun!).' Such 'explanations' that focus on 'fun' things youth should 'try out' have nothing to do with sex education." God forbid kids should get the idea sex can be fun—or gay sex, anyhow, according to the SWP. Despite at least three irate letters sent by readers attacking this creepy bigotry, the piece was reprinted in Spanish in *Perspectiva Mundial* (July/August 1993), in what one can only assume was a crude and insulting attempt to cater to backward consciousness among Hispanics.

One angry reader pointed out that the use of lubricants during anal intercourse "is not just a cute trick to increase sexual enjoyment, but a vital weapon in the fight against AIDS." SWP writer Argiris Malapanis only hardened up his position in response, reiterating that the pamphlet "does promote a certain lifestyle. Working people should not advocate promiscuity but responsibility on sexual matters" ("Does N.Y. School Curriculum Point Way to Fight Antigay Prejudice?" *Militant*, 26 July). Frankly, it escapes us how any particular technique automatically equals "promiscuity."

Of course, the SWP's basic attitude toward rad-lib "movements" veers —often wildly—with the prevailing bourgeois-liberal political winds. For a detailed history of the SWP's shameless opportunism toward gays and lesbians, our article "Seduced and Abandoned: The Politics of Opportunism: Gays and the SWP" (*Women and Revolution* No. 24, Spring 1982) provides a starting point. As we noted then, "In May 1971 the SWP announced a 'probe' into the gay liberation movement that, in hindsight, was really the beginning of a withdrawal from it." During the '70s, the SWP's on-again, off-again attitude alienated many gay activists (as well as driving out some of their own members).

The NYC schools "Rainbow Curriculum" battle has brought out the creeping Puritanism and social bigotry of the SWP in part because it intersects the socially explosive issue of teen and youth sexuality, an issue on which the SWP has had a reactionary position for over a decade. Seeking to expunge any memory that such gay liberationists as David Thorstad, one of the founders of NAMBLA (North American Man/Boy Love Association), had been a prominent (if brief) SWP spokesman on the gay question, in early 1979 the SWP came out with the disgusting position that "repeal of age-of-consent laws is a reactionary demand." As we pointed out in *Young Spartacus* (Summer 1979):

> "Revolutionaries, unlike the social-democratic SWP, oppose any and all legal restrictions by the capitalist state on effectively consensual sexual activity. Get the cops out of the bedrooms! We know that such measures are not designed to protect children but to enforce the sexual morality of the nuclear family, which is at the root of the oppression of women, youth and homosexuals." ■

American Communism...

(continued from page 9)

to join the ranks of the Comintern. It contrasted the revolutionary parliamentarism envisaged by Lenin and the Bolsheviks to the "ballot-box fetishism" and reformism of the right-wing socialists. Haywood was reported to have exclaimed to a colleague: "Here is what we have been dreaming about; here is the IWW all feathered out!" However, this didn't set aside the traditional antipathy for politicians and parties amongst the IWW ranks and leaders. That they couldn't see the difference between Lenin's Comintern and the groveling reformism of Berger et al. was to be their undoing.

Cannon tried very hard to pull the strings that he had in the IWW. He describes one occasion (probably around 1921) when he attempted to recruit his former mentor, Vincent St. John, to Communism. At the Staten Island cottage of Carlo Tresca and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Cannon talked long into the night and "the Saint" listened, without accepting or rejecting Cannon's proposition that the future belonged to the young Communist Party and that militants such as St. John should join it and give it a necessary proletarian character.

Cannon lost that fight, but only barely—he relates that later, when Flynn herself had joined the CP and was involved in the work of the International Labor Defense (ILD), she mentioned how close Cannon had come to winning over "the Saint" that evening. It evidently hurt Cannon a lot, not just because of his personal relationship with St. John, but also what it might have meant to the infant CP to have gotten an influx of some people who knew how to work in the working class and could speak English, for example.

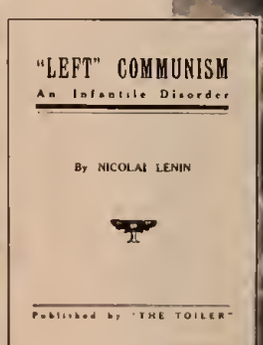
Another plausible reason for the failure of the Communists to win over the bulk of the syndicalists from the IWW was that the best militants of the IWW were in jail at the time, due to intensive government persecution during World War I and especially after November 1917. Many of these people got long terms in federal prisons and were therefore cut off from the post-World War I ferment which shook the SP left wing and the labor movement in general. Bill Haywood chose exile in the Soviet Union over the prospect of a long term in jail and a heavy fine. A meeting between Cannon and Haywood in Moscow in the spring of 1925 did lead ultimately to the formation of the International Labor Defense, but it is nonetheless true that the bulk of the IWW were lost to the Communist movement. Shortly thereafter the IWW became a mere shell of its former self. By 1925, only *eleven* delegates attended the IWW national convention. They had a lot of guts but they didn't have a program.

A Damaging Split

The early American Communists had a bad split, one which essentially handed over the unaffiliated but perhaps sympathetic ranks of the SP to the right-wing leaders, who represented only a minority of the party. So you had the spectacle of *two* Communist parties in the late fall of 1919, both of which claimed loyalty to the same basic politics and to the Third International, and both of whom spent much of their slender resources on attacking each other publicly. What is truly criminal is that this needless internecine warfare just happened to coincide with a massive postwar upsurge in the American labor movement. More workers were involved in strikes in 1919 than in all of the subsequent six years combined. These strikes didn't exactly go unnoticed by the Communists—future CP leader William Z. Foster was lambasted in their press for his role in the 1919 steel strike, largely because Foster worked within the confines of the admittedly conservative, craft-union framework of Samuel Gompers' American Federation of Labor (AFL).

The early CP was and continued to be dominated by the former foreign language federations inherited from the old SP. Well into the 1920s, native American English-speakers comprised, at best, 10 percent or less of the membership. At the end of 1919, Draper cites figures for the Communist Party of America which show that the Slavic federations alone accounted for 56 percent of the membership. Throw in the Baltic states and it rises to over 77 percent! The party was so strapped for English language capacity that CPA national secretary Charles Ruthenberg opposed sending Louis Fraina to Moscow as the CPA representative because he was one of the few comrades capable of writing and editing the newspaper—and Ruthenberg lost the vote!

To blame the domineering influence of the Russian federation leaders for all of the ultraleftist idiocies would be wrong. The American-born membership, coming largely from a syndicalist background, had plenty of the same problems. Just to give you a flavor, an October 1919 issue of the CPA's paper *The*



Progress Publishers

Communist International

V.I. Lenin's *"Left-Wing" Communism —An Infantile Disorder* was written for the Second Congress of the Communist International, 1920 (right). Cannon's Communist journal, *The Toiler*, published an early edition.

Deutschmark...

(continued from page 1)

which has been the motor of Europe, has cracked," the *Journal de Dimanche* lamented bitterly. "German bad faith and the selfishness of the Bundesbank will leave their mark, and painful memories." The authoritative *Le Monde* warned darkly that the "current monetary crisis could end in the shipwreck of the European project." Such anti-German diatribes are echoed in other European countries whose economies have been destabilized by the financial diktats of the Fourth Reich. "Bundesbank Exterminator" headlined the Spanish *El País*.

French venom is not only being spewed at the "selfish" Germans. Former foreign minister Roland Dumas accused the "Anglo-Saxons" of undermining the franc in order to sabotage European "integration." Meanwhile, the lame duck British Tory government of John Major is striking a smug, "we told you so" pose because it pulled the pound out of the European Monetary System almost a year ago while the French squandered their foreign-exchange reserves in a futile effort to "defend" the franc.

At the economic level, the end of the deutschmark-franc parity will usher in a new period of monetary chaos in West Europe, marked by competitive devaluations and other beggar-my-neighbor trade policies like those of the 1930s. European governments can change their national cost and price levels simply by depreciating their currencies. Multinational corporations and banks will be reluctant to operate in countries where the real value of their profits can fluctuate wildly from year to year, even from month to month. The vaunted project of a "single market" in the European Community now lies in shambles.

At the political level, the fall of the *franc fort* signals increasing and open conflicts between French and German capitalism, conflicts that were to a degree suppressed and papered over during the Cold War. As we wrote when the European Monetary System disintegrated last September:

> "We are beginning to see the unraveling of the European Community (EC), the economic glue which for three and a half decades held together competing West European capitalist states in the American-dominated NATO alliance against the Soviet Union. But with the collapse of the Stalinist-ruled deformed workers states of East Europe and the ascendancy of capitalist counterrevolution in Russia, the Cold War imperialist alliances are coming apart."
>
> —"Fourth Reich Bankers Detonate...Euro-Chaos," *WV* No. 560, 2 October 1992

The EC was a going concern as long as West Germany paid the bills. But since the capitalist reunification of Germany, money has flowed the other way. Bonn has financed its "leveraged buyout" of the German Democratic Repuhlic (East Germany) through massive deficit spending, estimated this year to equal 7.5 percent of the country's gross national product. To prevent the huge budget deficits from depreciating the sacred deutschmark, the masters of the Bundesbank jacked interest rates to near-record levels.

As money capital flowed into Frankfurt banks, other European governments either had to raise their own interest rates, thereby further depressing their economies, or devalue their currencies, thereby fueling inflation. The French are understandably both bitter and envious that Germany can combine fiscal profligacy with a strong currency. Ten years ago, after two successive devaluations, the social-democratic government of François Mitterrand announced that henceforth *rigueur* (austerity) and the strong franc would be the cornerstones of its economic policies. As a result, unemployment in France has hovered around 10 percent for the past decade.

Last spring the electorate punished Mitterrand's social monetarists by giving a huge majority to the right-wing bourgeois parties, who sought to channel economic discontent into anti-immigrant racism. The new government of Gaullist prime minister Edouard Balladur was also committed to the *franc fort* and so faced the same insoluble dilemma as its Socialist predecessor. In June, unemployment in France rose to a record high of 3.2 million, 11.5 percent of the labor force. The Balladur regime edged interest rates down a bit, hoping to stimulate the economy. That brought on the deluge.

As a new wave of speculative pressure against the franc began to build in mid-July, the Bundesbank stubbornly refused to lower the key discount it charges German banks. A Paris-based economist for the Wall Street firm of Smith, Barney reported: "The market smelled blood when the Bundesbank failed to budge." European central hanks shelled out *$43 billion* in two days trying to stave off the speculative sharks. But this was peanuts compared to the *more than $1 trillion* traded each day in the currency markets, and they soon gave up any pretense of a European-wide monetary order.

Having reduced the rest of West Europe to financial chaos, Bundesbank president Helmut Schlesinger triumphantly proclaimed the autocracy of the D-mark: "The Bundesbank does what it considers to be right—not what people expect from it" (*Washington Post*, 3 August).

Only yesterday the imperialist bourgeoisie was crowing over the "death of communism," while a spokesman for the U.S. State Department proclaimed the "end of history" with the supposedly definitive triumph of the Western liberal "market economy." But today the capitalist world is reeling. Even while ripping up "welfare state" programs, implemented following World War II in order to compete with the "Communist threat," the imperialist masters of the world are in economic crisis. *Business Week* (2 August) ran a front-cover story asking:

> "What's wrong? When communism collapsed and free markets blossomed around the world, the peace dividend and capitalism together were supposed to spur rapid economic growth. Ultimately, they may. But so far the world economy has faltered. High unemployment, slow growth, and severe wage and price competition are rampant in the industrialized nations. Welcome to the new economic order nobody expected."

Business Week's "answer" was that "a new, brutally competitive world economic order is emerging with the demise of the Cold War. The forces that are propelling this new order will persist for years and promise to make life tougher for almost everyone—from assembly-line workers to chief executives." But despite the "we're all in it together" rhetoric from the capitalist press, last year the average CEO in the U.S. earned *157 times* the salary of the average worker. The impact of the new world *disorder* has been to sharply *increase* class divisions, spurring class battles from southern Italy to eastern Germany, Poland and beyond. What's urgently needed is a revolutionary leadership to lead those struggles to victory.

While the masters of the Fourth Reich revel in their powers of destruction, the working people of Europe—not least in Germany itself—are facing the worst economic downturn in decades, the dismantling of the postwar "welfare state" and the rise of fascist parties fueled by anti-immigrant racism and terror. The bloodsucking bankers and multinationals must be defeated and expropriated through revolutionary class struggle. Only a Socialist United States of Europe can provide a decent and secure life for all working people from the former Soviet Union to the Iberian peninsula. ■

"New world order" of economic crisis, mounting interimperialist rivalries. Madrid's *El País* called the D-mark "The Master of Europe."

Communist wrote, "Trades unionism is the arch enemy of the militant proletariat," adding that "This is one of the tasks of the Communist Party—the destruction of the existing trades union organizations." Imagine how well that would go over at your average plant gate sale! Such pronouncements, coupled with their insistence on putting "FORCE" and "VIOLENCE" in bold, block capitals in their press, no doubt explains why the Communists made so few friends within the organized workers movement in 1919-1920.

State Repression and the Struggle for Party Unity

A significant strike wave swept the country in 1919, including a general strike in Seattle as well as the formation of "Councils of Workers, Sailors and Soldiers" in other cities—obviously reflecting the impact of the Russian Revolution. A section of the ruling class panicked and thought an American Bolshevik revolution was imminent (it wasn't). The product of their panic has come to be known as the Palmer Raids, after then attorney general A. Mitchell Palmer. The first raids were actually in New York in late 1919 and were carried out on behalf of a state senate committee. There were wholesale arrests and deportations of non-citizens, without a shred of "due process." Ruthenberg and several prominent leaders were sentenced to five to ten years in prison. Both the CPA and CLP were driven underground, and due to deportations and attrition, the combined forces of both parties were reduced by about *80 percent*.

This witchhunt was obviously an overreaction, and the wholesale lawlessness of the Justice Department was later denounced in an official May 1920 report written by a committee including future Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter. Warren Harding, who was elected president in 1920, later pardoned Debs and some of the IWW militants imprisoned during the war, but no pardon was granted the Communists. Draper estimates that before the raids, the total membership in the CPA and CLP was somewhere around 40,000-50,000. Even before the raids, the two Communist parties were hardly in a position to threaten the rule of the bourgeoisie (except in print). Moreover, as far as "mass work" went, they both refused to work in the AFL unions, and most of the syndicalists stayed with the IWW.

In early 1920, there were sporadic attempts to heal the split in the Communist movement. Eventually, Ruthenberg got tired of the bullying of the Russian federation leaders, who berated him for wanting "contact with the masses," (!) which in their conspiratorial "Bolshevik" fantasies would mean "contamination" of the "pure" communist spirit of the party. Ruthenberg led a split out of the CPA, and for a brief period there were actually *three* parties in the U.S.! Soon afterward, the CLP merged with the new Ruthenberg group to form the United Communist Party (UCP). If you want to pick a date for Jim Cannon's emergence as a national leader, this would be a good one. Cannon spoke at the founding UCP convention, and argued for more flexible tactics in trade-union work and a break from the left wing's total rejection of the AFL. Given his IWW past, this impressed the delegates, and Cannon was elected to the central committee. He moved to Cleveland to edit *The Toiler*, and then in 1921 went to New York as part of the resident leadership.

One corrosive effect of the Palmer Raids was to further confirm to a section of the party that it had to remain underground *in principle*. This gave the ultraleft tendencies something of a new lease on life and prolonged the split in the early Communist Party. Some answers to the problems of ultraleftism came from Russia, as did much good help in general in the period while Lenin was still alive. Only with considerable prodding from the Comintern did the CPA and the UCP finally fuse in the spring of 1921. Cannon noted:

> "All that hodge-podge of ultra-radicalism was practically wiped out of the American movement in 1920-21 by Lenin. He did it, not by an administrative order backed up by police powers, but by the simple device of publishing a pamphlet called *'Left-Wing' Communism: An Infantile Disorder*."

The importance Lenin attached to the pamphlet is indicated by the fact that he gave personal attention to the printing schedule so that translations into German, French and English would be available for the delegates at the Second Congress of the Communist International in July 1920. The English version wasn't printed in the U.S. until January 1921.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

China...

(continued from page 1)

of top burcaucrats who are well-situated to rake in payoffs for their *guanxi* (connections) in the apparatus. Deng's "open door" policy, grotesquely recalling the imperialist encroachment at the turn of the century, has turned much of the coastal region into "special economic zones" rife with corruption and exploitation. This in turn has exacerbated skyrocketing disparities between town and country and from area to area, leading to the growth of regional "warlordism."

Seething unrest among the peasantry has erupted in more than 200 disturbances in the past year alone, including a virtual revolt by 10,000 farmers in Renshou county last June. Laid-off workers have taken to attacking and even killing their factory directors. At the same time, frustration is growing among small-time speculators scrambling to get on the gravy train. In one incident last August, 50,000 would-be investors rampaged through the southern city of Shenzhen near Hong Kong when they were cut out of an advertised release of new stocks. Capital flight surpassed $30 billion last year, up two-thirds from the year before, while the trade deficit doubled over two months this spring. Inflation is running at 21 percent in the cities, and a cash shortage in the countryside means that workers' remittances to their hard-pressed peasant families are being "paid" with worthless chits.

Worried bureaucrats in Beijing are now scrambling to halt the *guo ri* (overheating) of the economy which could make the boom go bust in short order. At the beginning of July, Communist Party head Jiang Zemin announced a new effort to slow down the runaway economy and fight corruption among state officials. Liberal deputy prime minister Zhu Rongji, who some call "China's Gorbachev," took over direct control of the People's Bank. Zhu threatened to "cut off the heads" of bureaucrats who withheld cash from the peasants, and dispatched "investigation teams" throughout the country to whip local bureaucrats into line. But the party's authority, almost nil among the working people after the 1989 crackdown, is rapidly diminishing among regional officials, who chafe at new restrictions on spending and investment while attempting to lure foreign capital into joint ventures. As a London *Independent* (2 July) columnist noted:

> "Fear of widespread social unrest may be growing in the corridors of power. The 1989 democracy movement won support from people furious with inflation and corruption. This time both problems are accompanied by far bigger regional disparities in wealth and much broader dissatisfaction among the peasants. Added to that, poorly paid state industry workers are losing the old lifelong benefits of the 'iron rice bowl' system and becoming more strident."

The fate of the Chinese Revolution hangs in the balance, and the situation is moving very quickly. Since a burgeoning workers revolt was headed off by bloody repression in June 1989, the situation in China has only worsened. Today more than ever, only the overthrow of the sellout nationalist bureaucracy through political revolution by China's powerful proletariat—uniting behind it the hundreds of millions of poor and displaced peasants and linking up with proletarian struggle in Korea and Japan—can halt the march toward capitalist restoration and anarchy. The task for revolutionary intellectuals and militant workers who want to fight for a socialist future in China is the building of an authentically Leninist vanguard party, part of a reborn Trotskyist Fourth International.

Scott/BBC

1989 protests: Many workers carried Mao portraits as rebuff to Deng & Co. "capitalist roaders."

Chinese Stalinism at a Dead End

The looming crisis in China is the direct result of more than a decade of "market socialist" reforms. Following the anarchy of Mao Tse-tung's "Cultural Revolution" and the subsequent purge of the "Gang of Four," the Deng Xiaoping regime sought to achieve the "Four Modernizations" (in agriculture, industry, technology and the military) by discarding central economic planning for a hybrid mix of state industries and privately owned plants dominated by foreign capital. State industries were subjected to "profit" accountability with the aim of increasing efficiency. Agricultural communes were liquidated and private commerce encouraged in the countryside. Millions of dislocated peasants flocked to the new "special economic zones" (SEZ), reminiscent of the foreign concessions held by colonial powers in prerevolutionary China, to slave up to 16 hours a day with no union protection and at wages well below those in Hong Kong and Taiwan. In a highly publicized January 1992 tour of the booming SEZs of Guangdong province, Deng voiced his approval by calling on "reformers" to "do it faster."

As China's economy continues to expand by more than 10 percent annually, the Stalinists in their Zhongnanhai compound have become the envy of former Soviet bureaucrats (and are seen as a model by the beleaguered Stalinist regimes in Hanoi and Havana). Unlike Yeltsin's Russia, Deng's China is attractive to investors, especially Chinese capital in Hong Kong and Taiwan, who seized on the country's literate but low-paid workforce to turn coastal China into a "production platform" for the "little tigers" of Southeast Asia. To the Chinese Stalinists, a steadily booming economy meant they could buy off the population with rising incomes, hoping to avoid the fate of their Soviet counterparts. Right-wing American journalist Robert Novak enthuses about the "new China": "Somber old Shanghai is returning to its pre-war splendor as the Paris of the Orient. The people, dressed in a riot of color, endlessly pursue the profit motive" (*Washington Post*, 19 July).

But the "miracle" of Deng's "socialist market economy" is an illusion waiting to be shattered. The outdated physical plant and machinery of China's state industries simply cannot compete head to head with new plants built by Taiwanese or Japanese capital, which moreover don't have to pay the same social overhead expenses like pensions and schools for workers' children. The result is that state industries are faced with massive "restructuring"—i.e., layoffs and cutbacks in social programs—while foreign investment is skyrocketing. Japanese investment grew by 250 percent in 1992 alone, and American firms from the Big Three automakers to AT&T have been piling into the Chinese market.

Today, centrally controlled state-run industries account for no more than 50 percent of all economic activity, and their share is shrinking fast. Regionally and locally run enterprises make up one-third of output; the rest comes from privately held capitalist concerns. The "socialist market economy" has been enshrined in the constitution, and government spokesmen now talk of moving to a full-fledged market economy by the year 2000 (when Beijing hopes to host the Olympic Games). The old Chinese bourgeoisie, their mainland holdings expropriated in the wake of the 1949 Revolution but allowed to move operations to Taiwan and elsewhere, is returning with a vengeance. This year, Beijing held its first official talks with representatives of the offshore Nationalist regime. Symbolizing the new rapprochement, the general who commanded Chiang Kai-shek's last stand in Shanghai in 1949 was recently welcomed back to oversee a Taiwanese investment project.

Despite the fact that its rate of privatization of industry is far higher than that of Russia, China remains a deformed workers state. The Stalinist bureaucracy and the Communist Party remain firmly entrenched in power, while the People's Liberation Army remains intact and has embarked on a modernization drive centered on massive arms purchases of sophisticated weaponry from Russia. However, it is clear that the abandonment of central economic planning, the selling of large chunks of coastal China to the imperialists, and other market measures generating vast disparities in wealth have enormously strengthened the forces for capitalist counterrevolution. The contradictions of the "socialist market economy" will be resolved either by the intervention of the working class to stop capitalist restoration and extend socialist revolution to the rest of Asia, or by the destruction of the workers state and the transformation of China into a superexploited neocolony completely subordinated to world imperialism.

The Masses Raise Their Heads

Following Deng's 1992 Guangdong tour, authorities called on state factories to "crack the three irons"—inflexible wages, permanent jobs for officials and lifetime jobs for ordinary laborers. A leading official in the Labor Ministry recently called for dismantling the "traditional labor employment system" in favor of "market-oriented employment mechanisms." The National Coal Corporation has already laid off 100,000 workers and plans to get rid of another 300,000 in the next two years. The giant Wuhan Iron and Steel works has announced plans to lay off two-thirds of its 120,000 employees.

Adding insult to injury, millions of workers recently had up to a month's wages docked to "buy" government bonds whose interest rate was too low to attract investors. A new burden on the working class is the destruction of the *dang wei* (work units) in the factories, schools and countryside. A worker who is laid off now loses not only his job but the health care, housing and other social benefits that came with it. Women workers, who have made tremendous gains since 1949, are being especially targeted for dismissal by managers who don't

DeMaria/NY Times

WV Photo

"Huddled masses" unwelcome in U.S. Desperate Chinese immigrants, whose ship ran aground off New York, arrested by INS. Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee protested at federal building in Manhattan, June 8.

want to pay for maternity leave.

Politically atomized, the working class is lashing back in any way it can. In late March, 300 workers at the Canon copier plant in the Zhuhai SEZ in Guangdong struck for three days to win pay increases, though the company finally granted a raise far below the inflation rate. When a state ball-bearing plant in Harbin was turned into a joint venture with a Hong Kong firm, workers demanded early retirement by getting certificates of mental illness! Since the State Council authorized state enterprises to decide their own wages and work rules last July, there has been a steady stream of strikes, sit-ins, protests, disruptions of production, and attacks by dismissed workers against managers and equipment. One Wuhan factory manager was killed by laid-off employees, another at a Liaoning province oil refinery was stabbed by a worker, the head of a Shanxi province factory was shot, etc.

The workers' outrage has reportedly led the authorities to stop promoting the slogan of "cracking the three irons." Cities like Shanghai are now implementing special funds to help offset inflation, and a new regulation orders state factories to place laid-off workers in new jobs. As the deputy secretary general of the Wuhan municipal government remarked, "We can't just throw people into the streets.... If they can't move from one iron rice bowl to another, we have to at least give them a rice bowl made of mud" (*New York Times*, 11 May). At the same time, the bureaucracy has reportedly made "secret plans to quell worker unrest," issuing a directive that "security work should be strengthened at factories, oilfields, mines and other key state projects to prevent people with ulterior motives from stirring up workers to riot" (*Chicago Tribune*, 15 October 1992).

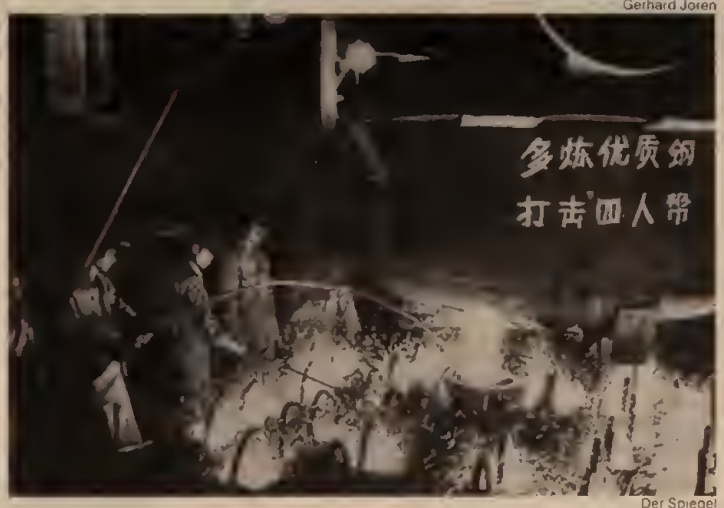
Reported widespread peasant unrest adds a powerful mix to the seething anger in the working class. Even Deng has warned that the peasants' "burden has already surpassed the limits of their endurance." Due to government investment policy, which since the mid-1980s has been directed away from rural areas and toward the cities to develop industries attractive to foreign capital, as many as *80 million* peasants have flooded into the cities to get jobs as low-paid day laborers.

Peasant incomes average half of urban incomes and continue to drop. While most city residents pay no taxes, peasants are subject to arbitrary levies by local officials to finance pet projects or simply to add to their personal wealth. So now tax collectors are being attacked throughout the country. The Renshou county riots erupted after the local government tried to collect taxes to finance a road construction project. Peasants in central Henan disrupted traffic on a new rail line to protest building costs, while in Guangdong several thousand peasants blocked a highway with their trucks in June to demand more compensation for land taken from them along the road.

L.A. Times

Gerhard Joren

Vice Premier Zhu Rongji, known as "China's Gorbachev."



Der Spiegel

Antiquated state-owned industry, such as steel mill (below), starved of investment, as bureaucracy turns to capitalist "joint ventures" such as VW plant (above).

Along with unemployment and a growing gap between haves and have-nots, "market reforms" have brought a whole range of social scourges which had been wiped out after the 1949 Revolution. Corruption has become a way of life particularly among the despised *taizidang* children of the bureaucracy. Crime is booming in coastal areas, where police get their take from smuggling consumer items. The suicide rate is on the rise, while the number of mental patients has doubled in the last decade. The slave trade in women has been revived, as 19,000 young women were reportedly kidnapped last year and sold to peasants as "wives." A *Boston Globe* (16 May) article on "The Great Boom of China" noted:

> "Corruption is at levels inconceivable in the days when true believers in communism and socialism dominated the country, and it is spreading wildly. So are financial and real estate speculation, prostitution and begging in the streets."

Also tearing at the fabric of the Chinese deformed workers state is the regionalism spawned by a decentralized economy. It was the "market socialism" introduced by Tito in multinational Yugoslavia that spurred secessionist appetites in the economically more advanced regions of Slovenia and Croatia, touching off the nationalist bloodletting which destroyed the deformed workers state. In China, the main threat may be from regional "economic warlords" who could care less what directives Beijing issues. Local officials take part in joint ventures with foreign capitalists, and some are building up their fiefdoms by selling state property outright. Cantonese-speaking Guangdong, home to 50 percent of foreign capital investment in China, is economically and culturally bound to capitalist Hong Kong. To the north, Fujian province is dominated by Taiwanese capital. At the same time, the old clans have been making a comeback. A political crisis in Beijing could tear these areas away from the center.

The lure of private enterprise has also infected the People's Liberation Army (PLA), which "now amounts to a highly diversified corporate conglomerate with ventures ranging from hotels to motor works to herbal medicines" (*Boston Globe*, 17 May). A recent article in Hong Kong's *South China Morning Post* (7 July) pointed to the growing rift between army commanders busily enriching themselves and demoralized rank-and-file soldiers who are on the outside looking in. On the occasion of the PLA's 66th anniversary in late July, its two top commanders warned in a major article in the *People's Daily* of "a growing tide of corruption, money worshipping and hedonism." While the PLA may be the last centralized component of the Chinese state, its command structure is divided regionally. The headline in the 3 July *Liberation Army Daily*, "Strictly Control the Army," shows Beijing's fear of these centrifugal forces.

There are also genuine national questions among the Mongol, Tibetan, Turkic and other minorities, whose rights to autonomy are acknowledged by the constitution but have never been fully honored. In May, Tibet was wracked by protests against inflation that quickly took on political demands against the central government, as 4,000 Tibetans attacked police and Han Chinese businessmen who have flocked to this remote mountain area in search of quick riches. North of Tibet, the Muslim Uighurs of Xinkiang are closely related to the peoples of the former Soviet Central Asian republics, now facing rising Islamic fundamentalist forces.

There is yet time for an aroused proletariat to enter the political field and pose a socialist alternative to the chaos that lies ahead. A revolutionary workers and peasants government would expropriate foreign capital and reverse the disintegrating effects of the decentralized economy by establishing genuine workers democracy as the basis for reviving the planned economy. It would grant full rights of self-determination to the country's national minorities and would come to the aid of beleaguered Vietnam, making amends for the criminal invasion launched by China in 1979 as a cat's paw for U.S. imperialism.

Most importantly, it would promote the struggle for socialist revolution throughout the region, from the capitalist statelets of Hong Kong and Taiwan to Russia, South Korea and the imperialist industrial powerhouse of Japan. Only through integration into a socialist Asia can real modernization for both the cities and the countryside be achieved, and living standards raised to the highest level.

Lessons of the Tiananmen Upheaval

China's working class showed its capacity for militant struggle during the 1989 Tiananmen events. As we noted at the time, it was the entry of the workers into the student democracy protests that threw the Stalinist regime into crisis, opening up the possibility of proletarian political revolution. This was despite the hostility of student leaders who sought to bar workers' delegations from the main protest area in Tiananmen Square. We noted that the repression following the suppression of the protests, including the meting out of dozens of death sentences, was aimed particularly at worker militants:

> "The Western media usually describes the oppositional forces in China as 'the student movement for democracy.' But it was the beginnings of a working-class revolt against Deng's program of 'building socialism with capitalist methods' which gave the protests their mass and potentially revolutionary nature. Organized workers' contingents started to participate in the marches, and it was the threat of a general strike which led Li Peng to order martial law in mid-May."
>
> —"Defend Chinese Workers!", *WV* No. 480, 23 June 1989

Now a new book confirms that it was the mobilization of the proletariat which drove the regime into a frenzy and led to the crackdown:

> "There was no massacre in Tiananmen Square on the night of June 3. But on the western approach roads...there was a bloodbath that claimed hundreds of lives when the People's Liberation Army found its path blocked by a popular uprising that was being fueled by despair and rage.... What took place was the slaughter not of students but of ordinary workers and residents—precisely the target that the Chinese government had intended."
>
> —George Black and Robin Munro, *Black Hands of Beijing* (John Wiley & Sons, 1993)

Pro-socialist workers often carried placards with portraits of Mao Tse-tung. The meaning was clear: while things got pretty crazy in Mao's time, at least they had jobs, rice and housing, and everybody wasn't out to get rich by screwing the next guy. Even today, a Beijing resident viewing an exhibit honoring the 100th anniversary of Mao's birth commented: "Mao is still revered by the

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Der Spiegel

Stalinist attempt at rapid industrialization: "Great Leap Forward" of late 1950s (here building canal) led to economic breakdown.

China...

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ordinary people. But most of his ideas have been abandoned—class struggle, egalitarianism and a collective life and economic and diplomatic self-reliance."

Actually, Mao's policy was always based on class collaboration and nationalist autarky. But just as the Russian yuppies who flocked to Yeltsin's counterrevolution were the heirs to Brezhnev, so too Mao's China led to Deng's "open door" to imperialism, spawning the *taizidung* would-be exploiters of the Chinese masses. Despite the enormous gains of the 1949 Revolution, the Chinese workers state was deformed from its inception, ruled by a nationalist bureaucracy that prevented the worker and peasant masses from exercising political power. After it took power, the CCP initially banned strikes and for several years maintained a "coalition government of four classes" including representatives of the bourgeoisie.

For many years, "Communist China" was the bête noir of American imperialism. Pentagon hardliners urged nuking the "Chicoms" during the Korean War. During the 1960s, as nationalist antagonisms between the Stalinist regimes in Moscow and Beijing grew, Khrushchev's Kremlin sought to ingratiate itself with Washington in the name of "peaceful coexistence," while Mao struck a more militant posture. But as we noted then, Maoism was "Khrushchevism under the gun," and in the historic long run, the Soviet Union was the fundamental obstacle to imperialist designs to reconquer all the deformed workers states.

Based on the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country," Mao's rule blocked the socialist development of China by aligning with so-called "progressive" capitalist regimes, ultimately embracing an alliance with U.S. imperialism. Even as American B-52s rained death on the Vietnamese people, Mao toasted war criminal Nixon in the Great Hall of the People. In this criminal alliance with the U.S., Mao allowed the CIA to establish "listening posts" along the Soviet border. Deng was simply following in Mao's footsteps when China invaded Vietnam in 1979, only to be ignominiously defeated. Following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Beijing played a key supporting role in the biggest CIA operation in history, supporting the reactionary *mujaheilin* cutthroats against the Soviet-backed Kabul government.

On the economic front, Mao's attempt to achieve rapid industrialization of this backward peasant country on its own through the "Great Leap Forward" led directly to economic collapse and the starvation of millions of peasants in the early 1960s. The misnamed "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution"—in reality a faction fight by Mao and the PLA leadership under Lin Biao to regain supremacy in the party—wreaked havoc from 1966 to 1976, shutting down high schools and universities and greatly depoliticizing the population. Today foreign corporations are setting up special programs to train technicians and managers among the "lost generation" of barely educated people in their mid-30s to mid-40s.

Joint Publishing Co

In 1922 Communists launched seamen's strike against British colonial rulers of Hong Kong. In contrast, after taking power in 1949, Mao-Stalinist regime maintained Hong Kong as capitalist enclave.

A truly revolutionary communist party will look nothing like Mao's party. Socialist militants can look instead to the early years of the Chinese CP, founded in 1921 by revolutionary intellectuals and workers inspired by the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. From a handful of militants, the party grew by tens of thousands as class struggle broke out, for example the 1922 Hong Kong seamen's strike and general strike, the first labor strikes against imperialist exploitation in China. In 1925, a strike against the foreign concessions in Canton immediately spread to Hong Kong, shutting down the finance center and signaling the beginning of the Second Chinese Revolution. In contrast, today the CCP acts as compradors for British, U.S. and Japanese capital, promising to maintain capitalism after Britain's lease on the Hong Kong colony runs out in 1997.

Mao's party was the product of the *defeat* of the Chinese proletariat in 1927, prepared by Stalin's policy of subordinating the CCP to the bourgeois Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-shek, who turned on the Communist workers and butchered tens of thousands in Shanghai. Its proletarian base shattered, the CCP under Mao was rebuilt in the countryside as a peasant-nationalist party and guerrilla army. But some dozens of party cadres, including former CCP general secretary Chen Tu-hsiu, were won to the Left Opposition of Leon Trotsky, which alone fought Stalin's disastrous policies. In 1952, the Mao regime rounded up the Chinese Trotskyists, many of whom had led strikes against capitalist employers in defiance of the Stalinists' policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie (see Wang Fan-hsi, *Chinese Revolutionary* [1957]).

WV Photo

"Free market" misery threatens childcare and education.

For an Internationalist Communist Vanguard!

During the Tiananmen events, student protesters erected a "goddess of democracy" and showed evidence of considerable illusions in the West. Today many of these privileged student veterans of Tiananmen have made their peace with the Deng regime. As one told the *Washington Post* (23 June): "My friends and I don't even talk about politics anymore. There's no use. Money, that's what we want." Like their earlier Russian counterparts, these would-be yuppie ex-"dissidents" entertain illusions that full integration into the imperialist world market will provide them a life of luxury and turn their country into an advanced economic power. But as the fate of the ex-USSR demonstrates, what the imperialists have in mind in fomenting counterrevolution is not the development of new capitalist competitors but the creation of low-wage neocolonies to expand their own arenas for exploitation.

Now that the former Soviet Union has been destroyed, the imperialists have begun shifting away from their earlier benign and supportive attitude to China's regional "great power" ambitions. At the height of Mao and Deng's despicable anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism, we warned that Washington would quickly go after the far weaker Chinese deformed workers state if the Soviet Union was defeated. That is now happening. The ASEAN countries, Southeast Asia's analogue to NATO's European Community, have been clamoring about an increased military threat posed by China. Japan's foreign minister recently mooted the possibility of developing a nuclear arsenal.

Now sections of the U.S. bourgeoisie, like the *New York Times*, scream for punitive measures against China, putatively in the guise of "humanitarian" concern over its use of prison labor for producing exports. The provocative sale of advanced F-16 fighter jets to Taiwan last year "reflected the Pentagon's belief that the United States needs to do something to confront and rein in China's growing military power. U.S. defense sources say that over the past two years, since the breakup of the Soviet Union, there has been a growing tendency among some Pentagon officials to treat China as a potential enemy" (*Los Angeles Times*, 15 June).

The only road forward for China lies in internationalist revolutionary struggle. A workers political revolution really would send peals of thunder out of China. It would electrify the massive Japanese working class, which for the first time in postwar history is confronted with the threat of serious unemployment, and provide a beacon to the proletarian masses throughout capitalist Southeast Asia and the Pacific Rim, who chafe under the stranglehold of robber-baron police-state regimes. For years, the Stalinist regime tolerated Hong Kong—which controls 60 percent of China's foreign trade—as a capitalist enclave on its periphery, a staging ground for the revanchist ambitions of the Chinese bourgeoisie. But this gateway for imperialist expansion into China can also be an avenue for bringing revolutionary propaganda to the Chinese working class.

While the Chinese proletariat suffered a defeat at Tiananmen, it was not crushed. What the International Communist League said in June 1989 holds every bit as true today: "*The central lesson of the Beijing spring and the urgent task which stands before the Chinese workers is the forging of an authentic communist party, an internationalist vanguard.*" ■

Reuters

Beijing, May 1989: Chinese workers defended student protesters and opposed Deng's pro-capitalist "reforms."

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips an issue in August.**

Our next issue will be dated September 10.

World Trade Center...

(continued from page 16)

theory, it turns out the CIA station chief in the Sudan signed off on Rahman's entry visa.

Still appreciative for Rahman's efforts on behalf of the cutthroat *mujahedin*, the Afghan warlord and crazed fascistic "prime minister" Gulbuddin Hekmatyar (who received more than two-thirds of the billions pumped into Afghanistan by the CIA) offered the sheik sanctuary if the U.S. deports him.

In fact, about the only one involved in the NYC bomb plots who *doesn't* have an Afghan connection is one Emad Salem, a shadowy former Egyptian army officer who was the feds' key informant and the *agent provocateur* who played a major role in instigating the whole business. For months, U.S. authorities were spewing out self-congratulations about the feds preventing a massive terrorist attack, while whipping up anti-Arab terrorism hysteria. But rather than an eagle-eyed investigator spotting a fragment of a license plate from a rental truck that carried the explosives to the WTC (the government's initial story), it turns out that the FBI has been monitoring the alleged plotters *at least since 1990*.

Jacobson/Sipa

FBI fink Emad Salem.

And while federal prosecutors and the FBI are publicly sweating over the obvious question of why they didn't stop the Trade Center bombing, a new revelation surfaced that informer-provocateur Salem *made over 40 hours of his own tapes of meetings with his FBI handlers*. "Prosecutors concede that the conversations may become a potent weapon for defense attorneys—damaging the informant's [Salem's] credibility and strengthening the defense theory that the FBI instigated the plot," *Newsday* (3 August) reported. As one investigator put it, "those conversations are definitely not the kind of thing you want a jury to hear." Salem, a trained bomb expert, was the guy who rented the safe house, bought guns and equipment for making bombs, and solicited these Afghan war vets and fervent anti-Communists for combat training to join their "brother Muslim" fighters in Bosnia.

To the classic Watergate questions of what the feds knew and when they knew it, the answers are clearly: "everything" and "before it happened." We don't pretend to know what was being cooked up in Jersey City storefronts, Queens garages and CIA offices from Langley, Virginia to the World Trade Center. Some of the accused may have been entrapped into thinking that they were preparing for another *jihad* in the Balkans. Ex-Mossad agent Victor Ostrovsky has speculated that possibly some of Rahman's disciples were recruited to a "false flag operation" run by the Israeli intelligence service. In any case, it turns out that "informant" Salem was also in communication with the fascistic followers of Meir Kahane, meeting with them several times offering to sell information linking the murder of Kahane to a broader Arab conspiracy.

Liberal *Newsday* pushes "terrorism" scare.

While denouncing the orchestrated anti-Arab terrorism scare, we have been reticent in commenting on the murky WTC bombing until the fumes cleared. But in Afghanistan, where there was a clear side for social progress, unlike most of the left the Spartacist League took an unambiguous stand for the Red Army in defense of the Soviet Union and against the CIA- and Saudi-backed Islamic reactionaries who sought to enslave women and turn back the clock to the 7th century. "Better to fight counterrevolution in Afghanistan than to have to fight it inside the Soviet Union," we said. But Gorbachev & Co. followed the opposite course of consistently appeasing imperialism, abandoning Afghanistan and caving in to capitalist counterrevolution throughout East Europe and the USSR itself. Today the few women who dare to walk in the streets of the devastated Afghan "capital" of Kabul are covered in the head-to-toe veil. And in the "New World Order" of Bush and Clinton, the CIA's vultures have come "home" to roost in the Twin Towers. ■

Racist Cops...

(continued from page 16)

completely legal, including every baton blow to the head and face. Only the last 19 seconds of the beating, according to Davies, was considered questionable.

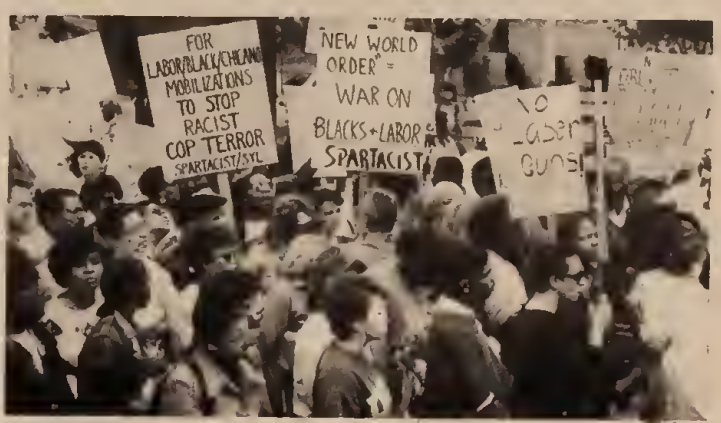
"It couldn't be better," crowed cop Powell's lawyer, Michael Stone. "The arguments the court made were a complete vindication of our case." In an additional judicial farce, this same judge is presiding over King's civil suit against the city for compensation!

The March 1991 beating of the defenseless black motorist by a cop lynch mob became the symbol of racist police brutality in America. Only the presence of an amateur videotaper observing from a balcony window kept this atrocity from being blacked out like thousands of others like it. It only reached a courtroom after a state-ordered change of venue to the lily-white cop haven of Simi Valley, where the police were acquitted as scripted.

And only after a massive social upheaval by plebeian black and Hispanic L.A. did the authorities make the empty promise of a federal civil rights trial, which ended in a slap on the wrist verdict for *two* participants in the racist cop mob. Finally, the judge essentially threw out even the jury's watered-down guilty verdict in ignoring stiffer federal sentencing guidelines.

On August 7, five jurors in the second trial publicly criticized the sentence. One stated, with tears in his eyes, that "Each of us gave so much of our time, our lives, and I felt like we were undermined.... It was a whitewash."

At 7 a.m. on August 4, the morning of the sentencing, the LAPD went on full tactical alert to force this travesty down the throats of anyone justly outraged by this latest injustice. As we wrote in April when the verdicts were reached, "The fact that the strutting, swaggering racist pig Koon and the sadistic baton-wielding thug Powell may spend a few months in protective custody at Club Fed doesn't change one iota the brutal reality of racist American capitalism.... At best the cops may spend a couple of years behind bars, if that long" ("Slap on the Wrist Verdict for Racist L.A. Cops," *WV* No. 574, 23 April). Some small satisfaction might be gained if Koon and Powell were ever released into the general prison population, where cops and snitches have about the same popularity and longevity.



WV Photo

Spartacists at 9 March 1991 L.A. demo protesting cop beating of Rodney King.

Now the spotlight in L.A. is focused on the ongoing trial of two of the four black youths accused of beating white truck driver Reginald Denny in the early stages of the L.A. riots. That Denny was beaten because of the color of his skin is a disgusting indefensible act that deserves punishment; but what is also very evident is the dual system of justice exposed by this trial. The prosecution has so far excluded five blacks from the jury, both on peremptory challenges and for "cause," such as prospective jurors' "concerns about the fairness of the judicial system" (*New York Times*, 8 August). Moreover, unlike the cops, who were given until September 27 to report to "Club Fed" (and don't count on it then either), the accused black youths, who were arrested by ex-L.A. police chief Daryl Gates and an army of cops, have been in custody ever since and face a maximum of life sentences if convicted.

There won't be justice for black people and other oppressed minorities until the working class has state power and the most notorious armed thugs of the racist capitalist state face tribunals of their intended victims. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

The CIA's Afghanistan Connection

The Feds and the World Trade Center Bombing

Sheehan/Newsday

February bombing of New York City's World Trade Center.

Media Whip Up Anti-Arab Hysteria

A powerful explosion last winter at the World Trade Center, headquarters for scores of Fortune 500 companies and financial institutions, caused hundreds of millions of dollars in damage and killed six people. Tabloid headlines screamed, "Terrorists On the Loose!" Within a week after the February 26 explosion in lower Manhattan, the FBI and police rounded up three men—two Palestinians, Mohammed Salameh and Nidal Ayyad, and Egyptian-born Ibrahim Elgabrowny. Three more arrests followed, including Mahmud Abouhalima, who was returned to the U.S. after "confessing" to the Twin Towers bombings during a week of torture by the Egyptian police.

Then on June 24 the FBI snatched five more Arab men in a Queens warehouse as they mixed vats of chemicals allegedly for bomb preparation. According to the feds, these men were part of a larger conspiracy connected to the WTC bombing. The government says they were about to unleash a wave of bombings in New York City on the Fourth of July, targeting sites from the Holland Tunnel to the UN in retaliation for U.S. support to governments like Egypt that repress Islamic fundamentalists. They also reputedly aimed to free El-Sayyid Nosair, now serving a 22-year prison sentence on weapons charges despite his acquittal in the 1990 murder of Rabbi Meir Kahane, the fascist founder of the Jewish Defense League and the Israeli Kach party. A dozen men have been charged in the second conspiracy case.

As the anti-Arab scare swung into high gear, the media focused on the connections of the arrested men to an Egyptian-born Islamic cleric, Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman and his Jersey City, New Jersey storefront mosque. What they played down was the common denominator among all of the arrested, namely their connection with the CIA's decade-long covert war against the Soviet Army in Afghanistan. Sheik Rahman recruited Islamic fundamentalist "volunteers" for the anti-Communist *jihad* (holy war) bankrolled and supplied by the American "Great Satan." Many of the men who worshipped at his mosque had fought in Afghanistan. Among those charged in the NYC bomb plots, the sheik's part-time driver Abouhalima, Ahmad Ajaj and American black Muslim Clement Hampton-El are all former Afghan mercs.

Last month, Sheik Rahman was arrested on visa violation charges of polygamy (allowed by Islam) and check forgery (a neat trick for a blind man). According to Washington, the blind sheik would never have been allowed in the U.S. except for a bureaucratic foul-up. His name is on a State Department list of nearly *three million* (!) people barred from U.S. entry. But Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak stated in May that "the Sheik has been a CIA agent since his days in Afghanistan.... He still earns a salary. The visa he got was not issued by mistake. It is because of the services he did." The next day, after intense pressure from the U.S. (which gives Egypt $2 billion a year), Mubarak had a spokesman retract the statement. But giving the lie to the "bureaucratic snafu"

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Kid Glove Treatment for Racist Cops Who Beat Rodney King

LOS ANGELES—On August 4, U.S. District Court Judge John Davies handed out token two and a half year sentences to the two racist LAPD thugs, Stacey Koon and Laurence Powell, who were convicted last April of violating Rodney King's civil rights by beating him nearly to death. Once again, as in the pre-Civil War Dred Scott decision, it is demonstrated that in capitalist America blacks have "no rights the court is bound to respect."

Judge Davies used the dais to essentially reverse the "guilty" verdict, praising the convicted cops and accepting their lying argument that Rodney King was a convicted felon who had fled from the police (i.e., he was charged with speeding) and thus provoked his own beating! This Reagan-appointed dispenser of capitalist injustice obscenely stated that the first 55 seconds of the videotape showing the beating of King was all

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George Holliday Video

AP

L.A. cops beat Rodney King almost to death, March 1991. Sergeant Stacey Koon (right) gloats after hearing sentence.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 583

10 September 1993

Zionist Troops, Settlers Out of the Occupied Territories!

Israel-PLO Deal for Palestinian Ghetto

SEPTEMBER 7—What does the "Gaza-Jericho first" accord between the Israeli "Labor" government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Yasir Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) mean? It means PLO cops, armed and paid by Israel, shooting down young Palestinian rebels on behalf of the Zionist state terrorists. If this ignominious deal goes through, the tens of thousands of unarmed Palestinian youth who have day after day risked their lives to defy the "Iron Fist" of Zionist repression since the outbreak of the heroic *Intifada* uprising in December 1987 will now confront not only Israeli stormtroopers but the organization which has long claimed to be "the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people."

Spokesmen on both sides hail the agreement as a "historic achievement," a "breakthrough" and "the start of a new era." But while the Tel Aviv stock exchange shot up, Arab youth continue to be shot down, including a 16-year-old blown away in Gaza by undercover Israeli cops for protesting against the deal. Arafat crows: "The Palestinian state is within our grasp. Soon the Palestinian flag will fly on the walls, the minarets and the cathedrals of Jerusalem." This is cynical hogwash, aimed at selling this sellout to disgruntled PLO supporters. Israel immediately

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Geraint Lewis

Palestinian refugee camp in occupied West Bank. PLO has now agreed to act as the Zionists' overseers of Palestinian Arabs.

Down with U.S. Cops of the World!

Clinton's Hit Squad in Somalia

Before dawn on August 30, a force of U.S. Army Rangers slid down ropes dropped from helicopters onto the roof of a two-story villa in the Somali capital of Mogadishu. On the ground, other Rangers blasted through the walls with grenades and broke down the doors. Their target: lieutenants of defiant Somali warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid, on whose head Washington has placed a $25,000 bounty. The Rangers succeeded in capturing nine of the enemy, handcuffed them, held them face-down at gunpoint and then tossed them into the helicopters like carcasses. Yet the "enemy" turned out to be...*foreign and Somali UN employees* engaged in humanitarian relief! Nevertheless, the chief U.S. military spokesmen in Somalia triumphantly proclaimed the raid "a textbook example of how these operations should go" using "lightning speed and overpowering force."

Larry DeBoice, a Canadian UN relief worker captured by the Rangers, found nothing amusing about the incident: "I don't think there was any doubt in anybody's mind that if we said anything, looked at anybody, moved, we'd be shot." While this time U.S. commandos looked like the gang that couldn't shoot straight, they are—as DeBoice immediately sensed when under their guns—a professional killer elite. During the Vietnam War, in Operation Phoenix U.S. forces *assassinated, individually,*

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Kieffer/Foto Consortium

U.S. commandos, death squads for "New World Order."

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Black Cashiers Were Pulled Off the Job

Winn-Dixie Racism in Georgia

ATLANTA—When a crescendo of charges against Denny's made the South Carolina-based restaurant chain notorious for racist discrimination, we responded with coast-to-coast demonstrations in early July. "Jim Crow Racism, Anti-Union Open Shop—Legacy of the Slavocracy" read a protester's sign. Now a case in the "whites only" bastion of Forsyth County, Georgia illuminates the vile racism at Winn-Dixie, a leading supermarket chain in the Deep South, showing that the "Dixie" in its name is no accident.

In late July, 18-year-old Brenda Huiel was picked along with another black worker to be among the cashiers working the festive opening week of the Winn-Dixie supermarket in Cumming, Georgia. But when she got there, Ms. Huiel told *WV*, "Customers were looking at us like, why are we here? We were given looks I have never gotten before. I felt like I was the total embodiment of that county's hatred and prejudice."

Although Brenda had been assigned to work in the store for four days, the black women were yanked off their jobs and hustled to the back of the store. Management told her an incident "had happened that was race-related," and she and her friend "would be subject to violence and possible threats. He strongly suggested we go home." The two women returned to their regular Winn-Dixie store in Kennesaw, and two whites were selected to work the Cumming store.

After intimidating these two black workers to leave, Winn-Dixie then issued a blatant apology *to the racists* for bringing black people into Forsyth County. "Our goal is to do the right thing for our customers and the communities in which we operate" (*Atlanta Constitution*, 5 August). This recalls Georgia Democrat Jimmy Carter's appeal during the 1976 presidential campaign to "ethnic purity" and "community values," racist code words equivalent to calling for "neighborhood schools" in South Boston. What they're really saying is "no blacks need apply."

Forsyth County is a racist enclave where there are only *14 blacks out of 44,000 people*, according to the U.S. Census Bureau, and they probably padded the figures. In January 1987, thousands of civil rights protesters marched in Forsyth County to protest a Ku Klux Klan attack on a "brotherhood march" on Martin Luther King Day earlier that month. The Democratic Party channeled this outrage against racism into hosannas for the "New South" even as the National Guard was barely able to shield marchers from a raging mob of over 1,000 racists. The lily-white "community" which Winn-Dixie didn't want to offend hasn't changed since then.

Brenda Huiel had worked for Winn-Dixie for four years. She was a member of the Varsity Math team, the track club and the French Honor Society at high school. Since she was college-bound, Winn-Dixie was giving her some scholarship money to attend Emory

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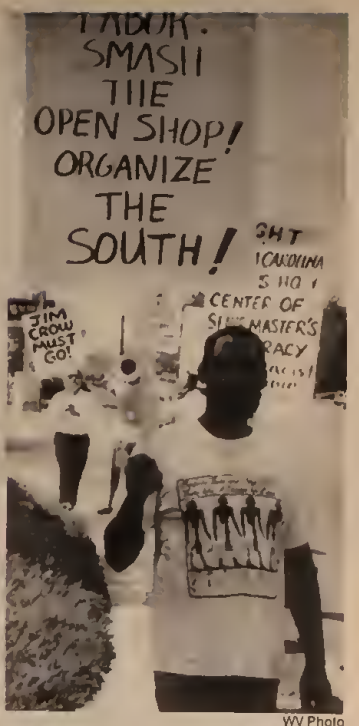

WV Photo

Atlanta, July 3: Demonstrators protest against Jim Crow racism at Denny's restaurants.

TROTSKY

LENIN

Capitalist Oppression and Parliamentary Democracy

The rising tide of anti-immigrant racism in North America and West Europe spells fascist and government violence against immigrant communities and their expulsion to impoverished Third World countries. Those who today appeal to the bourgeois rulers to be more humane in their immigration policies show a touching faith in a "progressive" bourgeoisie that has long since departed the historical scene. Parliamentary democracy does not preclude vicious anti-democratic attacks on immigrants, national minorities and the working class. With the onset of the Great Depression in 1929, the "democratic" government of France deported one million foreign workers, roughly 10 percent of the labor force. In polemicizing against the social democrat Karl Kautsky, Lenin pointed out that savage attacks on the workers movement, national and racial minorities, and colonial peoples are routinely carried out by bourgeois parliamentary governments.

The learned Mr. Kautsky has "forgotten"—accidently forgotten, probably—a "trifle," namely, that the ruling party in a bourgeois democracy extends the protection of the minority only to another *bourgeois* party, while the proletariat, on all *serious, profound and fundamental* issues, gets martial law or pogroms, instead of the "protection of the minority." *The more highly developed a democracy is, the more imminent are pogroms or civil war in connection with any profound political divergence which is dangerous to the bourgeoisie.* The learned Mr. Kautsky could have studied this "law" of bourgeois democracy in connection with the Dreyfus case in republican France, with the lynching of Negroes and internationalists in the democratic republic of America, with the case of Ireland and Ulster in democratic Britain, with the baiting of the Bolsheviks and the staging of pogroms against them in April 1917 in the democratic republic of Russia....

Take the bourgeois parliament. Can it be that the learned Kautsky has never heard that the *more highly* democracy is developed, the *more* the bourgeois parliaments are subjected by the stock exchange and the bankers?... Only a liberal can forget the *historical limitations and conventional nature* of the bourgeois parliamentary system as Kautsky does. Even in the most democratic bourgeois state the oppressed people at every step encounter the crying contradiction between the *formal* equality proclaimed by the "democracy" of the capitalists and the thousands of *real* limitations and subterfuges which turn the proletarians into *wage-slaves*. It is precisely this contradiction that is opening the eyes of the people to the rottenness, mendacity and hypocrisy of capitalism.

—V.I. Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (1918)

BT and the Cops

Last February, members of the Bolshevik Tendency were screaming foul at our article "Cops, Crime and the BT" (*WV* No. 569, 12 February). In a leaflet titled "You Be the Judge," the BT whined that we had smeared them as "racists and cop lovers" in order to cover for our "own political bankruptcy." Actually we called them neither. We simply exposed the BT's obscene adaptation to racist yuppie "law and order" reaction in California, expressed in their article "Cops, Crime and Capitalism," which was the entire contents of the October 1992 issue of the BT journal, *1917 West*.

Here the racist cops were ever-so-evenhandedly portrayed as sometime do-gooders "comforting children and even risking their lives to rescue victims of disasters." Police racism and brutality was put down to the "brutally dehumanizing conditions on the margins of society" (read: the ghetto streets) to which the cops were subjected. Why would a self-proclaimed "communist" organization write such things? As we noted at the time, this grotesque apologia reflected the BT's appetites toward "Copwatch," a Berkeley "police reform" outfit.

Howling over "deliberate disregard for the truth" and "mendacity," the BT urged "all individuals for whom the truth is politically meaningful to read both articles and determine for themselves if there is any basis for the Spartacist League's latest allegations." We would encourage all such individuals to also read an article in the 4 September *People's Weekly World*, headlined "Copwatch: Making Berkeley's Police Accountable."

Quoted approvingly is one Gerald Smith: "We are not anti-anything except brutality and misconduct. We are for the police being accountable and we take a positive position on that by going out and educating the public, publishing our own journal, telling the truth to the people, and teaching people how to 'copwatch.' *We are not anti-police*" (our emphasis). Although described simply as a "Copwatch member," until a couple of months ago Gerald Smith was a leading (and longtime) member of the Bolshevik Tendency.

Now Smith heads a splinter group of ex-BTers called the Communist Workers Group (see "Split in the BT: From the Snake Pit of Anti-Spartacism," *WV* No. 582, 13 August). Doubtless, the BT will use this to argue that Gerald "we are not anti-police" Smith doesn't represent their views on the racist, capitalist cops. But Smith simply gave full vent to "Cops, Crime and Capitalism," which was not only published by the BT but vigorously defended by their still-remaining members at a public meeting of the SL in New York City last spring.

To echo the Bolshevik Tendency, "you be the judge." ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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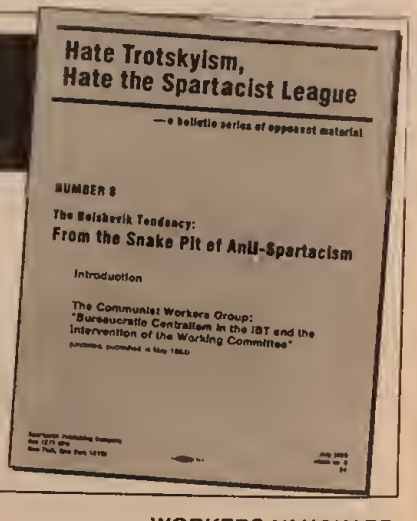

Partisan Defense Committee
CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Feds' "Seditious Conspiracy" Frame-Up

On August 25, the federal government indicted blind Muslim sheik Omar Abdel Rahman and 14 others on vague charges of conspiracy "to levy a war of urban terrorism against the United States." To carry out their vendetta, the feds dredged up draconian sedition laws enacted well over a century ago. Seizing on last February's World Trade Center bombing as a pretext, the Clinton White House and Attorney General Janet Reno are using these laws as a battering ram to criminalize dissident views while whipping up racist hysteria against immigrants, particularly from the Near East. This comes on the heels of Clinton/Reno's massacre of nearly 90 men, women and children at Waco for the "crime" of adhering to a racially integrated, obscure religious commune.

This indictment comes in the context of a media scare targeting "Islamic fundamentalism" and "Arab terrorism" as the new "main enemy" of America in the post-Cold War era. The dust hadn't even cleared from the WTC bombing as the *New York Times* decried "a new boom-tide of political asylum seekers that is swamping the process of immigration." *New York Magazine* ran a racially charged cover story on "The Arab Connection." And the *Times* led off its Fourth of July "Week in Review" section railing that "freedom from scrutiny" as well as "easy immigration and due process" have rendered the U.S. "vulnerable" to domestic terrorists. Never mind that those charged in the WTC bombing were former Afghan mercenaries admitted to the U.S. through the good graces of the CIA. "Easy immigration"? Not for the thousands upon thousands of asylum seekers from Latin America routinely sent back to likely death at the hands of U.S.-backed butchers.

"Seditious conspiracy" is the new catchall of the McCarthyite witchhunters—if they can't pin anything else on you, they'll send you away (or blow you away) for "thought crimes." The cornerstone of the whole prosecution is that by charging "seditious conspiracy" the feds don't have to prove that the sheik (or anyone else) actually *did* anything *at all*. Applauding Reno's "right call" to indict Rahman, a *New York Times* (27 August) editorial notes that "federal investigators still have not been able to pin any direct involvement in overt terrorist actions" on the sheik. The sedition laws enable the feds to fill in those few gaps left by the RICO (Racketeer-Influenced and Corrupt Organizations) laws and other conspiracy statutes.

The indictment links El Sayyid Nosair, who was previously acquitted in the 1990 killing of fascistic Zionist terrorist Meir Kahane, and Rahman to the WTC bombing, and ties this together with an alleged plan for kidnappings, assassinations and additional bombings. Now Nosair will again stand trial for the Kahane killing as part of the "larger conspiracy." The charges against more than a dozen of the defendants are a clear case of entrapment by a government informer who suggested targets, showed them how to make bombs, bought materials and convinced some not to quit.

Whipping up the "terrorist" hysteria, the Clinton administration is rapidly bolstering the government's apparatus of terror. We don't know what happened at the World Trade Center or who's behind it. We certainly don't trust the government's pronouncements, and we do know that the feds' case rests on informant Emad Salem, who stands to gain at least half a million dollars for his testimony. We also note that the purported conspiracy began in 1990, when the defendants and the U.S. government were working together in a larger and very active conspiracy—a shooting war intent on destroying the Soviet-backed Afghan government, overturning its modest democratic reforms and forcing Afghan women back to a life of slavery under the veil.

Reuters

U.S. marshals hustling Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman off to prison.

Anti-Arab Hysteria Over World Trade Center Bombing

Sedition Laws—Assault on Freedom of Speech

Commenting on the rarely used sedition conspiracy laws, Reno's cheerleaders at the *Times* (28 August) conceded, "some criminal defense experts say the law comes perilously close to punishing people for their beliefs or speech." But that's why sedition laws are the weapon of choice here—they are pure thought-crime laws. Their resurrection today represents a grave danger to leftists, immigrants, unionists and anyone who runs afoul of the "New World Disorder."

Sedition acts are war measures plain and simple. Historically they go hand in hand with attacks on immigrants. The granddaddy of them all, the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, passed in anticipation of war with France, aimed at Jeffersonian opponents of John Adams' Federalist Party. The Acts made it a criminal offense to "write, print, utter or publish...any false, scandalous and malicious writing or writings against the government of the United States." The laws also sought to get rid of supporters of the French Revolution, whose talk of fraternity, liberty and equality was discomforting to the government of slaveholders.

Sheik Rahman is charged under the post-Civil War sedition acts aimed against ex-Confederates opposed to federal rule, and later amended in 1918 and again in the '40s. The 1918 act was used to indict some 2,100 people, including prominent Socialist leader Eugene V. Debs, for speaking out against American entry into World War I. It outlaws any "disloyal, profane, scurrilous or abusive language about the form of government of the U.S." Around the same time, state "criminal syndicalism" and "anarchy" laws targeted the revolutionary Industrial Workers of the World and early American Communists.

In the aftermath of the 1917 Russian Revolution, Communist Party and anarchist leaders around the country were prosecuted and imprisoned. Especially targeted by the thought-crime laws was the militant immigrant sector of the working class. Thousands of foreign-born radicals (including American citizens) were rounded up during the 1919-20 Palmer Raids, and hundreds were deported.

After the post-WWI "red" scare served its purpose in suppressing the left, the conspiracy laws were put on the back burner. Then in 1940, on the eve of the U.S.' entry into World War II, the notorious Alien Registration Act, the Smith Act, was passed. The first victims of the Smith Act—which was later used wholesale during the 1950s McCarthy anti-communist witchhunt—were the Trotskyist "Minneapolis 18," internationalist revolutionaries and leaders of the militant Minneapolis Teamsters. Their jailing was intended to serve warning on the labor movement at large to fall into line behind the coming imperialist war.

With the onset of the post-WWII Cold War, anti-labor and anti-immigrant legislation flourished. Taft-Hartley made it unlawful for trade-union officials to be members of communist organizations. The Internal Security (McCarran) Act set up concentration camps for communists in the event of a "national emergency," and the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952 once again banned communists, anarchists and homosexuals from entering the U.S. A couple of years ago the communist-exclusion provisions were repealed, and replaced with prohibitions on supporters of "terrorist" organizations. Seven Palestinians and a Kenyan, known as the "L.A. Eight," are still fighting attempts to deport them as supporters of the Palestinian PFLP.

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A Decade Later

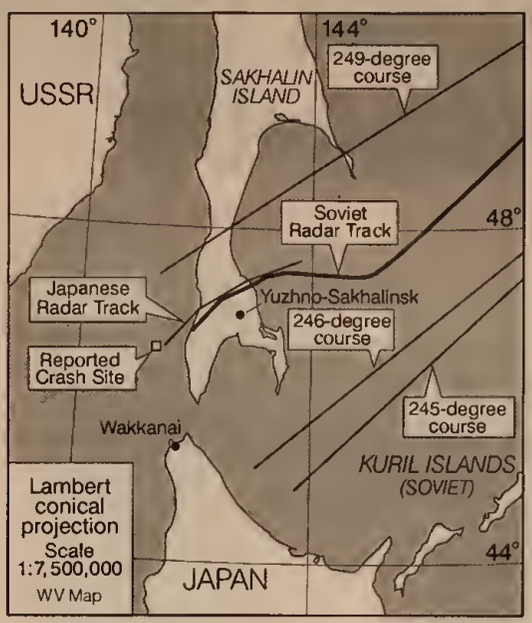
KAL 007 Cover-Up Continues

Ten years ago this month, Korean Air Lines Flight 007 was shot down by Soviet fighters after deviating hundreds of miles from its assigned course for hours in a provocative penetration of sensitive Far Eastern military regions of the former USSR. All 269 people on board KAL 007 lost their lives. The flight had all the earmarks of a deliberate U.S. "intelligence" mission designed to provoke and then record Soviet defenses, using an "innocent" civilian airliner as the bait, and its shootdown became a battle cry for Reagan/Bush's imperialist war drive against the Soviet degenerated workers state.

While most of the left kept silent, going along with the Cold War II anti-Soviet crusade, the Spartacist League immediately responded with an article proclaiming "Reagan's Story Stinks!" This was combined with other *WV* and *Young Spartacus* articles, along with the initial Soviet statement, in our October 1983 pamphlet, "KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation." Over the years we have continued to pursue the case with more than a dozen articles taking apart every cover-up account. Ignoring the mountains of evidence of U.S. complicity, the bourgeois media dismissed the airliner's deviation as an "accident." In June, the UN's International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) released a report at the behest of the four powers involved—the U.S., South Korea, Japan, and a now-capitalist Russia—designed to bury the matter forever.

Last week, a commission appointed by Russian president Boris Yeltsin issued *its* "final report," declaring it was "completely identical with the conclusions of the international commission" (*Izvestia*, 28 August). The head of the commission, Yeltsin's chief of staff Sergei Filatov, declared in a press conference that "the Soviet Union is not to blame in this accident" (*Moscow Times*, 31 August). But the report concludes that "the Russian and South Korean sides have to share the responsibility for what happened," which was allegedly due to "a number of fatal mistakes, done by the crew of the Boeing" (*Izvestia*, 31 August). This is simply a political attempt to assuage all powers and especially to take the blame off Yeltsin's and South Korea's patrons in Washington.

But the truth won't go away.



Soviet and Japanese radar tracks of KAL 007 flight path closely coincide, while courses claimed by ICAO (245-degree) and Yeltsin (249-degree) are way off track.

Sources
Robert Allardyce and James Gollin; ICAO simulation

A Fudged Report

The centerpiece of the ICAO report is the analysis of the "black box" tapes reportedly handed over by Yeltsin last January. These were purported to be from the plane's long-missing Cockpit Voice Recorder (CVR) and Digital Flight Data Recorder (DFDR)—both allegedly "found" by Soviet divers years ago but kept secret until Yeltsin's counterrevolution opened the archives. Yeltsin also released what he claimed were documents written in 1983 by Soviet experts who analyzed the tapes.

We have already shown in detail that these "analyses" from Yeltsin flatly contradict known reality, particularly *all* available radar tracks of KAL 007's flight path, which showed the plane did not "stray" on an innocent "straight line" but must have made numerous turns indicating conscious intervention by the pilots (see "Yeltsin Whitewashes Reagan's Spy Mission," *WV* No. 571, 12 March). The latest ICAO report doesn't even attempt to explain the bundle of contradictions; it flatly contradicts Yeltsin's documents. It is meant to be a snow job.

The truth would have been definitively exposed if the DFDR tape had recorded the readouts from KAL 007's computerized Inertial Navigation System (INS), an extremely precise navigational instrument which would show the plane's second-by-second latitude/longitude positions over the entire five-and-a-half-hour flight. But alas, the ICAO report says without explanation that "no INS data was recorded on the DFDR." Also mysteriously missing is the recording of Universal Time, thereby blurring the timing of events. And then there's the case of the missing engines: the Boeing 747 is a four-engine plane, but the DFDR tape shows only *two* engines, as if this tape came from an entirely different aircraft.

WV inquired about the missing data in a phone interview with the head of the ICAO's investigation, Caj Frostell. The official story is that the recording of INS data was "not the requirement" back in 1983 (it is today), and so airlines had the "flexibility" to not record such critical data if they chose. As for the missing engines, they simply "for some reason" inexplicably "did not record." The report itself notes that "a number of the wires to the tape heads had been disconnected," without specifying what data was affected.

So the only way to calculate the plane's flight path with the available data is by the old-fashioned method of computation—taking the various recorded parameters such as heading, acceleration, altitude, airspeed, etc., factoring in such things as the known winds, air temperatures and magnetic variations, and feeding this into a computer to get a calculation of the plane's positions over time. The ICAO claims to have done this, and asserts in one single unsubstantiated sentence that "the computed track matched the track of KE 007 as known from the radar records available."

This is pure bunk. *Nowhere* does the report give exact plot points for the plane's course over Soviet regions, or demonstrate on a detailed map—particularly in the Sakhalin Island region where the plane was downed—how their computation "matches" radar tracks. The Japanese radar track of KAL 007 over Sakhalin is not displayed.

An independent report, just released by retired flight engineer and former crash investigator Robert Allardyce and his collaborator James Gollin, takes apart the ICAO's "analysis." The two men produced the 1991 "Technical Analysis," reported in the *New York Times* of 20 February 1992, which showed that the plane must have changed course several times (see "KAL 007 Was on Deadly Spy Mission," *WV* No. 547, 20 March 1992).

Now, in an update, Allardyce/Gollin demolish the main conclusion of the ICAO analysis: that "three minutes after take-off" from Anchorage the pilots switched the plane's autopilot into a "constant magnetic heading" of 245 degrees, where it remained for the entire five-and-a-half-hour flight "until the attack by the fighter aircraft." According to the ICAO, the plane was being flown by magnetic compass, not by the properly working INS systems, because the crew supposedly forgot to turn a switch and incredibly never noticed the haywire indications from the INS and other instruments on board. The ICAO speculates this was caused by crew "fatigue."

But the available radar track of KAL 007 over Alaska shows the plane "was not on a 245 'constant magnetic heading'...or any other magnetic heading," say Allardyce/Gollin. In fact, it shows the plane flying a "Great Circle" course, *prima facie* evidence that the autopilot was controlled by the *INS*, which uses Great Circle segments to generate a course. Later in the flight, the 245-degree course would have put the plane's entry over Kamchatka at a point nearly *100 nautical miles* "south of where the CIA placed the aircraft." And finally, the 245-degree course would have put the plane "167.3 nautical miles to the south" of the Japanese radar track! The Soviets' radar track closely parallels the Japanese track over Sakhalin (see map).

What's more, the 1993 ICAO report is contradicted by their own 1983 report. Working with the Boeing company and consultants from Litton Industries (manufacturer of the INS), the ICAO did a simulation of a 246-degree course. The result, released in December 1983, showed that on such a course the plane *would have missed Sakhalin entirely* and flown over Japan instead. Needless to say, a 245-degree course would have

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Just Out!

Spartacist Pamphlet

This pamphlet brings together articles from *Workers Vanguard* and the Russian-language *Spartacist Bulletin* covering the recent events in the ex-USSR. Beginning with the pathetic "Emergency Committee" putsch and Yeltsin's pro-imperialist countercoup in August 1991, the material contained in the pamphlet documents the unfolding counterrevolution and the Trotskyist program to resist and reverse it. Included are several polemical articles which expose the role of numerous Western "leftists" in backing Yeltsinite counterrevolution and that of the Stalinist remnants in the former Soviet Union, whose bankruptcy is epitomized by their despicable "red-brown coalition" with virulent Russian nationalists, monarchists and outright fascists. Finally, we include an article from the current Russian-language *Bulletin* No. 4 which details the Stalinist degeneration of the CPSU and the struggle of the Trotskyist Left Opposition for the authentic program of Leninism.

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France: Mimicking the "Red-Brown" Coalition

The JCR and the "Idiot International"

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Anti-Semitic rag *Idiot International*: meeting place of fascists, degenerated Stalinist "intellectuals" and JCR leader Damien Elliott.

The notorious "red-brown" coalition, which in Russia unites the Stalinist debris left over from the collapse of the bureaucratic regime with ultranationalist and fascist forces, has found a pale reflection in France. For several years now, intellectuals of the French Communist Party (PCF) have been writing articles alongside prominent fascists in anti-Semitic rags like *L'Idiot International*, and debating them in public, while inviting contributions from spokesmen of Le Pen's fascist National Front (FN) in PCF publications. But this June, this bizarre combination of supposed communists in league with open fascists blew up into a national scandal. And bringing up the rear of this "red-brown" coalition *à la française* is the ostensibly Trotskyist Jeunesses Communistes Révolutionnaires (JCR) led by one Damien Elliott.

For generations the French Stalinists, the leading party of the French working class, were among the most assiduous followers of every twist and turn dictated by the Kremlin bureaucracy. At the same time, as national-reformists they sought to defend the interests of French imperialism. Now with the triumph of counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union and East Europe, no longer having two masters, the PCF has become even more vociferous in its rampant French nationalism. But some of the Stalinist literati want to go further, linking up with the "New Right" and brownshirt racists, wrapping themselves not only in the tricolor flag of the French bourgeois revolution but also the royalist fleur-de-lis.

The *Idiot Internotionol* affair reveals the depths of degeneration to which the Stalinists have sunk following decades of class collaboration. In the early 1980s, the PCF sought to become the vanguard of French chauvinism with the infamous bulldozing of a foreign workers hostel in Vitry as its admission ticket to the Mitterrand popular front. Now today the PCF is spinning off a racist layer which is hobnobbing with the fascist thugs who launch deadly attacks on non-white "immigrants," while the conservative Balladur government with its draconian interior minister Charles Pasqua brings down the forces of the state on foreign-born workers and their families.

The *Idiot International* was a product of May 1968, as a meeting place of various far-out New Leftists out to shock their parents (*épater le bourgeois*). Its publisher, Jean-Edern Hallier, metamorphized into a notorious anti-Semitic pamphleteer and has now become the rallying point for the coming together of this mini-"red-brown" coalition. Hallier has been convicted of "inciting to race hatred" against Jews in one of his editorials. *Idiot Internationol* would attack the "Jews of the PS" [Socialist Party], the "Jewish cowardice of the Elysée" [the presidential palace, occupied by the "socialist" Mitterrand], etc.

Hallier's racist rag was published with the active support of PCF cadres. The editor of *Idiot International* was longtime PCF member Marc Cohen. More than half a dozen PCF cadre—all of them close to Roland Leroy, the "hardline" Stalinist editor of the PCF daily *L'Humanité*—joined Cohen in contributing articles, including Jacques Dimet, coordinator of the editorial board of the PCF weekly *Révolution*. Joining this Stalinist coterie on the editorial board of *Idiot Internotional* were prominent fascists, including Alain Sanders, editor of the National Front's daily *Présent*, and the director of research was Philippe Palat of the National Front's weekly *National Hebdo*.

Along with rantings by demoralized Stalinists, *Idiot International* published regular contributions by writers from the National Front's monthly *Le Choc du Mois* as well as by Alain de Benoist, the "New Right" founder of GRECE (Group of Research and Study for European Civilization). GRECE publishes guides to the rites and ceremonies of the Nazi SS and books on the exploits of the SS. In May 1992, de Benoist was invited to participate in a meeting organized by the PCF's Institute of Marxist Research on the "Reawakening of Critical Thought," presided over by PCF Political Bureau member Francette Lazard.

Declaring that "Communism was also a bad answer to a real question," de Benoist calls for a "third road" bringing together those who "refuse the liberal market system." GRECE has intervened heavily in Russia, launching last fall the review *Elementy* and contributing articles by de Benoist to the anti-Semitic standard-bearer of the "red-brown" coalition, *Dien*. In France, the collaboration between PCF cadres and fascists has extended well beyond the pages of *Idiot Internotional*. The repulsive anti-Semite Christian Laborde of the FN's *Le Choc du Mois* wrote several articles for the PCF's *Révolution*. And Paul Jouary, member of the PCF Central Committee and editor of *Révolution*, wrote for de Benoist's fascist publication *Krisis*.

With the bourgeoisie triumphantly proclaiming the "death of communism," and Mitterrand's Socialists in disarray following a devastating electoral defeat in March, PCF general secretary Georges Marchais is trying to deck out his party in social-democratic garb (recently announcing that next January's congress would abandon the formal reference to "democratic centralism"). Thus the revelations of the insidious collaboration between much of the PCF's media apparatus and the fascists is acutely embarrassing. The *Idiot International* affair was brought to light by novelist (and former PCF member) Didier Daeninckx, who last October sent Marchais a report of his personal investigation. Marchais eventually replied: "If you verify that links exist between people from the Communist Party and the far right, I would have only one request to make of you: Say it!" (*Le Canard Enchainé*, 23 June).

As the scandal spread through the French bourgeois press, and *L'Hamanité* said hardly a word, the PCF weekly *L'Hamanité-Dimanche* piously declared that writing for *Idiot International* was "unacceptable" and "contrary to communist ethics." The PCF Central Committee called for those most deeply involved to resign or be expelled, while belittling the affair as "totally marginal individual behavior" (*Le Monde*, 3 July). Contrary to the rantings of the conservative *Le Figaro* (1 July) about "red fascism," such an ongoing misalliance is not historically possible given the PCF's mass working-class base. In the Russian case, the "reds" of the "red-brown" alliance were in fact remnants of the petty-bourgeois Stalinist bureaucratic caste, not part of the working class.

But it wasn't just a few "marginal" party members who were involved. The PCF also provided abundant funding for Hallier's financially strapped paper. In January 1990, François Hilsum, head of the PCF's Messidor publishing house (and Central Committee member), signed an agreement with Hallier to publish a series of pamphlets titled *L'Idiot Internationol*, giving Hallier a cash advance of 500,000 francs ($100,000) and appointing him a "literary adviser" to Messidor. Yet only one book was published, Hallier's interviews with Fidel Castro, which was sold by PCF militants. Hallier cynically described his seaside neighbor and close friend Le Pen after a friendly dinner with the fascist leader: "At 3 o'clock in the morning, he started singing *The Internotionale* under the moon. Sometimes I'm sorry that he is not among the ranks of the Communists" (*Le Monde*, 1 July).

It is into this sordid misalliance of left and right that Damien Elliott's JCR has drifted. Indeed, JCR leader Damien Elliott has weighed in with his own contributions to the *Idiot International*, not to mention co-sponsoring petitions with the editor of this "red-brown" journal. The grotesque details of the JCR's "idiot" in the *Idiot International* were exposed in an article in *Le Bolchévik*, translated below.

Elliott's group has built up quite a checkered past since its expulsion from the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire

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APPEL

POUR LA LEVEE DE L'EMBARGO CONTRE LA YOUGOSLAVIE

POUR LE RETRAIT DES TROUPES DE L'ONU

Marc COHEN (rédacteur en chef de *l'Idiot International*)
Raymond CLAVIER (membre de l'Internationale Ouvrière)
Damien ELLIOTT (rédacteur en chef de *l'Egalité*)
Emile TABROL (rédacteur en chef de *Frondistes*)
Marco FERRANDO (membre du Comité national du PRC-Italie)
François FERRETTE (président UNEF-Caen)
Franco GRISOLIA (membre du Comité national du PRC et du Comité d[illegible]

Les Serbes seront-ils les nègres-blancs du "nouvel ordre mondial"? On est en droit de se le demander en voyant l'hystérie qui règne dans les médias of[illegible] connaissons bien cette a[illegible] l'agression contre l'Irak en 1

Les causes fondamen[illegible] bien differentes de ce qu'a[illegible] condition de l'opinion publ[illegible] Allemagne en tête, ont so[illegible] faire main basse le plus r[illegible] monde

Si un consensus s'est[illegible] limiter la casse (et empê[illegible]

Petition launched by JCR's Damien Elliott (right) features *Idiot International* editor Marc Cohen at top of list of signers. While calling "For Lifting Embargo Against Yugoslavia—For the Withdrawal of UN Troops," petition appeals to French anti-German chauvinism.

Le Bolchévik

NEW TIMES
INTERNATIONAL
VLADIMIR ZHIRINOVSKY:

Der Spiegel

From "red" to brown: Virulent Russian anti-Semite Vladimir Zhirinovsky (left), boasts, "I will follow in Hitler's footsteps." Jacques Doriot (right), expelled from PCF in 1934, became fascist leader, fought with Nazis against the Soviet Union in WW II.

Young Spartacus

Labor Defender

James P. Cannon and the Fight to Build the Revolutionary Party

Origins of American Communism

Part One of this article traced the development of the revolutionary workers movement in America and the impact of the Russian Revolution and anti-immigrant, anti-"red" repression on the early Communist Party (see WV *No. 582, 13 August). This article is adapted from a presentation given by comrade T. Marlow on the Prometheus Research Library's book,* James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism: Selected Writings and Speeches, 1920-1928.

PART TWO OF TWO

By the end of 1921, it was clear that the earlier repression was simply an episode, and that the party had the opportunity to do legal work. The first major breach in the "undergroundism in principle" came in late 1921 when the Workers Council group from the Socialist Party and elements from the underground Communist Party (CP) agreed to form a legal party, which they called the Workers Party. Cannon was elected chairman of the Workers Party at its founding convention. Nominally, the underground CP exercised control over the Workers Party.

This situation couldn't last long—and didn't. The undergrounders resented the existence of the legal party, and the champions of the legal party resented the control of the "illegal" party, especially since it was unnecessary. The party broke into factions of approximately equal strength and the subsequent fight has become known as the "Geese-Liquidators" fight. (The undergrounders called the legal party advocates "liquidators," with explicit reference to the early fight against the liquidators within the Bolshevik Party in the period of reaction which followed the 1905 Revolution. This was to give Cannon some trouble in Moscow, because it gave a false connotation to the faction he supported.)

Once again, the American party turned to the Comintern to help it solve a problem it couldn't resolve on its own. Cannon was in Moscow in 1922 and noted how the various Russian leaders listened politely to the presentations by the representatives of both factions, but made no commitment. It was during this trip that Cannon first met Trotsky and explained the actual political and legal conditions in the U.S., including the fact that the Workers Party was operating above ground. Trotsky told Cannon to write out his position on "one sheet of paper"—just imagine—your party has been rent by a major faction fight and you have to sum it all up on *one* sheet of paper! During the interview, Trotsky said he agreed with Cannon and the (misnamed) "liquidators" and that he would take it up with Lenin.

Labor Defender

Jamas P. Cannon giving report to Second Conferance of the International Labor Defanse, Septambar 1926 (top). ILD spearheaded defense of anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti: New York rally in Union Squara drew 20,000.

What followed was a very free debate in the Comintern where both factions presented their views in the American Commission. The leaders of the Communist International (Zinoviev, Radek and Bukharin) came out fully for legalization of the party and for a turn toward such things as the emerging movements for a labor party. Zinoviev lectured the undergrounders against making a fetish about illegal work, stressing that communists prefer to work legally where possible because of the advantages it offers. Zinoviev poked some fun at the undergrounders by relating the story of an old Bolshevik underground worker who insisted on carrying her false passport even *after* the Bolshevik Revolution!

Cannon stayed in Moscow from June 1922 through January 1923, during which he served as a delegate to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International (CI) and on the Presidium of the CI's Executive Committee. Cannon recalls fondly in his book, *The First Ten Years of American Communism* (1962), how much he enjoyed that trip—he got a chance to see some of the top Russian leaders close up as they worked in the CI. Cannon noted why it was natural for the Russian delegation to play a leading role:

> "They were the veterans who were schooled in the doctrine and knew the world movement, especially the European section of it, from study and first-hand experience in their years of exile. In addition, they had the commanding moral authority which accrues by right to the leaders of a victorious revolution. The delegates of the other parties, like myself, were mainly apprentices of a younger generation. I think all of us, or nearly all, felt that we were privileged to attend an incomparable school, and we tried to profit by the opportunity."

The Farmer-Labor Party—A Two-Class Bloc

Cannon returned to the U.S. in January 1923 and began a five-month-long national speaking tour. He lectured on his experiences in the USSR, and gained a chance to get a broad view of the status of the party as well as the feelings of the working class at large. The situation seemed favorable: at the end of 1922, after the "Geese-Liquidators" fight, the party actively campaigned for the formation of a labor party and there were some ripples in the organized labor movement, at least nominally, for such a thing.

Engels himself had paid attention to the American labor movement in the late 1800s and had recognized that, in the U.S. where "no medieval ruins bar the way," the workers could rapidly proceed from elemental class consciousness (shown by the strikes of the mid-1880s) to the formation of a labor party. What Engels clearly had in mind was a party which first and foremost expressed the class independence of the workers and a break from subordination to the bourgeois parties.

But what sprouted was *not* what Engels had envisioned. John Fitzpatrick, head of the Chicago Federation of Labor, had called a convention to form a labor party in July 1923. To attract the support of farmers devastated by the collapse of agricultural prices, Fitzpatrick changed the name of his prospective party to the Farmer-Labor Party. It was a *two-class* bloc, and one in which the proletarian elements would necessarily be subordinated programmatically to the petty-bourgeois farmers. Add to that the

intense pressure Fitzpatrick was getting from Samuel Gompers' American Federation of Labor (AFL) hureaucracy—Gompers was *intensely* hostile to any political action hy labor separate from the two bourgeois parties—and you have a recipe for a big mess. The CP was in a bloc which if it didn't blow up outright (which it did) would have led to the formation of, at best, a *reformist* "labor party." In fact, this "Farmer-Labor Party" became a vehicle to support the "third party" candidacy of the *bourgeois* politician La Follette in the presidential election of 1924.

If anything good came out of this mess, it was that Cannon decided he had to fight for the leadership of the Communist Party. In this he had some natural allies, like William Z. Foster. (At one time an organizer of the Chicago packinghouse workers and leader of the massive 1919 steel strike, Foster had a national reputation in the labor movement, with important contacts in the labor bureaucracy, especially in Chicago. Foster also brought with him his supporters in the Trade Union Education League [TUEL], which in 1921 affiliated to the Profintern, the Comintern's trade-union organization.) After the split with Fitzpatrick's forces at the Farmer-Labor Party convention in July 1923, Foster saw his trade-union base in the TUEL decimated by a ferocious offensive not only by a furious Fitzpatrick, but by the AFL tops who made membership in the TUEL incompatible with membership in an AFL union. The anti-communist backlash was ferocious—for example, at the AFL convention in Portland, Cannon's friend Bill Dunne, a leading communist representing the Butte, Montana unions, was unseated by a vote of 27,837 to 108.

B W Huebsch Inc

USWA

Chicago Federation of Labor chief John Fitzpatrick (seated, left) next to William Z. Foster, leader of the 1919 steel strike, which brought out 300,000 workers in eight states. Foster later became a leader of the CP.

Party Factions and Their Leaders

Before going into the details of the faction fight which ensued, it is necessary to look at some of the personalities, because it was at this point that the Communist Party crystallized into a set of more or less permanent factions of more or less the same people.

The first is Ruthenberg. He had emerged as a rising star in the Socialist Party (SP) and was in fact the "floor leader" of the left wing during the defining battles in the SP. He was also courageous—he served time in prison for his antiwar activities and also suffered from persecution during the Palmer Raids. During a May Day 1919 demonstration in Cleveland, when the cops unleashed a bloody attack using mounted police and army tanks, Ruthenberg stood his ground and insisted on attempting to speak and was promptly arrested. He was never free from the threat of capitalist "justice" and jail sentences until the day he died. But he also strikes me as a cold fish—a good office administrator, but hardly a leader of men in the sense of personal dynamism. Cannon had a laugh when some young staff writer for the CP paper wrote a poem on Ruthenberg's death in 1927, in which the aloof and always formal Ruthenberg was referred to as "Charlie." As Cannon noted, his normal form of address was "Comrade Ruthenberg" and maybe after a few years he might let you call him by his first initials, "C.E." Ruthenberg was no shrinking violet in the factional wars of the 1920s, but he preferred by nature to stay above it all and let his factional henchmen do the dirty work.

Harris & Ewing

"Progressive" Senator Robert M. La Follette's "third party" campaign was focus of "Farmer-Labor Party" fight in early CP.

Two of those henchmen were Pepper and Lovestone, two very unique individuals...to say the least. Pepper, a.k.a. Joseph Pogany, was a Hungarian whose chief claim to fame was having been involved in two of the greatest *defeats* suffered by the Communists in Europe after the war. The first was the short-lived Hungarian Soviet Republic; the second was the disastrous March 1921 uprising in Germany. Pepper had effectively been banished from Europe by the CI when he came to America in 1922, and his ostensible task was to work in the Hungarian language federation. This was no obstacle for an energetic type like Pepper. Shortly after having arrived, and not speaking a word of English, Pepper not only got himself put on the Central Committee but assembled his own power base from among the former undergrounders (Geese) whom he helped to politically rehabilitate after their crushing defeat in the fight against "undergroundism in principle" in 1922. With his energy, charm, and intimidation when necessary, Pepper effectively took over leadership of the party in 1923. Cannon pays tribute to Pepper's abilities, diabolical though they were:

> "That man worked fast. He was a European to his finger tips, dripping with the sophistication and facility of continental political journalism. But when it came to getting things done in a hurry and making his way around natural obstacles, he was more American than any hustler or corner-cutter I ever knew or heard about, and that covers a lot of territory.... He was a phony, but by far the most brilliant phony I ever knew. He sparkled like an Arkansas diamond."
>
> —*The First Ten Years of American Communism*

Then there is Jay Lovestone, about whom the adjectives "maniacal" and "demonic" are most often associated. He was one of the "City College boys" who by sheer force of energy made a rapid upward move from the radical student milieu into the top echelons of the Ruthenberg faction. In the introduction to the Prometheus Research Library's book we cite Cannon's comment: "Foster remarked more than once that if Lovestone were not a Jew, he would be the most likely candidate for leadership of a fascist movement. That was a fairly common opinion." I came across a bit of factional correspondence from the mid-1920s, which ends with the salutation "Yours 'til their scalps are dry"! If Lovestone himself was not the author, this was certainly his style.

Foster is the other player. Like Cannon, his father was of Irish descent, and both Foster and Cannon had considerable experience in the working-class movement by the time they were won to communism. But those experiences and their political motivations were quite different [Cannon's youth is described in Part One]. After a stint in the SP in the first decade of the 20th century, Foster made a trip to Europe and was carried away by the ideas of the French syndicalists. He returned convinced that what was required was to take over the existing AFL unions by "boring from within." He tried to convince the IWW of this, but to no avail and his association with them was predictably short.

Foster's later efforts in the packinghouse workers and steel workers strikes brought him national recognition, but also remember that these were done with the blessing of the AFL and there was a political price for that benediction. He tried to make peace with AFL leader Samuel Gompers, and in testimony before the U.S. Senate after the 1919 steel strike, he affirmed the fact that he had bought U.S. war bonds in World War I! (In fact he holds the dubious distinction to be perhaps the *only* Communist leader to have done so in *both* imperialist wars!) Foster was an opportunist—he cared less about political line than what would advance his personal position at any given moment. While acknowledging Foster's career choice, to be a leader in the labor movement, Cannon noted: "Within that field he worshipped the bitch goddess of Success as much as any business man, careerist on the make, or politician in the bourgeois world."

Cannon's Fight Against Pepper

The faction fight which erupted in 1923 was politically murky in that both sides accepted some version of the two-class "Farmer-Labor" party. The split with Fitzpatrick's Farmer-Labor Party had not been on the basis of an unambiguous *class* axis. In fact, the thrust of Cannon's and Foster's arguments was for a return to an alliance with the so-called "progressives." Not to be outdone, Pepper pushed to throw the party into the electoral campaign of the bourgeois "independent," La Follette, which Pepper described as the "La Follette revolution," noting:

> "It will contain elements of the great French Revolution, and the Russian Kerensky Revolution. In its ideology it will have elements of Jeffersonianism, Danish cooperatives, Ku Klux Klan and Bolshevism. The proletariat *as a class* will not play an independent role in this revolution."

Well, how the hell could it? One gets the image of a Danish farmer dressed in a white sheet with a pound of butter in

continued on page 8

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American Communism...

(continued from page 7)

one hand and a red flag in the other! To be "Jeffersonian" he probably would have had a few slaves too! That this nonsense was actually puhlished in one of the CP's magazines gives one an idea of the political confusion, and not incidentally Pepper's personal power, in the party.

Pepper's dictatorial regime and methods had made him many enemies. But most of these, Foster included, were unequal to the task of taking on Pepper. Theodore Draper, a historian of the communist movement, wrote: "For a more successful revolt against Pepper, someone closer to the top leadership and more adept at party in-fighting was needed—someone, for example, like Jim Cannon" (*American Communism and Soviet Russia* [1960]).

One has to respect Cannon's skills as a politician in this fight. He managed to broker a truce between the two warring factions in the Jewish federation. Their leaders, Bittelman and Olgin, didn't suspend their mutual animosity, but they agreed to make common cause with Cannon against Pepper. The Jewish federation was at the time the third-largest in the party and had the links to one of the party's few real union bases in the needle-trades workers in New York. Add to this support from Ludwig Lore's German federation and the Finns (who made up 45 percent of the membership—most of the Russians had gone home by this time). Despite differences between them, all parties of Cannon's bloc were agreed on one thing: get rid of Pepper.

The energetic Hungarian didn't give up easily—Cannon cites one example in a membership meeting in Chicago where the Pepper regime came under heavy fire. Despite the dangers of his illegal immigration status and his having heen in the country for but a year, Pepper walked into the meeting, faced off a hostile crowd and took the floor to debate *in English*. However this brave performance didn't work—at the suhsequent party convention in December 1923-January 1924, Pepper was decisively defeated and party leadership went to the Foster-Cannon bloc.

Wide World

Troika of Stalin (left), Kamenev (second from right) and Zinoviev (right) grabbed control of the Bolshevik Party as Lenin lay dying.

Unfortunately Pepper's politics still haunted the party, in the form of the "third party alliance"—i.e., support to the petty-bourgeois forces hacking La Follette. In the introduction to our Cannon book we cite notes by Cannon from around 1959 in which he deplored this deviation from a proletarian class policy:

> "The bewildered party disgraced itself in this affair, and all the prominent leaders without exception, myself included, were in it up to our necks...."

Cannon then noted that Pepper had formulated what he thought was CI policy and the rest just followed. Cannon added:

> "Considering the fact that Pepper had been defeated and put in the minority at the party convention, at the end of 1923, this says a lot for his resilience and continuing influence, but it doesn't say much for the rest of us."

Following intervention by the Communist International, the CP withdrew support from La Follette and stood Foster and Gitlow as their own candidates, directly in the name of the Workers Party.

This political muddle makes some of Cannon's material from this period difficult to comprehend—it's frankly off. But unlike Pepper, Lovestone (and later Foster), Cannon didn't wage the fight simply to achieve political power in the party for its own sake. In his own way he was groping—he wanted to root the party in its native soil and he knew that Pepper had to be overthrown for that to be done. But his gut feelings lacked a programmatic clarity, which he did not achieve until 1928.

1924-1928: Permanent Factions and Degeneration of the CI

The period after 1924 is described hy Cannon as the one of permanent factions, all three of which could not live with or without each other. The backdrop to this period is the factional struggle which broke out in the Russian CP at the time of Lenin's incapacitation by stroke and finally his death in January 1924. It's interesting to note Cannon's preoccupation with the American party during this critical period in the International. But despite geographic distance, the American CP was not immune to the effects of the degeneration of the Russian party and later the Comintern.

By early 1924, the post-World War I revolutionary wave had definitely subsided. Worse yet, the early hopes of extension of the Russian Revolution to the West were smashed by the failure of the German Communist Party to lead the fight for proletarian power when they had a ripe opportunity in late 1923. That failure, and the concomitant isolation of the young Soviet Union, paved the way for the consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucracy. With Lenin's death in January 1924, the fight for the succession of leadership in the Soviet state was on in deadly earnest.

The triumvirate of Zinoviev, Kamenev and Stalin, representing the interests of the emerging bureaucracy, crushed the Trotskyist opposition at the 13th Party Conference in January 1924. As we wrote in "When Was the Soviet Thermidor?" (*Spartacist* No. 43-44, Summer 1989): "After January 1924, *the people who ruled the USSR, the way the USSR was ruled*, and *the purposes for which the USSR was ruled* had all changed." This was reflected internationally through the Comintern—what Zinoviev had boasted to be the "General Staff of the World Revolution" increasingly became merely an adjunct to the conservative, bureaucratic Soviet Foreign Ministry. With Stalin's pronouncement of "Socialism in One Country" in late 1924, the international Communist parties were instructed not to make their own revolutions, but rather to defend the status quo. This really meant "defense" of the Stalinist perversion of "socialism" in Russia by appeasing their own bourgeoisies. (Later on this Stalinist program became known as the politics of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.)

In 1925, at the fourth convention of the Workers Party the CI sent one "Gusev" as an "impartial" representative. Gusev was an Old Bolshevik, and one particularly embittered against Trotsky. Though that question did not *openly* play a role, it was a fact that Gusev favored the Ruthenberg/Lovestone faction against Foster/Cannon. There were at this point few actual *political differences* between the factions—but the question of party leadership and control was nonetheless real.

Nominally, this was decided by the delegates—and the Foster/Cannon bloc had a clear majority. But the minority had an ace in the hole—Gusev had a cable from Moscow which declared that the Ruthenberg group was more loyal to its views. This put Foster in a bind—he had a formal majority of the delegates, but the CI had given its blessings to the minority. During the wranglings over the composition of the new Central Committee, Foster blew up and in essence told Gusev, the Comintern's rep, to go to hell. At this point the Foster/Cannon hloc itself split wide open. Cannon disassociated himself from Foster because he saw correctly that the only basis upon which Foster could rally forces would be in opposition to the Comintern itself. Regardless of the injustice of the CI's interference, this was one step Cannon refused to take. Hence for the first time, the CI overturned the mandate of the American party's own convention and turned the leadership over to its chosen faction. It wouldn't be the last time.

The period between 1924 and 1928 was not a comfortable one for Cannon. The party remained divided into three factions (Foster, Cannon/Dunne, and Ruthenberg/Lovestone) which had few substantive political differences. It was at this point, as reflected in Cannon's writings, that he attempted to unify

Mansell Collection

Known as John Pepper, Hungarian Communist Joseph Pogany (left) became leader of the American CP's right wing. Bela Kun is on right.

the party. He wanted to eliminate the factional morass into which the party had fallen, and contradictory as it may sound, he organized a faction to end factionalism.

One escape Cannon had from the factional struggle, and one which corresponded to his deeply felt convictions, was to fight for and organize the International Labor Defense (ILD). It is important for us because it provided the model of non-sectarian labor defense upon which the Partisan Defense Committee is based today. Cannon threw himself into this work and was justifiably proud of the ILD's campaigns, such as those in defense of the anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti. The ILD originated in Cannon's talks with Bill Haywood in Moscow in 1925, when they were both worried about class-war prisoners, such as the IWW members ("Wobblies"), still languishing in jail. Cannon took offense when Theodore Draper suggested that the ILD was part of the factional maneuvers of the 1920s. Cannon insisted that he fought to keep the factionalism in the party out of the ILD. Max Shachtman and Martin Abern were Cannon's collaborators in the ILD, and they did go with Cannon when he was expelled from the CP for "Trotskyism" in 1928. But all three had been doing ILD work years

Meet the Spartacus Youth Club

reprinted from the *Daily Californian*, campus newspaper at the University of California, Berkeley

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Spartacus Youth Club

"Hi Joe Freshman, we're the communists on campus," said Spartacus member Brad Daniels with a laugh. If you're ever going to explore the alternate to capitalism, college is the time to do it.

For Daniels, Spartacus was the answer to questions raised by the Gulf War. By explaining the materialist perspective on the war, "only Marxists could make sense of it," he said.

The group puts on the "Fundamentals of Marxism" class for the public most semesters, and is starting a reading circle on Saturdays at its Oakland office where people can sit and debate over an issue of the Workers Vanguard.

Named after the slave who started a Roman slave uprising, the group champions what it considers working class causes, most recently by helping to defend abortion clinics against Operation Rescue and picketing Denny's for allegedly racist practices. These prominent actions may help to explain why the group's membership has doubled in the last six months.

For member Skye White, Spartacus offers an alternative to special interest groups that work exclusively on single issues. Instead, the group presents a complete political program, and if change could ever happen, she said, "communism would do it if anybody could."

before the idea of joining with Trotsky was posed.

Cannon: The Founder of American Trotskyism

Cannon put party unity ahead of his own interests. He had a sympathetic base of support in the party, for a lot of the rank-and-file members wanted an end to the mindless factional warfare. The problem was that Ruthenberg died rather suddenly in March 1927 and all the factionalism blew up again. Lovestone declared himself the acting head of the party and quickly moved to take over the leadership. In a 1956 interview with Draper, Cannon noted, "I don't know whether you can get a comprehension of what it meant to fight a son-of-a-bitch like Lovestone." Lovestone wrapped himself in the flag of the CI, and with its blessings he secured a majority and the leadership at the 1927 party convention.

What Cannon lacked at that time was a political program—and he found it somewhat by accident. Initially he didn't want to attend the Sixth Congress of the CI in Moscow, but his factional partners prevailed upon him. The rest, as they say, is history. Having accidentally been placed upon the Program Commission, Cannon, and the Canadian Maurice Spector, were able to read excerpts of Trotsky's critique of the draft program of the Comintern (now known to us as *The Third International After Lenin*). What Cannon found there was the program of Bolshevism and the internationalism of the October Revolution which had attracted Cannon to communism in the first place.

Labor Defender

Wide World

James P. Cannon (left) emphasized that Russian Bolshevik leadership awakened the American party to strategic role of black struggle in U.S. Black poet Claude McKay (right) speaking at Fourth Congress of the Communist International in Moscow.

In 1928, when others were adapting their careers to Stalinism, or quitting the party and becoming *anti*-communists, Cannon made another choice:

> "I had been gradually settling down into an assured position as a party official with an office and staff, a position that I could easily maintain—as long as I kept within definite limits and rules which I knew all about, and conducted myself with the facility and skill which had become almost second nature to me in the long drawn-out factional fights.
>
> "I knew that. And I knew something else.... The foot-loose Wobbly rebel that I used to be had imperceptibly begun to fit comfortably into a swivel chair, protecting himself in this seat by small maneuvers and evasions and even permitting himself a certain conceit about his adroit accommodation to this shabby game. I saw myself for the first time then as another person, as a revolutionist who was on the road to becoming a *bureaucrat*. The image was hideous and I turned away from it in disgust.
>
> "I never deceived myself for a moment about the most probable consequences of my decision to support Trotsky in the summer of 1928. I knew it was going to cost me my head and also my swivel chair, but I thought: What the hell—better men than I have risked their heads and their swivel chairs for truth and justice. Trotsky and his associates were doing it at that very moment in the exile camps and prisons of the Soviet Union. It was no more than right that one man, however limited his qualifications, should remember what he started out in his youth to fight for, and speak out for their cause and try to make the world hear, or at least to let the exiled and imprisoned Russian Oppositionists know that they had found a new friend and supporter.... I have always thought of this as one of the most gratifying aspects of the historic fight we undertook in 1928—that the news of our fight reached the Russian comrades in all corners of the prisons and exile camps, inspiring them with new hope and new energy to persevere in the struggle."
>
> —*The First Ten Years of American Communism*

Wide World

Leon Trotsky addressing Fourth Congress of Comintern in 1922.

Our book presents Cannon in the period when he was transformed from a footloose IWW rebel into a serious communist political leader. It was only in the late 1920s that he found the consistent political program which corresponded to the gut instincts of his youth. Few of his generation were able to make such a leap, fewer still to maintain it. His legacy is in the organization of revolutionary Marxists we have now, this itself being an offshoot of Cannon's Trotskyist movement which came out of the CP of the 1920s. We published this book not only to honor the one man who in his time could have led a proletarian revolution in this country, but mostly to educate the youth and cadres who must lead the working class to power once and for all. ■

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WV Photo

July 17: Militants defend San Mateo, California abortion clinic.

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Freshman Union, Reading Room
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BOSTON

"Idiot International"...

(continued from page 5)

AFP

AP

Franch fascist La Pan, leader of National Front, spaws genocidal racism; his thugs beat immigrant workers in Marseilla, April 1987.

(LCR) of Alain Krivine last December. A split in the JCR leadership took a small portion back toward the LCR, while the dominant group had already hooked up with the "International Trotskyist Opposition" (ITO) in the USec, a three-cornered lash-up of Elliott's JCR with the Italian union bureaucrat and perennial underground USec "oppositionist" Franco Grisolia and the U.S. "Trotskyist League" of Peter Sollenberger (see "The New Anti-Spartacists" and "Swamp Things: Combined and Uneven Developments in the USec," *WV* No. 562, 30 October 1992).

Recently, Elliott has developed a liaison with the reformist, London-based Militant tendency. Seeing an opportunity in the latter's success in mobilizing youth in anti-fascist demonstrations, this quicker-than-the-eye maneuverer applied for the French franchise of the Militant's front group, Youth Against Racism in Europe. Recently a Paris publication of Elliott's Algerian comrades announced that the JCR seek "to achieve a revolutionary regroupment between the left wing of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and the Committee for a Workers International ('Militant')."

Far from revolutionary internationalism, this announced marriage of convenience between practiced opportunists has deep national fault lines. While Militant, led by Peter Taafe since an April 1992 split with its historic leader Ted Grant, has exited the British Labour Party after decades of deep, seemingly bottomless entry, it has not left behind its Labourite politics. Thus these "anti-fascists" call on the capitalist state to ban the fascists, and are notorious for wanting to bring the police into the trade unions! And Elliott, after posturing to the left in the USec and then rubbing shoulders with the "red-brown" coalition, is now joining with an organization which frankly supported Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary bid for power in August 1991 that led to the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state.

* * *

The following article, titled "The JCR and the 'Red-Brown' Coalition French Style," is translated from Le Bolchévik *No. 124, July-August 1993, published by our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France.*

A petition is circulating calling "For Lifting the Embargo Against Yugoslavia—For the Withdrawal of UN Troops." It is signed by the JCR-*L'Egalité* (the LCR's former youth organization which was expelled by Krivine), the cowards of Prométhée (who deserted our ranks in 1989 when we proposed to organize international brigades for Afghanistan against the reactionary mullahs) and the so-called "International Trotskyist Opposition" (ITO) in Mandel's United Secretariat (USec). What unites all these pseudo-Trotskyists is their virulent anti-Spartacism. But there is another signature at the bottom of that petition, the signature of Marc Cohen, as editor in chief of *L'Idiot International*! No JCR member who truly wants to be a revolutionary communist should tolerate such a disgrace.

Idiot International is the meeting place of an entire shady and pernicious milieu where corrupt "intellectuals" of the Communist Party (PCF) crawl into bed with fascists and reactionaries of all stripes. What brings them together is their virulent chauvinism exacerbated by the interimperialist rivalries in the "New World Order." Thus as "advisers" to Marc Cohen, who is also a prominent member of the PCF, we find the royalist Thierry Ardisson, the insane anti-Communist Arrabal, and even Edward Limonov. This Great Russian chauvinist, who contributed to *Révolution* (the PCF's weekly magazine) and then went over to *Le Choc du Mois* (a pro-Le Pen monthly), defines himself as a "national-communist"! He is shown in *Le Choc du Mois* fighting with the Russian-speaking militias against the Moldavians and on the side of the Serbian Chetniks against the Croatians and the Bosnians. Limonov is the spokesman in France for Vladimir Zhirinovsky (the leader of the Russian far-right-wing "Democratic Liberal Party"), and one of the representatives of the revolting and aggressively anti-Semitic and nationalistic "red-brown" coalition (between Stalinist leftovers, monarchists and fascists). *Idiot Internationol* is also known to welcome articles by Jacques Vergès, the anti-Semitic lawyer who defended Klaus Barbie, the Nazi "Butcher of Lyon."

The media are widely reporting on what *Libération* calls the "National-Bolshevik galaxy" developing around *Idiot Internotional* in the universe of the "new world *dis*order." The anti-communist scribblers are delighted to identify communism with fascism. Some JCR members justify their bloc with *Idiot International* by saying that Marc Cohen belongs to the PCF. But what has somebody like Marc Cohen or Jean-Paul Cruse to do with communism, let alone the workers movement? These pseudo-"communist" pseudo-"intellectuals" have pushed the logic of the PCF's social-chauvinism to its ultimate anti-communist conclusion by allying themselves with the fascists, the most consistent nationalists. They are the "Doriot faction" of the PCF. Doriot, a leader of the PCF in the 1920s and '30s, increasingly moved to fascism and in 1936 founded the French People's Party.

Jean-Edern Hallier, founder and editorialist of *Idiot International*, gave the line: "Reconcile Doriot and Thorez" (*Le Monde*, 29 June 1991). This individual (with whom Marchais, lacking fellow travelers, dared appear publicly for a while before taking his distance), distinguished himself in a characteristically sinister and disgusting manner. He was the middleman between Castro and Le Pen in organizing the trip of this fascist leader to Cuba. The trip was canceled at the last minute. Two leaders of the National Front explained that Le Pen had decided to take this trip "on the advice of his friend, the writer Jean-Edern Hallier" (*Le Monde*, 18 May). On 20 June 1991, Hallier had declared to *National Hebdo*, Le Pen's newspaper, "I have a lot of personal sympathy for Le Pen...he is sensitive, humane.... I think that if we love and encourage him he can succeed [in becoming president of France]. He has the stature of Yeltsin and Walesa."

What do the leaders of the JCR say about Hallier? They wrote an article about him in the June issue of their monthly paper [*L'Egalité*] concerning the sordid dispute between Hallier and [prominent Mitterrandist businessman-politician] Tapie, entitled "Let's Save (!) Jean-Edern." What disgusting chumminess toward Le Pen's friend! *L'Egalité* continues: "He is indeed a troublemaker, which is not necessarily unpleasant in a world which is, in the final analysis, very conformist." Did someone say nauseating?

Nogues/Sygma

Allan/Sygma

L'Humanité editor Roland Leroy (left) and PCF general secretary Georges Marchais (right). Black immigrants' hostel bulldozed by Stalinist mayor of Paris suburb Vitry in 1980, fueling anti-immigrant racism.

But the JCR leadership do not limit themselves to signing petitions with *Idiot International*. Thus the June issue of *Idiot International* contains an unusual signature: that of Damien Elliott, head of the JCR, who provides a "contribution" (next to an article by a pro-Chevènement leader, who later disavowed his participation in this rag), to the "debate" launched by Jean-Paul Cruse. In the previous issue Cruse had published an article calling for nothing less than a "national front" (!) in which "Pasqua, Chevènement, the Communists and the ultranationalists" would get together and create a "red-brown" coalition French style, based on defense of the interests of imperialist France against its competitors. He extols "the grandeur of nations against the Balkanization of the world under the orders of Wall Street, international Zionism, the Frankfurt stock market and the dwarfs of Tokyo."

To debate in the columns of *Idiot International* with such scum is obscene in itself for somebody claiming to be Trotskyist. But what does Elliott say about Cruse's chauvinistic stench, his anti-Semitism and anti-Japanese racism? Nothing! Not a word either against his appeal for an "authoritarian policy to put the country back on the rails," or his declaration that "the problems of immigration, lawlessness, unemployment and urban crime are indeed linked," or against his denunciation of "anti-racist racism," let alone his general national-"communism"! No, Elliott polemicizes against Cruse as if he were an ordinary supporter of popular-frontism who is only trying to "outfit class collaboration in new colors." Incidentally, Elliott "polemicizes" in extremely courteous terms. After giving Cruse credit for his declaration that "the old left's ass is bare," Elliott criticizes him for "not taking conclusions to the end": "Cruse has a difference with Rocard over whether or not to talk about a 'left,' but alas [!], does not talk about class struggle more than he does." Or: "Cruse's provocative will [!] unfortunately [!] leads him to breed illusions [!] concerning the period of decolonization that would have had 'the red flag flirt with the Cross of Lorraine' [the Gaullist symbol]." And so on, ad nauseam.

The winds of the imperialist campaign over the supposed "death of communism" as well as the rising tide of racism and nationalism throughout Europe have caused the JCR leadership, which has never navigated according to a Trotskyist program—or any proletarian principles at all—to drift into increasingly murky waters. On the Balkans, the JCR leadership began by howling with the imperialist wolves in defense of Bosnia, just as it had joined them on Yeltsin's barricades in August 1991 in Moscow. Thus, its monthly *L'Egalité* (December 1992) offered up a "workers" version of "solidarity with the Bosnians" (the battle cry for imperialist military intervention against the Serbian forces), calling on the workers "to organize solidarity, above all with the Bosnian workers." But it quickly became clear that the imperialists had scant desire to get further entangled in the bloody Balkan quagmire. Confronted with our Trotskyist criticism of its capitulations to social democracy and imperialism, the JCR leadership could, for the benefit of its base, henceforth posture as "anti-imperialists" by opposing military intervention—since an influential faction of the bourgeoisie opposed it, especially in France, the former imperialist patron of Serbia!

The pro-Serbian-nationalist *Idiot International* aspires to be the best defender of the interests of France against its

Somalia...

(continued from page 1)

over 30,000 fighters for the national liberation struggle against Americ imperialism!

In a new colonial occupation, the U.S./UN troops have wantonly terrorized the people of this small black African country. In mid-July, U.S. helicopter gunships killed over 70 and wounded over 200 people as they demolished a building complex in Mogadishu. A visiting Kenyan witnessed Belgian troops chanting "white power" and manhandling Somali women and children. A report by the London-based Africa Rights group documents that the UN "peacekeepers" have killed unarmed civilians, forced the relocation of Mogadishu residents and demolished their homes. And it emphasizes: "These are not cases of undisciplined actions by individual soldiers, but stem from the highest echelons of the command structure" (London *Independent*, 30 July).

The Somali population has become increasingly hostile to the UN troops, particularly the Americans. Despite the overwhelming superiority in firepower on the side of the U.S./UN forces, the Somalis have managed to inflict some casualties on their new colonial occupiers. After four U.S. soldiers were killed by a mine in Mogadishu early last month, Clinton sent 400 Rangers, part of an "elite counterterrorist" unit, to take out Aidid, who has so far successfully eluded capture.

Der Spiegel

Somali chieftain Mohamed Farah Aidid, targeted by U.S. hit men.

Der Spiegel

U.S. colonial occupation troops terrorize Somali population.

Washington no longer even pretends that the intervention in Somalia has anything to do with famine relief. One White House official admitted that "If our exit conditions were only that people were being fed, we could go this month" (*New York Times*, 10 August). Now Clinton is shouldering the "white man's burden" to prepare the Somalis for eventual "independence"—the age-old racist rationale for colonialism. U.S. troops will stay, according to a senior administration official, until "there is some degree of political stability."

When lame-duck president Bush first sent American forces into Somalia last December under the guise of ensuring food aid to the famine-stricken country, much of the left went along with the "humanitarian" scam, usually with the refrain that the U.S. should deliver "bread not bullets." At the time the Spartacist League stated that "behind this feigned concern by the racist American rulers for starving black Africans is the sinister reality of U.S. imperialism, which is using the famine in Somalia to justify direct military intervention in Africa" (*WV* No. 565, 11 December 1992).

Many of the same leftists who bought and sold the "humanitarian" scam in Somalia also peddle the notion that the Democrats are a "lesser evil" compared to the Republicans, less willing to attack the workers and black ghetto poor at home, less prone to military adventures abroad. But now it's the Republicans who are being dovish on Somalia, maintaining it's a "no win" situation. The *Wall Street Journal* (2 September) wrote that "For U.S. policy planners, the presence of almost 5,000 American troops in Somalia has become a classic case of 'no way out'."

Thus Senate Republican leader Bob Dole argues that the U.S. has "gotten away from our original mission" and that the time "may be close" for withdrawing American troops. By contrast, his Democratic counterpart in the House, Thomas Foley, is calling for a blood feud against the Somali warlord who has to date successfully defied and even a little bloodied the U.S. cops of the world: "We shouldn't allow this cat-and-mouse game to go on in which Americans take casualties and Aidid escapes capture."

Of course, the U.S. has the firepower to wipe out the ill-armed followers of an East African warlord, although Aidid has proven a tougher customer than Washington expected. But now Clinton is talking of sending American troops into the killing fields of Bosnia, where they will face rather more formidable military forces. He has pledged that the U.S. will provide most of the 30,000 or so new UN troops to enforce a "peace agreement," assuming the Bosnian Serbs, Croats and Muslims can agree to one.

And if the American imperial president vowed bloody vengeance when just four U.S. soldiers were killed in Somalia, what will happen if a hundred times that number are wiped out by any of the three battle-hardened (and kill-crazed) armies contending in Bosnia? America's rulers—who, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, believe themselves masters of a "New World Order"—are perfectly capable of terror-bombing Belgrade if Bosnian Serb militias attack the U.S./UN "peacekeepers."

The American capitalist state is seeking to play the role of global gendarme with a debt-ridden financial structure and an obsolete industrial base as its rivalry with the German Fourth Reich and Japan Inc. intensifies. This makes the U.S. ruling class even more dangerous, even more willing to bomb foreign capitals, to occupy small Third World countries and to assassinate anyone who defies them. U.S. imperialism keep your bloody hands off the world! ■

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imperialist rivals. And it is not surprising that, in the appeal signed by Cohen, the JCR and cohorts, the only imperialist power mentioned is the traditional rival of France (among others in the region): Germany! During the imperialist aggression against Iraq, we called for sinking Mitterrand and Bush in the Gulf. In contrast, Cohen and the ultrachauvinists of the PCF, along with Marchais and Chevènement—but also along with Hallier and the fascists—condemned the French intervention in the name of better defending the interests of French imperialism against submission to U.S. imperialism. Thus the JCR leadership, despite a markedly left posture but with no real class line, maneuvered with the youth organization of Chevènement-Déroulède. And, during the [March 1993] legislative elections, their electoral platform was nothing but bourgeois protectionism, calling for a "break with the logic of Maastricht and the ultimatums of the EEC" and for a "state monopoly of foreign trade" in the framework of capitalism!

Quite logically, at the same time that he put together a bloc with *Idiot International* and debated with the champions of the "red-brown" coalition in French colors, Damien Elliott excluded us Trotskyists from his meetings on June 11 and June 19. Obviously, this cynical manipulator cannot let us expose his sordid maneuvers and unmask the "revolutionary" airs that he occasionally adopts (between intrigues with *Idiot International*!) for the benefit of those youth who want to struggle against chauvinism, racism and faseism and against the capitalist system which breeds this barbarism.

Last May, a three-year member of the JCR-*L'Egalité* resigned from that organization. In her resignation letter, which reduced to nil the (few) internationalist and anti-raeist pretenses of the JCR leadership, she wrote:

> "One must not hesitate to denounce and fight against one's own imperialism, and fight to build the party of international proletarian revolution. But the JCR seems more inclined to carry out a reformist policy.... The JCR do not want to destroy the bourgeois state and prefer simply to pressure it. Thus they demand a capitalism with a human face, more social, less racist, less sexist, etc., but raise neither the question of socialist revolution nor the party.... Tired of the policy of class collaboration, tactical or not, I am quitting the JCR to join the LTF which was able to give me the political answers that I expected from the JCR."

This letter was written before the shameless ignominy committed by the rapidly rightward-moving JCR leadership was known to us. Those JCR members who do not want to become the waterboys of the likes of Jean-Edern Hallier or Marc Cohen should quickly break with Damien Elliott and his ilk, who, between the alternatives of socialism and barbarism, seem to be leaning toward the latter. Since the very beginning, and at each step, we have warned the members of the JCR who really wanted to be revolutionaries and denounced the capitulations of their leadership, counterposing to it the unstained Trotskyist program on which we, and we alone, are fighting. Today more than ever we call on these comrades to join our struggle. ■

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KAL 007...

(continued from page 4)

taken the plane even further away from Sakhalin.

And ironically, the ICAO's analysis flatly contradicts the analysis contained in the documents released by Yeltsin. Those documents claimed the DFDR tape shows a constant magnetic heading of *249* degrees, not 245, a huge discrepancy which translates into more than *200 miles* over Sakhalin. The ICAO does not even mention this discrepancy, let alone explain it.

The ICAO report was a political compromise so that, as Richard Witkin noted in the *New York Times* (16 June), "all four nations involved in the downing could find satisfaction." The Russians could (rightfully) say their military officers "did not knowingly cause the deaths of innocent civilians"; the Japanese could say that even though they were tracking the plane on their radar, "they were not aware that it was a civil aircraft off its intended track"; the South Koreans could take comfort in statistics about previous instances of pilots making such "errors"; and above all, the U.S. could claim that they "'were not aware in real time' that the aircraft was straying." Still, the *Times*' editor evidently couldn't resist getting a last dig in with the misleading headline, "Downing of K.A.L. 007 Laid to Russian Error."

But the whitewash won't wash. All the evidence of the past decade has reinforced the essentials presented by Soviet Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov at his famous press conference of 9 September 1983, complete with a giant map of KAL 007's twisting flight path. "It has been proved irrefutably," Ogarkov said, "that the intrusion of the plane...was a deliberate, thoroughly planned intelligence operation. It was directed from certain centers in the territory of the United States and Japan. A civilian plane was chosen for it deliberately, disregarding or, possibly, counting on the loss of human life." Ogarkov's press conference has become a "blank space" in Yeltsinite history, but in the end the truth will out. And we will continue to do our part getting the truth out. ■

Israel...

(continued from page 1)

reaffirmed that it is "opposed to the creation of an independent Palestinian state" and "will make no compromise on the status of Jerusalem."

When in the early 1970s the PLO first came out with its "mini-state solution," calling for an independent state in the West Bank and Gaza, we noted that this "would be only a very partial and deformed expression of the Palestinian Arabs' right to self-determination" (*WV* No. 57, 22 November 1974). But the "Gaza-Jericho first" deal does not offer even the most deformed expression of self-determination. In the guise of granting "autonomy" to the Gaza Strip and Jericho, it would place the PLO's seal on the national oppression of the long-suffering Palestinian Arab masses. At the same time, both Jordan and Syria are reportedly on the verge of signing their own "peace" treaties with Israel.

In effect, what Israel proposes to grant is "community control" over a couple of impoverished slums. The Gaza Strip, barely larger in area than the New York City borough of Queens, is a giant concentration camp for close to a million Palestinian refugees. Jericho is a desolate village with less than 20,000 inhabitants, no industry and 50 percent unemployment. The elected Palestinian council which is to implement "self-rule" in these areas would have control over little more than garbage collection. Like the South African "bantustans," which were intended to be militarized reservations to hold black laborers and "surplus" (unemployed) population under the control of black flunkeys of the apartheid regime, even the structure and composition of this bogus "self-rule" will be determined by the Israeli occupiers.

The hundreds of thousands of Palestinians who have languished in squalid refugee camps in Jordan and Lebanon since they were driven from their homes by Zionist terror in 1947-48 would be abandoned entirely. The two million Palestinians who live in the West Bank and Gaza, forced to subsist on little more than United Nations relief packages since Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin sealed off the Occupied Territories more than five months ago, would remain a destitute reservoir of super-exploited labor for Israeli construction and agriculture.

Cambio 16

Arzt/AP

PLO head Yasir Arafat (left) signs on to police Palestinian masses of the Occupied Territories on behalf of Zionist butcher Yitzhak Rabin (far right).

The supposed "withdrawal" of Israeli troops will involve nothing more than a redeployment away from population centers, while maintaining control over all entry points and assuring the "security" of 150,000 Zionist "settlers" whose network of settlements is a key prop of the military occupation. Armed to the teeth and led by fascistic zealots, they will remain in place—including in the Gaza and Jericho areas—to continue their racist provocations against Arabs. The accord does not even rule out the construction of new settlements. We say: *All* Israeli troops and settlers out of *all* of the Occupied Territories now!

The draft agreement is filled with empty "empowerment" rhetoric and lawyers' language designed to assuage critics on both sides. But its essence is that in exchange for formal Israeli recognition of its existence, and promises of imperialist/oil money, the PLO will take over the job of policing the Palestinian masses. Joseph Alpher, director of Tel Aviv University's Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, a think tank for the Mossad spy agency, spelled it out in an interview in the *Canadian Jewish News* (2 September): "Israeli security forces would work closely with their Palestinian counterparts to keep order, said Alpher. 'The agreement will involve an overt liaison between them and us on security matters'." And in case there was any doubt: "The imposition of order in the Gaza Strip by a PLO-linked security force is likely to be brutal and violent, but effective, he said, adding, 'Amnesty International will have to take a vacation for a while'."

But Arafat and Rabin still have to push this deal through. The London *Guardian* (1 September) observes that Arafat has made "a retreat so far-reaching and so contested that the real problem will be whether, having concluded such an agreement, he can enforce it or stay in office at all." "Radical" PLO groups like George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and Nayef Hawatmeh's Democratic Front (DFLP) have come out against the accord. And Islamic fundamentalist groups like Hamas and Islamic Jihad, as well as the Syrian-sponsored PFLP-General Command, have warned Arafat of "the fate of Sadat," the Egyptian president who was assassinated after he signed a U.S.-orchestrated peace treaty with Israel in 1978.

Meanwhile Zionist right-wingers crying "traitor!" mobbed Rabin's cabinet as it voted on the proposal last Monday. Likud opposition leader Binyamin Netanyahu led a delegation to Jericho after the accord was announced, demonstratively planting Israeli flags outside the house which is supposed to become Arafat's new headquarters.

Whatever happens, this grotesque bargain over the subjugated Palestinian people marks a watershed in the Near East. By its act, the PLO has invited fundamentalist reactionaries like Hamas to pose as the only fighters against the Zionist occupation. Petty-bourgeois Arab nationalism has been shown to be the bankrupt and impotent dead end that it always was. The only just resolution to the interminable and bloody nationalist conflicts in the region remains joint revolutionary struggle of the Hebrew-speaking and Arab toilers to sweep away all the exploiters and oppressors and forge a socialist federation of the Near East.

Cohen/JB Pictures

Fascistic Zionist settlers take aim at oppressed Palestinians. Israeli settlements in West Bank and Gaza are strategically placed fortresses as props of military occupation.

Pax Americana in the Near East

What stands behind the American-orchestrated "peace" in the Near East, just like the neo-apartheid rapprochement between Nelson Mandela's African National Congress and the racist South African regime, is the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. Under the headline, "As Much as Anything, Cold War's End Fostered Israel-PLO Deal," the *Washington Post* (1 September) noted:

> "The collapse of the Soviet Union, and with it the political and military backing of Moscow and the East Bloc, robbed the PLO of virtually all its outside means of support. The Persian Gulf War deprived the PLO of a potentially powerful Arab ally in Iraq...and made it fashionable for Arab governments to turn their backs on the PLO."

So long as the Soviet degenerated workers state existed as a counterweight to U.S. imperialism, this allowed petty-bourgeois nationalists like the PLO and ANC and the bourgeoisies of the semi-colonial countries to jockey for position between the two "superpowers." Ironically, former Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev's last act on behalf of imperialism before being turfed out and replaced by Boris Yeltsin was to give a green light for the invasion of Iraq. Now faced with a "one superpower" world, the various nationalist movements see no option but to go begging hat in hand for any crumbs the U.S. is willing to dispense.

Seizing on Arafat's verbal opposition to the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq, the oil-rich Gulf feudal regimes cut the PLO off without a penny, causing its revenues to plunge from nearly $500 million a year to less than a tenth that. Added to the PLO's loss of support on the ground to "rejectionist" groups—notably the Islamic fundamentalists of Hamas and Islamic Jihad, with whom the "Marxist" PFLP has formed an ignominious alliance—this was leading to a virtual mutiny against Arafat. Last month the PLO negotiating team in the Washington "peace" talks demonstratively offered their resignations as a statement of opposition to Arafat, and the PLO military commander in Lebanon openly called for Arafat's ouster.

The immediate precursor to the agreement is the Israeli *blitzkrieg* invasion of Lebanon two months ago. Ostensibly aimed at silencing a handful of Hezbollah guerrilla mortar units, Israeli tank columns and warplanes virtually depopulated the southern third of Lebanon, forcing close to a *half million* people to leave bombed-out homes and flee to Beirut. While Syrian president Hafez al-Assad stood by and watched his Lebanese clients take a beating, Clinton orchestrated a cease-fire based on Syrian assurances that it would police the Hezbollah. This was a statement to the PLO, if any were needed, that it could not rely on Syria's backing in pushing for a better deal with the Zionist state.

Despite grousing by Syria and Jordan that they were left out in the cold by the PLO's secret talks with Israel, both countries have been busily negotiating their own agreements with the Zionist regime. Jordan claims to have an accord which is simply waiting to be signed. Assad has reportedly reached a deal with Israel which will acknowledge Syrian "sovereignty" over the Golan Heights in exchange for recognition of the Zionist state (i.e., an end to even the most lukewarm support to Palestinian resistance groups). This would leave "hardline" groups who look to Damascus, like the PFLP and DFLP, out in the cold.

PLO: From "People's War" to Palestinian "*Judenrat*"

This deal carries to a conclusion the impotent logic of the PLO's petty-bourgeois nationalism, which counseled reliance first on the Arab bourgeoisies of the region and then on the "good offices" of U.S. imperialism. Despite the PLO's talk of "people's war" in the late '60s and early '70s, the Palestinians have never had either the social weight or the military strength to take on the nuclear-

armed Zionist Goliath.

For all the talk of "pan-Arab unity," the bourgeois Arab rulers are no less hostile to the national aspirations of the Palestinians than are the Zionists. In the 1936-39 Palestinian uprising against the British colonial rulers and their (then) Zionist lackeys, the Mufti of Jerusalem, head of one of the leading Palestinian clans, betrayed the struggle in collusion with the neighboring neocolonial Arab rulers. And in 1948, the Jordanian Hashemite rulers struck a deal with the Zionists to carve up Palestine at the expense of the Palestinians.

This nationalist backstabbing was brutally demonstrated in the 1970 "Black September" massacre, as Jordan's King Hussein (with the acquiescence of then Egyptian president and "pan-Arabist" idol Nasser) unleashed a bloodbath against the Palestinian resistance forces, forcing them to move their headquarters to Lebanon and seek protection from so-called "rejectionist" regimes like Iraq and Syria. During the Lebanese civil war of 1975-76, Assad dealt with the Palestinian forces there no less ruthlessly than had Hussein in Jordan. And when Israel launched its massive invasion of Lebanon in 1982, culminating in the horrendous massacre of 1,300 Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps, *all* the Arab regimes turned a blind eye. Arafat, in turn, appealed for protection to the American and French imperialists, who disarmed his fighters and laid the basis for the massacre.

Intent on conciliating its feudalist and bonapartist paymasters, Arafat's PLO progressively lowered its sights. Having in 1971 affirmed its opposition "to the establishment of a Palestinian state on any part of the Palestinian Homeland," three years later the PLO came out for a West Bank "mini-state" (see "From the 'Arab Revolution' to Pax Americana," *WV* No. 335, 29 July 1983). At the time, this was posed as a transitional step toward a "democratic, secular Palestine." But by 1988, the PLO formally abandoned this pretense and accepted the existence of the Zionist state. Now Arafat has agreed to become a tool of the Zionist oppressors. It is indicative of his new status that the Israelis have promised to guarantee his "security" if the PLO leader moves to Jericho.

Zionist "peace" plan in action: Israel invaded southern Lebanon in July, driving half a million Arabs from their homes, to get Syria to clamp down on Hezbollah guerrillas.

The role Arafat has chosen recalls the *Judenräte* ("Councils of Jewish Elders") who administered the Jewish ghettos in Nazi-occupied East Europe during the Holocaust. It was the hated Jewish ghetto police who were the overseers who rounded up Jews to be shipped to the extermination camps. The PLO now intends to become a Palestinian *Judenrat* in the Occupied Territories. And it is bitterly ironic that among the oppressors it will serve are Jewish survivors of the Nazi Holocaust.

For Trotskyist Parties in the Near East!

Genuine self-determination for the Palestinian people is impossible without the dismantling of both the Zionist state of Israel, whose very existence is premised on the oppression of the Palestinian people, and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, whose population is over 60 percent Palestinian. But unlike various "leftist" enthusiasts for Arab nationalism, we have always insisted that national emancipation for the Palestinians could not come at the expense of the right to national existence of the Hebrew-speaking people. Given the *interpenetration* of the Hebrew-speaking and Palestinian Arab populations—two peoples laying claim to the same territory—the only just resolution to the national question lies in the revolutionary overthrow of all the bourgeois regimes in the region. Only through the creation of a planned economy in a socialist federation of the Near East can conflicting claims over land and water be equitably resolved and all languages, religions and cultures be placed on an equal footing.

As elsewhere, Stalinism bears direct responsibility for the horrific situation in the Near East today. Tailing alternately (and sometimes simultaneously!) after Zionism and Arab nationalism, the Stalinists subordinated the proletariat's class struggle to the dictates of one or another bourgeois ruler. Today, the Palestinian Communists, who historically have had a sizable base among the working people of the West Bank, are an integral part of Arafat's PLO, while the Israeli CP (whose membership is overwhelmingly composed of Arabs) is a loyal supporter of the Rabin government.

Largely because of their forced diaspora, the Palestinian working people and intelligentsia are among the most cosmopolitan in the region. It is a crime indeed that they are increasingly being driven into the arms of fundamentalist reactionaries like Hamas who preach religious obscurantism, anti-Jewish racism and enslavement of women. If a section of Palestinian militants can be won to a Trotskyist party on the basis of a Marxist understanding that *all* the bourgeoisies and would-be bourgeois are their enemies, that the working class—be it Arabic, Coptic, Kurdish or Hebrew—is the only agency for social and national liberation, then they can genuinely be the vanguard of the liberation not only of the oppressed Palestinians but of all the toilers of the region.

The only road forward is that of permanent revolution—that in the semi-colonial countries in the imperialist epoch only the proletariat in power can carry through the tasks historically associated with the bourgeois-democratic revolution, assuring national emancipation for all the myriad oppressed minorities throughout the Near East, by ending the exploitation of the working masses and opening the road to socialist development. The key lies in the forging of genuinely Leninist, *internationalist* revolutionary parties. ■

PDC Notes...

(continued from page 3)

The seditious conspiracy acts have been used sparingly in the past 30 years—successfully in the 1980 prosecution of five Puerto Ricans accused of supporting the nationalist FALN, and unsuccessfully in the 1988 prosecution of 13 white-supremacists in Arkansas. The case with which the Reagan/Bush "Justice" Department hoped to win widespread acceptance for the revival of sedition prosecutions was the vendetta against the New Left radicals known as the "Ohio Seven," most of whom were already sentenced to decades in jail under RICO. In 1989 the feds' sedition prosecution of three of the Ohio Seven was spiked by a Springfield, Massachusetts jury. But now, to liberal applause, Clinton is reviving the kind of McCarthyite sedition prosecutions Reagan and Bush were pushing for.

"Seditious conspiracy" laws so blatantly violate First Amendment rights of free expression that they have been virtually impossible to implement except in times of war hysteria. With U.S. troops occupying Somalia, Clinton ordering terror bombing of Iraq, and Reno unleashing a holocaust in Waco, the imperialist rulers in Washington are repeatedly lashing out with military adventures.

Now Clinton and Reno promise to step up their repressive measures. Last week Louis Freeh was sworn in as new FBI chief. According to the *New York Times* (5 September), Freeh was welcomed into the political police fraternity as one who is "steeped in the F.B.I.'s paramilitary culture," placing a review of "counter-terrorism" operations high on his list of priorities to make sure the FBI is moving "as aggressively as the law and its resources allow."

That "law" is the FBI's Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines, enacted in 1983, which equate leftist political opposition to the government with "terrorism." The Guidelines target speech, advocacy and political program as the basis for an FBI "investigation." The FBI's then-director William Webster bluntly explained that groups which "produce propaganda, disinformation and 'legal assistance' may be even more dangerous than those who actually throw the bombs" (*New York Times*, 24 June 1982). To be labeled a terrorist by the feds is to be marked for harassment, prosecution and outright state murder—like the 38 Panthers mowed down during the FBI's COINTELPRO vendetta of the 1960s-1970s.

In 1983 the Spartacist League, supported by the Partisan Defense Committee, sued the FBI, challenging the application of the FBI guidelines to the SL. We won a settlement in which the FBI stated that the Spartacist League was not the subject of a domestic security/terrorism investigation, and recast its characterization of the SL from one which attributes to us a conspiracy to violently overthrow the U.S. government to a definition of exactly what the SL is—a Marxist political organization. That settlement represented an important victory for the whole of the left and workers movement. But as SL general counsel Rachel Wolkenstein stated at the time, "We have no illusion that the government's secret police have stopped or will stop their harassment, infiltration or disruption of Marxist political organizations and other perceived political opponents of the government."

When Soviet troops pulled out of Afghanistan in February 1989, the PDC and its fraternal organizations around the world launched an international campaign of support for the besieged civilian population of Jalalabad, who were courageously battling the CIA's cutthroat terrorists. With the toppling of the Soviet-backed Afghan government and the subsequent destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, the U.S. has no need for its former mercenaries. And the chickens may be coming home to roost. Now the government and media have launched an anti-Arab witchhunt with dire consequences for us all. With no love lost for Sheik Rahman and his Afghan contras, we nevertheless defend them against this witchhunt prosecution, knowing full well that these frame-up sedition laws are ultimately intended for striking unionists and leftists. The workers movement must fight against the racist anti-immigrant crusade and the ominous sedition prosecutions.

* * *

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Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

The desperate efforts of Third World people to get into North America and West Europe in any way they can reflects the systematic looting and impoverishment of Latin America, Asia and Africa by the rulers of the advanced capitalist countries. At the same time, immigrant workers serve as a pool of cheap, often superexploited labor in the imperialist centers themselves. Now the masters of Wall Street and the European Community are whipping up anti-immigrant hysteria to *divert* popular struggle against the deteriorating economic conditions throughout the Western capitalist world.

There can be no progressive or rational immigration policy under capitalism, where all immigration laws are necessarily racist and chauvinist. The central axis of struggle by revolutionary socialists must be for full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers and immigrants, whether in the country legally or not. As Spartacist demonstrators proclaimed at a May 28 demonstration in defense of Chinese immigrants arrested by the INS, "They Made It Here, Let Them Stay!" From defending immigrant hostels in Berlin against Nazi skinheads to protesting the U.S. government's expulsion of Chinese boat people, the International Communist League has actively fought against *all* manifestations of anti-immigrant racism.

Yet a slimy centrist outfit, the Revolutionary Trotskyist League (RTL), has slandered us as "incredibly racist" and "deeply chauvinistic" because we reject the liberal utopian slogan of "open the borders." They cite a 1974 article, "The Leninist Policy Toward Immigration/Emigration" (*WV* No. 36, 18 January 1974), which observed that unrestricted immigration "would tend to dissolve small nations like Holland and Belgium." As dishonest polemicists they naturally neglect to mention that our article also pointed out that "open borders" would lead to "well-financed American 'colonists' buying up Mexican enterprises and real estate."

Above all, the RTL deliberately omits the central point of our article, that the call to "open the borders" is "tantamount to advocating the abolition of national states under capitalism." The RTL and the myriad other left groups which raise the slogan of "open the borders" know full well that no bourgeois state could allow unrestricted immigration. The real purpose of this slogan is to get together with naive liberals and radicals who believe that a reformed capitalism can provide freedom and economic well-being for everyone in the world.

If one calls for abolishing the border patrol, why not call for abolishing the police and army as well? After all, policing its borders is just as vital to the very *existence* of the American capitalist state as having a police force to break strikes and suppress the black ghetto masses and armed forces to terrorize Third World peoples. For that matter, why not call for the equal distribution of income or for the capitalists to turn over the factories, oil fields, banks, etc. to the workers?

An American workers state would be committed to overcoming global inequality through an internationally *planned* socialist economy. No doubt this would involve greatly increased immigration from poor Third World countries. But even more important would be the massive transfer of resources and advanced technology to Latin America, Asia and Africa. The answer to poverty in Brazil is not to liquidate the Brazilian nation by having its 150 million inhabitants move to North America.

We pointed out in our 1974 article concerning the demand for "open borders":

> "This is merely a variant of utopian egalitarianism—the belief that a just society can be established by sharing out the currently available wealth. Leninists, in contrast, understand that unlimited immigration and the destruction of national frontiers will become a reality only under socialism, as a result of the abolition of material scarcity."

It will take workers revolution expropriating the wealth of the capitalists to make possible *a vast increase in the productive forces of all countries*, which alone can provide a decent life for those who now live in the squalid shantytowns of Rio and Mexico City as well as the ghettos and barrios of L.A. and New York. Only then can there be a world without borders. ■

Immigrants...

(continued from page 16)

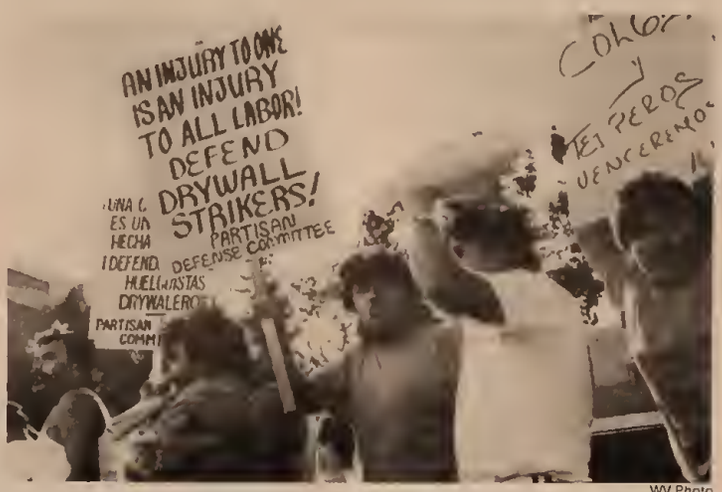
clause making anyone born in the U.S. a citizen with equal rights. He even wants Mexico to pay for prisons in Baja California—part of Mexico—just to hold "illegal immigrants" deported from California!

Clinton and the Democrats are competing with Wilson to whip up anti-immigrant frenzy. Liberal Senators Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer, who recently toured the border with Waco mass murderer Janet Reno, are proposing schemes like a $1 border-crossing fee to finance more armed border cops or militarizing the border with the National Guard. And meanwhile Hillary Clinton's medical care proposal will reportedly exclude "illegals."

How are they going to tell who's "legal" and who's not—tattoo your social security number on your arm at birth? And if your number isn't in the computer, will the hospital dump your broken body in the gutter? Wilson proposes to create a whole permanent category of inhabitants considered less than human, completely outside systems of public health, education, or any other right. Likewise, under slavery, the Supreme Court's 1857 Dred Scott decision declared blacks had no rights a white man is bound to respect.

And speaking of "illegals," the Mexicans were here long before the white Europeans, not to mention Wilson's immigrant ancestors. California was, after all, stolen from Mexico in the Mexican-American War of 1846-48. Where would California be without the railroads built under slave-labor conditions by Chinese workers, who were then largely driven out by a vicious anti-Chinese racist pogrom very much like what Wilson is trying to brew up now? As we said when we demonstrated with the Partisan Defense Committee against the police roundup of the Chinese immigrants who landed in San Francisco last May on the freighter Pai Sheng: "They got here, let them stay here!"

The ruling class is consciously going after one of the most vulnerable groups —those with different languages and cultures, those deprived of legal rights by racist immigration laws. But the broader target is *all* working people, wherever you're born. The capitalists aim to destroy the capacity of the entire working class to fight their racist class rule. What we need is *united class struggle against the real enemy*: instead of pushing job-trusting protectionism, a union fight to *organize the unorganized!* In answer to the insanity of mass unemployment, a *sliding scale of hours and wages*—shorten the workweek with no loss in pay to provide jobs for all!



WV Photo

Combative Latino strikers in Southern California protest outside Parker Center against LAPD attack, 28 July 1992. INS seized arrested strikers for deportation.

It takes a lot of gall for Wilson to complain about "bursting" classrooms and "swamped" health-care facilities, after he and his Democratic allies like Willie Brown have gutted public services in recent years while protecting their big business backers—California now spends less per student than 47 of the other 49 states. In fact Wilson wants to junk public education altogether with his "voucher" initiative set for the November ballot, a scheme to privatize the school system so that only the rich can buy a decent education. About the only thing that doesn't get cut is the prison budget (slated for a 9 percent increase), because state repression is the ruling class' only "solution" for a collapsing economy.

In 1978 Proposition 13 launched the wholesale gutting of social services in California—a de facto racist referendum targeting minorities, workers and the poor, and in particular savaging the public schools. Now we're in the middle of a capitalist recession—nearly two-thirds of the 810,000 jobs reported lost nationwide in the current recession were lost in California, and there's no end in sight. In L.A. the county board of supervisors is demanding an 8.25 percent pay cut and 5,000 layoffs from SEIU Local 660, representing 40,000 workers. The "rust belt" has come to California. The market-driven economy is blind, anarchic and irrational.

Mass unemployment is structural to capitalism. The dumping of thousands of skilled workers into the streets from Lockheed or the Alameda Naval Air Station has nothing to do with the influx of "illegal" immigrants and everything to do with the capitalists' profit system. The bosses squeeze profits from the blood and sweat of Hispanic migrant workers who work the fields, dusted with cancer-causing pesticides, living in hovels—and paying taxes for social services they aren't allowed to use. Likewise bosses in the garment trade make a pretty penny from sweatshops in L.A. and San Francisco, where "illegal" immigrants—many of them desperately exploited Asian women—generally end up slaving at a fraction of the minimum wage under the constant threat of deportation, and often get cheated out of their pay altogether.

The imperialists no longer need to maintain a liberal posture on immigration as a weapon in the Cold War. In Europe, confronted with economic slump and waves of immigrants fleeing the economic devastation and genocidal bloodletting unleashed by capitalist counterrevolution in Eastern Europe and the former USSR, the capitalists have raised a hue and cry over "too many foreigners." The result has been a wave of terror and murder as their fascist shock troops firebomb defenseless immigrants. Sensing the unrest below, the ruling class wants to derail any unified class struggle by setting one sector of the oppressed against another. Across California the anti-immigrant furor has led to increasing police and *la migra* terror.

Wilson's policies and racist, scapegoating big lie are a campaign that Nazi minister of propaganda Goebbels would have loved. The bipartisan anti-immigrant drive and the racist protectionist campaign of Japan-bashing are further incitement to every redneck, yahoo, skinhead, KKKer and Nazi to "get the foreigners." Take for instance a dangerous rightist group called the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR). A piece by one of its leading spokesmen, former INS commissioner Alan Nelson, supporting Wilson's policies recently appeared in the *New York Times*. FAIR received over $600,000 since 1988 from the "Pioneer Fund." This outfit, founded in 1937 by a textile magnate who advocated sending blacks back to Africa, maintains that non-whites are inherently inferior.

The Wall Street banks, through their agent the International Monetary Fund, have for decades commanded the Mexican government to starve its population in order to pay billions in extortionate loan interest. Then, when these starving masses are driven in desperation across the border, they cynically whip up racist hysteria against the "invading hordes." Now, with the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Wall Street wants to expand its superexploitation of Mexican workers within Mexico itself. They want to cement their North American "sphere of influence" against the German-dominated European economy and Japan, Inc., reflecting increasing imperialist economic competition and the threat of a new world war.

In opposition to the chauvinist poison of protectionism spewed by the union

L.A. Strike...

continued from page 16

of organized labor—city workers, docks, aerospace—to mobilize in strike action to protest the martial law occupation of the ghettos and barrios. Today, as conditions in L.A. continue to deteriorate, city/county workers can take the lead by striking together against the killer cuts!

In an attempt to break the strike, the DWP bosses are demanding that strike leaders be jailed for contempt. Pickets told *WV* that if this happens, the key International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Local 13 has threatened a one-day port shutdown. The same report has come from IBEW officers, but the longshore tops refuse to confirm their support. All of L.A.'s integrated labor movement must back the DWP workers, defying the injunctions with mass pickets, plant occupations and joint strike action! With their hands on the power switches, the strikers can impose a few selective outages, say at City Hall and the *L.A. Times*, or let the Pacific Rim bankers in their gleaming office towers try operating in the dark!

The DWP has been preparing for a year, holding "strike training" for scabs. The city has rented 50 RVs at $1,000 a week apiece to house the scabs, some of whom were brought in from as far away as Utah. But there is no way the current scab crew of 100 can safely run the aging physical plant of the city's water and power system. Thousands of customers have experienced power outages and the DWP is simply pouring chlorine into the drinking water as equipment breaks down and bacteria levels climb. The city is telling customers to ignore the chlorine smell and taste, but plant operators told *WV* that "if you can smell it, there's too much chlorine."

Meanwhile, DWP is running low on chlorine, as railroad engineers refuse to cross the IBEW picket lines. Twice a day they have refused to take tank cars of chlorine down the rail spur leading to the huge Sylmar filtration plant, which handles 600 million gallons a day.

Newly elected billionaire mayor Richard Riordan wants to privatize city services from sanitation to the airport, competing with the City Council on how best to shove capitalist austerity down the throats of city workers. The city is trying to whip up anti-strike sentiment by slandering the strikers as "violent," even ostentatiously "guarding" press conferences with rows of deputy sheriffs! Criminally, the SEIU Local 660 bureaucrats have formed a bargaining *alliance* with the notorious racist thugs of the L.A. Deputy Sheriffs Association! *Cops out of the labor movement!*

Draconian budget cuts are being imposed throughout California by Governor Pete Wilson and the Democratic-controlled legislature. In July, the L.A. County Board of Supervisors (with a Democratic Party majority) rammed through a budget which imposed thousands of layoffs on county workers, cut the already starvation level of general relief from $293 to $212 a month, and shut down health care facilities serving over *one million* low-income patients.

The 40,000 county workers represented by SEIU Local 660 face a unilateral 8.25 percent *wage cut* and 5,000 layoffs. Even the head of the Department of Health Services warned these cuts are "a major threat to the health of L.A. and everyone who lives in it." County unions have learned of plans to privatize the hospitals and conduct Gestapo-style seizures of undocumented workers using county health facilities, who would be immediately deported! The labor movement must demand *full citizenship rights and free quality health care for all!*

In the face of the cuts, thousands of Local 660 workers rallied on August 31, culminating in a raucous meeting which resoundingly authorized a strike for October 1. Local 660 workers at the rally were furious, chanting "Shut it down, shut it down!" But the local bureaucrats, backed by leftist reformists grouped in the "People First Coalition"—including Solidarity, the Democratic Socialists of America and the Committees of Correspondence—are steering workers into the fatal trap of supporting the Democrats. The rally was a media event designed to derail strike action, and featured Jesse Jackson and a lineup of local Democratic Party politicians.

Urban Rust Belt

As the infrastructure of the cities breaks down, the rulers of this irrational capitalist system are rushing headlong to accelerate the decay with their "privatization schemes" to make a buck on everything from airports to homeless shelters. From the rusting bridges of New York City to the deadly contaminated water supply of Milwaukee, the bourgeoisie has given up any pretense of maintaining, much less rebuilding, America's cities. But the bourgeoisie is pouring money into one area of the economy—the prisons and cops that are the armed fist of the capitalist state aimed at minorities and the unions. A massive program of public works is urgently needed, but despite all the hype of "Rebuild L.A.," nothing has changed. The heavily immigrant, black and Latino population is still subjected to massive unemployment, sweatshop wages and the fist of racist cop terror.

"Justice for Janitors," a campaign of SEIU Local 399 which has fought to organize commercial office buildings in L.A., just won a settlement from the LAPD. In an admission that their hired thugs in blue carried out a bloody rampage against a march of janitors in 1990, the city paid $2.35 million in damages to 145 Local 399 workers who were beaten and arrested. Like the courageous strike of the drywall construction workers, who were largely abandoned by the other craft unions, immigrant workers from the hotels to the hospitals have played a key role in recent labor battles in L.A. This is precisely the solidarity that Governor Wilson and the Democrats seek to smash with their onslaught against immigrants.

The massive California budget crisis and the destruction of hundreds of thousands of jobs in Los Angeles are reflections of the deeper rotting of American capitalism. There is only one force that offers a future—the organized working class under the leadership of a revolutionary workers party acting as the champion of all the oppressed. This has nothing in common with the "labor party" talk occasionally coming from job-trusting labor fakers like California state AFL-CIO tops and their press agents on the reformist left. Their "labor party" resolutions are ploys to pry some crumbs from their Democratic Party masters—and chain the working class to the status quo with "lesser evil" politics.

The DWP strike is hugely popular among the workers of L.A. There is enormous potential for united action by the unions in concert with all the oppressed, but it will not be led by the labor traitors, who are beholden to the very capitalist system that is imposing the killer cuts. To wage and win a strike under these conditions means a fight to mobilize the working class against decaying capitalism and its political servants. For a workers government and the establishment of a planned economy—for the socialist reindustrialization of America! ■

bureaucracy, we call for an internationalist fight against the U.S. imperialists' NAFTA plan: for class struggle on both sides of the border, uniting U.S. labor with the Mexican workers of the *maquiladora* belt, against their common class enemy! Join forces with the workers of the Pacific Rim! Labor: defend all foreign-born workers—down with *la migra* deportations! Smash Wilson/Boxer/Feinstein's anti-immigrant terror drive!

In April 1992 a multiracial revolt of the oppressed in L.A. against the first racist verdict in the Rodney King case frightened the ruling class, since it hinted at the possibility of a class war instead of a ruling-class-inspired race war. The mainly Latino janitors of SEIU Local 399, for instance, staged a defiant march in the teeth of martial law imposed in L.A. to suppress the 1992 Rodney King revolt—while pro-Democratic Party L.A. union tops maintained a deafening silence. What's needed is the social power of the integrated working class, mobilized to fight on a program for power. We need an integrated revolutionary workers party to fight for a workers government, to oust the greedy, incompetent capitalist class which is running the U.S. into the ground, and rebuild the country with a planned, socialist economy.

Join us! Demonstrate outside Governor Wilson's office on Thursday, 16 September at 4:30 p.m. at 455 Golden Gate Ave. (near Larkin) in San Francisco. Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants! Down With Wilson/Boxer/Feinstein's Racist War on Immigrants! ■

Georgia...

(continued from page 2)

University in Atlanta. Hoping to brush the Forsyth County "incident" under the rug, they "reminded" her of their financial aid. But Brenda wasn't having it: "If we work at Winn-Dixie we should be able to go to any Winn-Dixie and work.... This is the 20th century. It needs to stop."

Ms. Huiel courageously went to radio and TV to expose Winn-Dixie's racist treatment. She received help from Sandra McGary of the local NAACP. Thirty years earlier, Ms. McGary's family home had been firebombed by the Klan in Chattanooga, Tennessee. Brenda has received expressions of solidarity from white and black customers as they pass through her supermarket line, and from her high school friends.

The Forsyth County incident is only one expression of a broader onslaught of social reaction. In south Georgia recently, a 17-year-old black youth was sentenced to three years in prison for allegedly "stealing" a box of ice cream from his high school. Just north of Atlanta in Cobb County, KKK and Nazi groups are making common cause with yuppies in attacking the democratic rights of gays. As epitomized by the murder of Dr. David Gunn in Pensacola, Florida, abortion rights are under attack despite the presence of a "pro-choice" Democrat in the White House.

The nationwide demonstrations in July for equal treatment, good service and food for all at Denny's were initiated by the Labor Black Leagues and Spartacist League. Three decades after the civil rights movement supposedly ended institutionalized racism, we noted, de facto segregation persists. An integrated union organizing drive is urgently needed to fight Jim Crow from Winn-Dixie to Denny's and all the racist low-wage outfits.

As for Forsyth County, it will take the integrated proletariat looking something like a latter-day version of Sherman's Army to bring equality and justice to this racist bastion. To combat the all-sided social reaction and the legacy of Jim Crow segregation, it is necessary to build a class-struggle workers party, fighting against both Democrats and Republicans, to champion the cause of all the oppressed. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Down with Wilson/Boxer/Feinstein's Racist War on Immigrants!

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

Demonstrate!

Thursday, Sept. 16
4:30 p.m.

Outside Governor Wilson's office, 455 Golden Gate (near Larkin)

San Francisco

Called by
the Spartacist League
and the Labor Black League
for Social Defense

For more information call:
(415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0852

Tannenbaum/Sygma

WV Photo

U.S. police attack desperate immigrants at the Mexican border (left). Spartacists protest the detention of Chinese immigrants, San Francisco, in May.

The following leaflet has been issued by the Bay Area Spartacist League and Labor Black League for Social Defense.

California governor Pete Wilson has declared war on the state's millions of Hispanic and Asian immigrants. The ruling class wants impoverished workers and unemployed victims of this decaying economic system to blame desperate immigrants instead of the real enemy: the greedy capitalist bloodsuckers. The Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense say, don't take the bosses' sucker bait! All those who stand for "Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants! Down with Wilson/Boxer/Feinstein's Racist War on Immigrants!" come out and demonstrate 4:30 p.m., Thursday, September 16 at the Governor's Office in S.F., 455 Golden Gate. Immigrant and civil rights groups, students and the integrated labor movement must come to the defense of our brothers and sisters from south of the border and the Pacific Rim.

With the lowest approval rating in the state's history, this particularly vicious racist governor is trying to boost himself in the polls by leading the pack in anti-immigrant hysteria and race-baiting. Wilson's August 10 "open letter" to Clinton proposed to: kick "illegal immigrants" off welfare; deny them medical care; kick their kids out of the public schools; issue everyone South Africa-style "identity cards"; and remove from the Constitution's 14th Amendment, which codifies the abolition of slavery won at bloody cost in the Civil War, the

continued on page 14

10,000 L.A. City Workers Strike

Smash the Injunction— All City/County Workers Out Now!

LOS ANGELES, September 5—More than 10,000 workers have struck this city's Department of Water and Power (DWP) after a year without a contract and two years without a raise. This is the nation's largest municipal utility, with clerks, repair crews, meter readers and plant operators in IBEW Local 18 providing power to 1.3 million people and water to over 2 million. Joining in the work stoppage are 2,500 members of the Engineers and Architects Association at DWP.

Within hours of the walkout on September 1, city bosses obtained a court injunction ordering workers back on the job, but the strikers are defying the court order. At the same time, 80,000 L.A. County workers face massive cutbacks and layoffs, as health care and social services for hundreds of thousands are being slashed. Public workers can rally to their side the heavily Latino and black poor and working people of L.A.—starting with the 40,000 county workers organized in Service Employees Local 660, which has set an October 1 strike date. Local 660 should be out now!

The black and Latino masses of Los Angeles exploded in rage in April 1992 after the whitewash acquittal of the racist cops who beat Rodney King. The Spartacist League called on the strongholds

continued on page 15

WV Photo

L.A. water and power workers defy strikebreaking injunction, September 4.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 584 X423 24 September 1993

It's an Insurance Company Rip-Off

Clinton's Killer "Health" Plan

York/Medichrome

We Need:
- **Free, Quality Health Care for All**
- **Free Abortion on Demand**
- **Massive Funding for AIDS Research and Care**

After months of secret meetings, speechifying before endless seminars, outright lies, and craven backpedaling before the powers of the medical establishment, Bill and Hillary Clinton unveiled their vaunted "health" care plan earlier this month in a carefully engineered megaleak to the press. While Clinton plays to popular outrage over the catastrophic state of the American health care system, pretending that his aim is to extend coverage to all, his real patient is Wall Street's profit margin.

From price-gouging pharmaceutical companies to hospitals to insurers, the medical industry is already one giant rip-off. For the 37 million people who have no insurance, medical care—from the most minimal preventive treatment to the direst life-threatening emergency—is an unaffordable luxury. Tens of millions more either have inadequate coverage or are forced to wait all day in overcrowded clinics or get shunted off to understaffed, squalid public hospital emergency rooms. Even those who have health insurance live in fear of being laid off from their jobs, knowing that they could end up having their life's savings wiped out by one short hospital stay.

The present system of "wealth care USA" means that workers suffer one of the highest rates of job injuries and industrial diseases in the world, and black children in Harlem die of measles and malnutrition. The health care crisis is so bad that even mainstream commentators now regularly point out that the U.S. and South Africa are the only two industrialized countries in the world without a national health system of some kind. The racist connection is no coincidence. Blacks and Hispanics in the U.S. are two or three times less likely to have health insurance than whites. Infant mortality among black children is more than double what it is for whites. While blacks have a much higher incidence of heart attacks, they have far less access to cardiac bypass operations. Meanwhile, the AIDS epidemic and the resurgence of "diseases of poverty" like TB ravage the gay population and the people of the ghettos and barrios, consigned to death by this bigoted, racist ruling class.

For all the hype about "universal health coverage," Clinton's "managed competition" scheme is designed by big business for the benefit of big business. Speaking in August, Clinton railed that too many people were getting "a free ride out of the present system." "Big business," reports the *New York Times* (11 September), "is one of the biggest boosters of the President's approach today." It's not hard to see why.

• The Democrats' proposal will mean a massive assault on health care benefits won through hard-fought union struggles. By mandating a limit of 7.9 percent of payroll costs for medical contributions, the plan would put *billions* into the coffers of corporate giants like

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Young Spartacus Pages

Capitalism Is Hell for Minority Youth
Clinton's Boot Camps
See page 4

What Is the ISO Afraid Of?
See page 5

Spartacus Youth Clubs Protest
U.S. Massacre in Mogadishu
See page 7

Tlatelolco, October 2
The 1968 Massacre of Mexican Students
See page 6

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Virginia Court Takes Child From Lesbian Mother

On September 7 a Richmond, Virginia circuit court judge ordered Sharon Bottoms' two-year-old son Tyler taken away from her, simply on the grounds that she is a lesbian. For thousands of gay parents raising children, the decision sends shock waves across the nation. Do gay parents have any rights at all to their children? Apparently not in Virginia, one of four states which legally deem gay parents "unfit." Two states, New Hampshire and Florida, bar gays outright as adoptive parents. A nationwide patchwork of reactionary state anti-homosexual and anti-sodomy laws make it a nightmare gamble as to when and where gays may suddenly find themselves entangled in the clutches of the law, their livelihoods and families at risk.

In the case of Sharon Bottoms, Judge Buford Parsons Jr. ruled that she was an "unfit parent" because her homosexuality violates Virginia's sodomy law, one of the most severe still on the books. He turned her son Tyler over to his grandmother, forbidding Sharon to see him except twice a week, and never in her own home or in the presence of her companion April Wade, who has helped raise the child for much of his young life.

The couple, both working-class young women who have fought hard to build a decent life for themselves and for Tyler, are determined to continue the fight.

Brit/Richmond Times Dispatch

Sharon Bottoms (left) with her companion April Wade and photo of Sharon's son Tyler.

"I'm a good mother. I'm a good person," says Sharon. "I don't understand why, if you're gay or lesbian, you don't have the same rights as anyone else." The Virginia chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, which has been providing legal counsel to the embattled mother, has said it will almost certainly appeal the case to the Virginia Supreme Court.

The court system is already rigged against them. After all, the Virginia Supreme Court in 1985 declared that homosexuality in and of itself is sufficient reason to lose custody of your child. Only a few decades ago Virginia's "miscegenation" laws were still on the books—that infamous legal racism which outlawed interracial sex. In 1986, Georgia's Supreme Court upheld its state sodomy law, in the *Bowers v. Hardwick* case, where two men were convicted of sodomy for consensual sex in the privacy of the home.

The bigoted and racist social climate hasn't qualitatively changed since the "Reagan years." As we have pointed out in the fight over open gays in the military—a simple democratic question—that supposed "friend of gays," Bill Clinton, has repeatedly capitulated to right-wing bigots, because of their common support of "family values." The institution of the family is the basic social unit of bourgeois society and a bedrock of conservatism, reinforced by religious ideology, and as such it is enforced by the capitalist political and legal system. In the name of upholding "family values," the Virginia Court didn't hesitate to rip up Sharon Bottoms' family and take a two-year-old child away from his mother.

Anti-sodomy laws are vicious weapons against those who "deviate" in any way from the monogamous heterosexual family. Sexuality, personal living relations and whether or not to have and raise children are among the most intimate and sensitive questions—areas in which the state has no business intervening. We fight for the abolition of all anti-gay and anti-sex laws (including "age of consent" laws) as part of our working-class socialist struggle against the grip of the patriarchal family, the capitalist state and profit system. The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 that established workers rule smashed the hideous all-sided reaction of the tsarist empire. The communists soon abolished all laws against homosexuality and the shameful distinction between "legitimate" and "illegitimate" babies, as part of their efforts to liberate women and open the road to human freedom. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

For Revolutionary Leadership of the Labor Movement

The American union movement is reeling under the blows of more than a decade and a half of capitalist offensive. During the late 1920s, in a period with striking similarities to today, James P. Cannon, the Communist leader who became the founder of American Trotskyism, wrote of the treachery of the job-trusting AFL skilled trades tops and the need for class-struggle organizational forms and leadership to organize the unskilled workers in basic industry, foreshadowing the explosive rise of the industrial unions of the CIO in the 1930s. What's needed today is to sweep out the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO labor traitors and forge a revolutionary leadership in the course of sharp class struggles. As Trotsky emphasized in his last writings, in this epoch the unions can either be "secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution," or under the leadership of the Fourth International they can "become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

In recent years, the AFL unions, retreating before the assaults of the employers, have been declining in numbers and narrowing their base even more to skilled workers. The smashing of such unions as the steel workers, packinghouse workers and railroad shop crafts has robbed the AFL of a large mass of unskilled and semi-skilled workers who were a source of strength and a reservoir of militancy. This has wrought a profound change in its basic composition. The disintegration of the United Mine Workers union tremendously accelerates this process and raises very sharply the whole question of the future course and development of the American labor movement.

One of the hallmarks of the AFL unions under the leadership of the dominant bureaucrats has been an absolute incapacity for struggle against the open shop offensive. The policy of resistance has been replaced by the theory and practice of retreat and surrender; the "labor" leaders appeal for the right of the old organizations to exist in company-unionized form, by consent of the employers, as agencies of efficient production.

This course corresponds with the policy of the ruling bureaucracy. These bosses of the unions not only present no fighting program for the safeguarding of the unions, but openly and systematically sabotage every impulse in this direction coming from the rank and file. Their crusade against the Communists and the left wing is a part of their policy of erecting barriers against the unskilled and unorganized workers and of stamping out the remnants of militancy in the existing unions in order, as they hope, to render them acceptable to the employers.

A degeneration of class spirit in the old unions is the inevitable outcome of such a course. An inability to defend the existing unions and labor standards and an incapacity to organize the unorganized workers—the key to the future of organized labor in America—follow from it....

The growing unrest of the workers in many industries and their increasing readiness for struggle brook no delay. The future of the American labor movement is bound up with this question.

—James P. Cannon, "Trade-Union Questions" (July 1928),
in *James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism* (1992)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 584 **24 September 1993**

Clarification on the Vietnam War

In the article "Clinton's Hit Squad in Somalia" in our last issue (*WV* No. 583, 10 September), there is a reference to the Vietnam War as a "national liberation struggle," followed by a sentence referring to "a new colonial occupation" of Somalia. However, the Vietnamese struggle cannot be summed up as just a "national liberation struggle," and the situation in Somalia today is very different. This is not just an "academic" or historical question but touches on hard-fought programmatic differences between Marxists and opportunist pretenders.

When the south of Vietnam during the 1960s and early '70s was occupied by U.S. imperialist troops holding up a puppet capitalist regime, the question of the national emancipation of the south was posed pointblank; at the same time the deformed workers state of the north, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), was under direct imperialist military attack. The outcome of the national liberation struggle in the south hinged on the outcome of the war to defend the DRV against imperialist attack and the struggle to extend the *social revolution* throughout all of Vietnam and Indochina.

At the time of the 1973 Paris "peace" accords, we noted that despite withdrawal of U.S. forces, the real issues of the civil war remained unresolved and it was necessary to "carry the struggle against the forces of colonial and capitalist rule through to a victorious conclusion." The Vietnamese struggle confirmed Trotsky's theory and program of permanent revolution. We pointed out:

> "In the present epoch, the weak bourgeoisies of backward countries, closely intertwined with imperialism and mortally afraid of an agrarian revolution which would sweep away their dominion, are incapable of carrying out the national and democratic tasks of the bourgeois revolution. Today these tasks can only be carried out by the dictatorship of the proletariat.... [T]he Vietminh/NLF/DRV, forced to rely on workers and peasants against imperialism, must acquiesce to certain revolutionary measures if they are to mobilize the masses. These fundamental characteristics of the epoch have made the Vietnamese war from the beginning a social revolution, with the workers and peasants on one side and the bourgeoisie ('national' and imperialist) on the other."
>
> —"The Civil War Goes On,"
> *WV* No. 16, February 1973

We insisted that revolutionaries must take sides in the *class* war in Vietnam for national liberation and social revolution against imperialism. While calling for proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist regime in the north, which had more than once sold out for the chimera of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, we called for unconditional military defense of the DRV and military victory of the DRV/NLF in the south, and raised the slogan "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" We *hailed* the heroic April 1975 victory of the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

This was very controversial at the time. While many New Leftists gave *political* support to the Vietnamese Sta-

WV Photos

Boone County miners and their families rally in Danville, September 3 (left). Manning picket lines at Eastern Associated's Prenter mine (right).

Showdown in West Virginia Coal Fields

Miners: Mobilize to Run Out the Scabs!

BOONE COUNTY, West Virginia—At the struck Matts Creek No. 7 mine in Twilight, West Virginia, Eastern Associated coal bosses are preparing for all-out war. A helicopter pad has been installed. A disabled miner in Twilight told *Workers Vanguard* that huge tents to house scabs, complete with kitchens, are visible behind fortifications built of crib blocks, big support timbers used in the mines. Peabody Coal (Eastern's parent company) and the other coal bosses are getting ready to hire scabs on a scale not seen in years to try to break the seven-month-old "selective strike" by 17,000 members of the United Mine Workers.

The companies have hired Vance International goons, notorious as scab-herders, and have been using management personnel to mine coal for weeks. Now they are running ads in local papers for "additional personnel to restore production." And the government is mobilizing to enforce the scabbing. Labor board charges and anti-picketing injunctions are sprouting like ramp onions in spring. Paul Nyden of the *Charleston Gazette* (19 September) reports that "federal agents are moving into the southern coalfields this week."

The future of the UMW is on the line. The Trumka bureaucracy's program of begging for a "partnership" with the bosses has decimated the miners union, the historic shock troops of the American labor movement. Today it's do or die: miners must mobilize by the thousands to drive out the scabs and shut down production throughout the coal fields.

Over Labor Day weekend, *Workers Vanguard* traveled to rallies in Districts 17 and 31, where miner after miner told us of their hatred for the defeatist "selective strike" strategy which has knifed the miners, from A.T. Massey in 1984-85, through Pittston in 1989 to today. Miners know that striking a handful of mines at a few companies will never beat back this concerted attack by the coal bosses. Even at struck mines and preparation plants, rail cars and trucks roll out past the picket lines. Meanwhile, non-targeted companies are filling any coal orders that aren't met. At a September 4 rally in Camp Muffy, near Morgantown, one miner shouted at Trumka, "We're going to stop them from moving coal!"

But despite the deep anger across the coal fields, there has been no break from the Trumka bureaucracy and its disastrous policies. *In order to save the union, militants must seize control of the strike.* Mass meetings must be convened in every district to elect authoritative strike committees that will pull out *all* the miners, sending out roving pickets to spread the strike to unorganized mines and appeal to workers on the railroads, at the docks, power plants and steel mills to stand with the UMW and refuse to handle a single ton of coal.

The Trumka bureaucracy is tied to the bosses' politicians, cops, courts and labor boards. Miners need a class-struggle leadership that will fight for complete independence of the union from the capitalist state. Militants can appeal to a long tradition in the coal fields of bringing out the *entire* UMW in defiance of the government's anti-labor legal arsenal, from the injunctions of the coal company judges to the Taft-Hartley law. A mobilization to defend miners' jobs, organize the unorganized and win back their "cradle-to-grave" health care could spearhead a fight for all the oppressed against the giveback/cutback assault. From West Virginia to South-Central L.A., we urgently need a workers party fighting for a workers government!

Trumka's "New Compact"

Trumka came to West Virginia on Labor Day weekend in a bus tour of the coal fields from Virginia to Illinois. At a District 17 rally in Danville, he blustered that "the coal operators will not run one pound of coal"...and then preached the gospel of Gandhi: for miners to lie down in front of scab coal trucks!

Miners aren't interested in lying down before the bosses, their judges and strike-breaking injunctions. The average UMW miner is 46 years old—this strike is a life-or-death battle to defend the only union job they'll ever have. And strikers remember what Trumka's civil disobedience got the Pittston miners during their 1989 strike: 2,000 arrests, $52 million in fines, and a sellout where UMW tops gave the company $10 million in union dues! Trumka's idea of a fight is to wear his camouflage tie to Capitol Hill in Washington and hobnob with the Democrats.

Behind the strategy of the selective strike and civil disobedience lies Trumka's political program of "labor-management" cooperation to enable "America to compete economically in the global marketplace of the future" (*Charleston Gazette*, 6 September). This Labor Day column by Trumka is straight out of the Clinton White House's campaign for the "Workplace of the Future," a future that does *not* include unions.

Trumka and the rest of the company agents running the unions are pledging to police the working class, getting fewer workers to produce more profit. This is exactly what has happened in coal, where productivity has gone from 1.4 tons per man-hour in 1979 to almost 4 tons today. Less than 30 percent of coal mined is union. The "future" Clinton has in mind can be seen in the deadly conditions at small, non-union mines across Appalachia, where over two dozen miners have been killed this year.

It can be seen in the "interim agreement" for 7,500 miners at four operators in the Independent Bituminous Coal Bargaining Alliance, which Trumka claims will "end the traditionally hostile relationship between miners and coal operators" (*Labor Notes*, August 1993). In exchange for some jobs at new mines, the union tops have "agreed to help management improve the competitive position of its operations"—and cut even more jobs! Miners at Drummond coal, outraged that there would be no ratification vote on this agreement until the BCOA strike is settled, staged a wildcat strike in July.

As Trumka pushed civil disobedience on September 3 in Boone County, U.S. District Judge Dennis Knapp in Charleston issued an order to curtail picketing at Eastern Associated and Arch Mineral mines in the area. This is the same Judge Knapp who declared that the June 1989 walkout of 43,000 miners in defense of the Pittston strikers was "illegal." Trumka and Co. dutifully ordered the miners back to work. Now, the UMW tops have ordered strikers to do nothing as the coal companies built barracks at the Montcoal mine, stocked scab supplies at an Eastern warehouse in Nitro, and even used union railworkers on CSX to bring them in.

But many strikers and supporters know they have to stop the scabs. Wanda Blevins, the president of a Boone County women's auxiliary, said "we women have to do it." On September 15, 200 people massed at the gate to Eastern's Prenter mine; 14 federal marshals quickly arrived to post the court injunction on the picket shack. There have been reports of scab trucks and rail cars losing their loads of coal in Pennsylvania and Illinois. As the miners' tempers begin to boil, Clinton's Secretary of Labor Reich has brought in a "special" mediator, William J. Usery, who Bush brought in to broker the sellout of the Pittston strike.

In the 110-day coal strike of 1977-78, miners faced not only the coal operators and strikebreaking Taft-Hartley injunctions of *Democratic* president Jimmy Carter, but also the backstabbing betrayals of their pro-Labor Department "leaders," the Arnold Miller regime. The miners burned the injunctions and ripped up one sellout "contract" after another, but eventually the "united front" of coal company fat cats, Democrats and bureaucrats wore down their resistance. As we wrote in our pamphlet *The Great Coal Strike of 1978*, the miners and all workers must "break through the limits imposed by pro-capitalist leaders, the employers and the state" to oust the bureaucracy and build a workers party. ■

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linists—a popular chant was "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh—NLF is gonna win"—also active in the "antiwar" movement at the time were some anti-Soviet social democrats around the "International Socialists" (I.S.), which grew out of the Berkeley-based Independent Socialist Committees led by Hal Draper. Given their view that the Soviet Union was a new form of "bureaucratic collectivist" class society, the I.S. should logically have refused to side militarily with a Soviet-allied NLF/DRV, in keeping with their usual stance for the (mythical) "third camp" between Stalinism and imperialism. But not wanting to be so far to the right of the student activism which was sweeping the campuses, as the war dragged on the I.S. came out for "the victory of the NLF over the U.S. and its puppets." Its excuse: "self-determination for the Vietnamese." Thus the I.S., lacking the courage of its anti-communist convictions, found it very convenient to separate the fight for national liberation from the social revolution in Vietnam.

Today, the slimy tradition of the I.S. is carried on by the International Socialist Organization, a group of social-democratic pinks who follow the views of Tony Cliff in Britain, who described the Stalinist-ruled workers states as "state capitalist." When the Soviet Union was threatened with real capitalist counterrevolution, with Yeltsin's August 1991 pro-imperialist countercoup, these "third campers" happily hopped onto Yeltsin's barricades, proclaiming the "Russian Revolution of 1991" (see "What Is the ISO Afraid Of?" on page 5). During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, these "yellow ribbon socialists" offered up Richard Nixon's slogan "No More Vietnams" (an appeal for an "antiwar" section of the American imperialist ruling class).

And now as the victory of counterrevolution in the ex-USSR and East Europe leaves the Cuban deformed workers state dangerously exposed to the wrath of Yankee imperialism, what does the ISO do? At a demonstration called by the ISO in Boston on September 11 over U.S. terror in Somalia, they shut down their own demonstration—five minutes after it started!—when Spartacist participants initiated a chant in defense of the Cuban Revolution. We say: Vietnam was a victory! Stalinism is the gravedigger of revolutions—For socialist revolution to sweep away capitalist counterrevolution! Defend Cuba and Vietnam against imperialism and counterrevolution! For world socialist revolution! ■

Young Spartacus

Capitalism Is Hell for Minority Youth

Clinton's Boot Camps

Jobs for All!
Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Life for youth today sucks royally. High schools function more as holding pens than institutions for learning. Working-class and minority youth who make it out of high school can rarely afford college. If they're really lucky, they get a loan from Uncle Sam and then use a college degree to flip burgers at non-union jobs to eke out a "living" while trying to get out of hock to the government. Unemployment rates for black male youth now top *50 percent* and the cruel pathologies of ghetto life enforced by the *systematic* racism of this society mean that some *25 percent* of black men in America are caught in the wheels of the capitalist "justice" system—i.e., in prison or on parole. This society is rotten to the core, but its commander in chief, Boss Clinton, says the problem isn't the system, it's the kids.

Teenagers beware—President Clinton is on a move to "reclaim America's youth" by herding high school dropouts into National Guard boot camps and forcing high school students to perform "mandatory community service" to earn a diploma. "Education" in the USA has plunged from the "three R's" to the three S's: *slammers*, *soldiers* and *slavery*. Clinton aims to conjure up images of FDR's New Deal or JFK's Peace Corps, but his "youth at risk" agenda more resembles Hitler's youth movement. An aide to Georgia Democrat Sam Nunn, a big-gun backer of boot camps, spilled the beans on the bourgeoisie's goal of broadening their creeping police state: "To put it undelicately, this is a way for the National Guard to create a role for itself in the 21st century. It's a post-cold war response" (*New York Times*, 11 August).

Liberal pacifists wanted a "peace dividend" and Clinton is giving it to 'em in the form of domestic militarization of youth. Some $57.5 million was forked over by the Defense Department to set up ten "National Guard Youth Corps" boot camps. And $10 million of that is specifically channeled to the California Guard for work in Los Angeles—the city that blew a gaping hole in the "New World Order" with the multiracial upheaval of disenfranchised youth outraged by the acquittals of the cops who beat Rodney King.

At that time, President Bush deployed the National Guard to beat back thousands of young people with a massive show of police-state force. Now Clinton wants to get youth into uniforms—to shoot women and children in Somalia and be put on the front line for the ruling class against labor strikes and protests at home. Illinois governor Jim Edgar launched his state's boot camps for youth with a blunt statement: "It is far better to have the guard members teaching self-discipline, fitness, family responsibility and other skills than to have the Guard restoring order to neighborhoods torn asunder by civil war" (*Peoria Journal-Star*, 12 June).

Even youth who don't volunteer or get shoehorned into Clinton's boot camps can't escape government regimentation of their lives. At least 17 states currently mandate some form of unpaid "community service" as a graduation requirement from the public school system. "Some Students Call It Slavery," headlined a Waterbury, Connecticut newspaper. Bob Moore, a spokesman for the Maryland State Teachers Association, said: "Lincoln must be turning over in his grave. Why? He freed the slaves. Emancipation Proclamation, remember?"

Miller/NY Times

High school equivalency boot camp inmates drill. Clinton's plan for regimenting youth with no future under capitalism: slammers, soldiers and slavery.

Big Brother Is Watching You

The youth boot camps accept 16- to 18-year-old volunteers who pass a drug test and are not presently "involved with" the criminal justice system (i.e., not currently in prison or on parole). After five months of indoctrination—seven hours of military-style classes and drills every day—camp inmates who complete the requirements for a high school equivalency diploma are promised $2,200. But the money must be used to find a job (there aren't any) or spent on a college training course (which costs so much it'll be gone in a jiffy). Boot camp inmates are also obliged to sign a "contract" with a Guardsman "mentor" who is given control over withdrawals from the youth's stipend account and snoops as a "Big Brother" or "Big Sister" on a boot-camper's life for a whole year after their release! Housed on military bases, inmates leave only for authorized activities, "such as church services" (*Tulsa World*, 10 July).

Yet conditions are so desperate for working-class and minority families that, in Illinois alone, there were 1,000 calls from eager parents to the National Guard's toll-free number in the program's first 24 hours. The reason? Unfortunately, a lot of people buy the lie that the virulently racist but disproportionately black and Hispanic armed services are "equal opportunity employers"—and military hype about "discipline" and "self-esteem" is peddled as an answer to the hopelessness of youth who have been completely cast off by this society.

Clinton's program is a cruel hoax aimed at blaming the victims for their own oppression and then transforming them into thugs for the capitalist exploiters. In addition to the boot camps, Clinton is pushing a "National Service" program that promises young people loans for college tuition if they enlist in the agencies of state repression: "We'll ask you to help our police forces across the nation, training members for a new police corps, that will walk beats, and work with neighborhoods and build the kind of community ties that will prevent crime from happening in the first place" (*New York Times*, 2 March).

For Clinton to denounce "crime" is obscene. This Democratic war criminal unleashes heavily armed U.S. troops to slaughter Somali women and children, while racist cops in the ghettos and barrios routinely and wantonly attack blacks and Latinos—witness the police murder of Malice Green in Detroit and the beating of Rodney King in Los Angeles, among many others. A socialist revolution that expropriates the wealth from the capitalist class and creates a planned, collectivized economy and *jobs for all* is the real answer to crime which is endemic to a society divided between the haves and the have-nots.

As for the National Guard, let's not forget Kent State, 1970: four Vietnam antiwar student protesters were gunned down on a college campus by National Guardsmen (who were sent to the campus after being deployed against a national Teamsters strike). And we will not forget the 1968 murders at South Carolina State College in Orangeburg, when three black college students were slain by state troopers backed by the National Guard.

We say: Not one man or woman, not one penny for the imperialist army! The ones who need the boot are Clinton and the viciously racist ruling class he represents! That's a job for the working class, and if you're interested in joining the fight, enlist with your local Spartacus Youth Club today! ■

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State Department "Socialists" Call the Cops—
Down with Anti-Communist Exclusion!

What Is the ISO Afraid Of?

Question: What "socialist" organization physically assaults socialists, excludes communists from "public" forums and asks the capitalist police to patrol their meetings?

Answer: The International Socialist Organization! The ISO, an organization of pale pink thugs who hailed the collapse of the Soviet Union, is now bustling around American campuses posturing as the "socialist alternative" and excluding genuine communists from their meetings. Even as the New York Spartacus Youth Club was handing out a leaflet protesting the ISO's anti-communist exclusion policy at Columbia University, the ISO branch in Austin, Texas called on campus and city cops—armed enforcers for the capitalist state—to keep Spartacists out of a forum titled "Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx."

Question: What does an ISO member wear to an anti-communist exclusion carried out by Texas cops at his behest?

Answer: A "Fight Police Brutality" T-shirt!!!

Question: How can you keep your campus safe from con artists peddling a fake "socialist alternative"?

Answer: Read and use the leaflet reprinted below!

Columbia students who expected to find an introduction to socialism at the International Socialist Organization (ISO) forum on September 8 instead found themselves in a meeting that genuine socialists were barred from entering. ISO members stood at the door with their arms crossed and forcibly excluded three members of the Spartacus Youth Club who had been leafletting for a public forum in defense of the Cuban Revolution and discussing the political differences between our Trotskyist party and the reformist ISO. A young woman who witnessed what was going on said to one prominent goon, "OK, I get it, they want to come in and you're the bouncer!" Who needs "socialist bouncers"?

After years of making "anti-democratic Stalinism" their excuse for siding with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union, the ISOers lifted a page from Stalin's book of tricks to exclude the Trotskyists. Or perhaps it's the Clinton regime, whose beat the ISO shuffles to (check out the pathetic "Clinton Watch" in *Socialist Worker*), that's rubbed off on these fake socialists. Just as Tipper Gore made a career out of rating rock music and slapped warning labels on albums deemed too "explicit" for youth, now the ISO appoints itself the campus guardian against explicit communists like us. Ask yourself, did you leave home to be policed by a gang of *in loco parentis* "thought cops"?

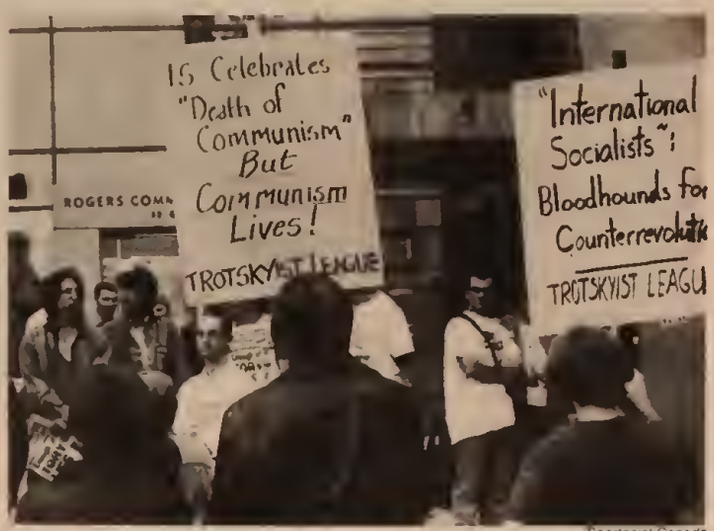
Exclusionism is soft-core violence. At the root of the ISO's gangsterism is the sharp contradiction between their real right-wing appetites and their professed socialist beliefs. They present themselves as the "socialist alternative" but in every conflict between U.S. imperialism and the former Soviet Union these "State Department socialists" sided with the CIA. They hailed the CIA-funded Islamic reactionaries in Afghanistan, they were cheerleaders for Polish Solidarność (a company "union" only Ronald Reagan could love and which today is eliminating abortion rights for women and forcing religious "education" on public school children), and they gleefully proclaimed the collapse of the Soviet Union to be "the Russian Revolution of 1991." Capitalist counterrevolution in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union has meant untold misery for the working masses of those countries—poverty, homelessness and starvation amid an onslaught of nationalist fratricide. Now that the unifying thread of anti-Sovietism no longer mutes their rivalries, the imperialist powers are trying to tighten the screw of exploitation on workers and minorities "at home." This is the "New World *Dis*order" which the ISO welcomed by crowing over the "death of communism" and which we Trotskyists of the Spartacist League, *uniquely*, fought against.

Substituting the fist for socialist consciousness has become a real method for the ISO. The ISO is the American offshoot of the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP), whose leader, Tony Cliff, broke from the Trotskyist movement in 1950 when he lined up with U.S. and British imperialism in the Korean War. These people don't believe in socialist revolution. In Britain they engage in pressure politics on the strikebreaking, pro-imperialist Labour Party, and in the U.S. they are a tail on Clinton's Democratic Party. Today this lot is so pumped up with the lie of the "death of communism" that they are noticeably stepping up their brutal physical assaults against their competition on the left. Our comrades in Britain have endorsed an appeal issued by other victims of SWP thuggery for a united-front commission of inquiry. In Toronto, the ISO's Canadian goons picked up a small female comrade of ours and slammed her, spreadeagled, into a metal door divider to exclude us from a public meeting last August. The ISO's political cowardice and bully boy tactics must be brought to a swift halt through condemnation, exposure, and a stalwart defense of democratic rights within the left.

The history of the left and the workers movement was one of spirited and open political debate until Stalinism (what Trotsky called "the syphilis of the workers movement") usurped political power and perverted the internationalist goals of the Bolshevik Revolution. We Trotskyists think that it is through workers democracy, the clash of opinion and test of action among various forces claiming to be socialists, that political clarity can be achieved and a Leninist party will be forged to intervene in social struggle. Our work, history and views are available for public scrutiny in carefully indexed bound volumes of our press going back to our inception as a political tendency.

It is no accident that the ISO went into a frenzy over our leaflet defending the Cuban Revolution. While the ISO shrugs at the American bourgeoisie and says "Cuba has nothing to do with socialism," we Trotskyists fight for an international extension of the revolution against the American rulers, including here, in "the belly of the beast." The Spartacist League was forged in a fight for defense of the Cuban Revolution against U.S. imperialism, while simultaneously fighting for a workers political revolution against the Castro bureaucracy. Today Clinton is outdoing Bush with an anti-Cuba blockade that is aimed at literally *starving* the Cuban people into submission. With the demise of the Soviet Union, the U.S. imperialists hope to finally restore Cuba to the days when it was a playland for Mafia gangsters and rum-runners like the Kennedy clan. By every measure—food, fuel, medicine, electricity—conditions are desperate. Now Castro is trying to buy time by selling off the very gains of the Cuban Revolution—the collectivized, planned economy is undermined through "joint ventures" and the introduction of the American dollar threatens capitalist counterrevolution from *within*, with the corresponding growth of social inequalities that have been unknown since capitalism was overthrown in this island nation. Cuba cannot stand alone!

Unable to see the *class line*, the ISO often substitutes the rhetoric of "progressive" vs. "reactionary" peoples and big powers vs. small. Thus the ISO claims it would defend the Caribbean sardine from the Yankee shark, but with "defense" from the ISO, the Cubans—and anti-imperialist North American youth—don't need enemies! Last Saturday, when the Spartacus Youth Club raised chants in defense of Cuba at a Boston protest called against the U.S. bombing of Mogadishu, the ISO abruptly ended the demonstration! We also saw what "defense" means to these fake leftists during the Persian Gulf War. Before the shooting started, the ISO claimed their position was "victory to Iraq," but when the war commenced, they buried their line under a blanket of yellow ribbons in the patriotic "Campaign for Peace" march, which called for United Nations sanctions to starve the Iraqi people, women and children first. In contrast, the Spartacus Youth Clubs built contingents for antiwar mobilizations around the clear political demand "Defeat U.S. Imperialism! Defend Iraq!" and we exposed the United Nations as nothing but a fig leaf for the reactionary global appetites of American imperialism.



Spartacist Canada

Toronto, August 1992: Picket line protest against International Socialists' thuggery.

On the domestic front, where the crucial question for revolutionaries is the struggle for black liberation, the ISO is a blank space in history. We Spartacists have initiated and organized mass labor/black mobilizations that have stopped the race-hate terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis from Philly to Atlanta to Chicago and San Francisco. The ISO stayed home. Even something as elementary as the right of black people to eat in the same restaurants as whites is a bridge too far for the ISO to cross. This summer the Spartacist League initiated protests coast to coast against Jim Crow racism at the Denny's restaurant chain—and the ISO was again a no-show. Where they do raise their heads, they're on the wrong side. At an anti-fascist mobilization in Vancouver in January, the ISO's comrades actually linked arms to bolster the line of cops to keep protesters from going after the skinhead thugs!

What kind of "socialist alternative" could be offered by an organization which championed capitalist counterrevolution abroad and won't fight racist reaction at home? For years, the ISO has

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October 1990

...and political opposition to Saddam, to the dictatorship, to the repression of trade unions and the oppression of the Kurds.

If we support Iraq should we then campaign and agitate under the slogan "Victory to Iraq?"

This would be a serious tactical error.

In the first place it would sow all sorts of confusion in our audience, who would not, from the slogan, be able to make a distinction

WV Photo

ISO cynically claimed to defend Iraq in Gulf War, but to say so out loud would be a "tactical error," standing in the way of "unity" with the yellow ribbon (American-chauvinist) "peace movement."

Tlatelolco, October 2

The 1968 Massacre of Mexican Students

Ediciones Era photos

Students from Mexico City's Polytechnic Institute under the guns of regime's troops. Hundreds of leftist youth were gunned down in Tlatelolco massacre.

MEXICO CITY—Twenty-five years after one of the most savage mass murders in modern Latin American history, the spectre of the Tlatelolco massacre continues to haunt Mexican society. On 2 October 1968, the Plaza of Three Cultures in Mexico City's Tlatelolco housing project ran red with the blood of hundreds of student demonstrators who were shot down by police and army troops for the "crime" of demanding elementary democratic rights. Today, young people who weren't even born in 1968 demonstrate and chant "October 2nd will never be forgotten!"

A popular film, *Rojo Amanecer* (Red Dawn), depicts the events that rocked this country on that autumn afternoon. Two red flares from an army helicopter gave the signal for elite troops to open fire in cold blood on the dispersing students. Soldiers, who had hidden among the plaza's eerie Aztec ruins, emerged to hunt student "subversives" door to door through the housing project, dragging them off to be tortured and "disappeared" (the "lucky" ones were jailed for years). Even young children found among the demonstrators were shot dead. The media poured forth a torrent of lies about the government's "patriotic defense of the nation" against "agitators" and "terrorists." Ordinary citizens of the capital city were shocked into the beginnings of political awareness by the frenzy of bloodletting unleashed by a government that cynically claimed to represent the "continuity" of the 1910-17 Mexican Revolution.

Nobody knows how many people were murdered on that day 25 years ago, though they certainly number in the hundreds. Rumor has it that many of the bodies were taken away and burned, including those of the wounded who were finished off with a pistol shot to the head. The ruling class of Mexico wants no probing questions on what happened in Tlatelolco. At most October 2 is supposed to be a long-ago "historical event," as buried in sanitized myth as the figures of 1910 peasant revolutionary leaders Emiliano Zapata and Francisco Villa, assassinated by the Mexican bourgeoisie and then turned into icons for hypocritical commemorations on official holidays. The government's concern to keep "control" over the past was underlined this year when textbooks for 4th, 5th and 6th grade students were canceled in part because the Secretariat of Education wants to keep a veil of silence over the 1968 massacre. A government spokesman said that the rejected texts had "a pessimistic tone in evaluating our historical process."

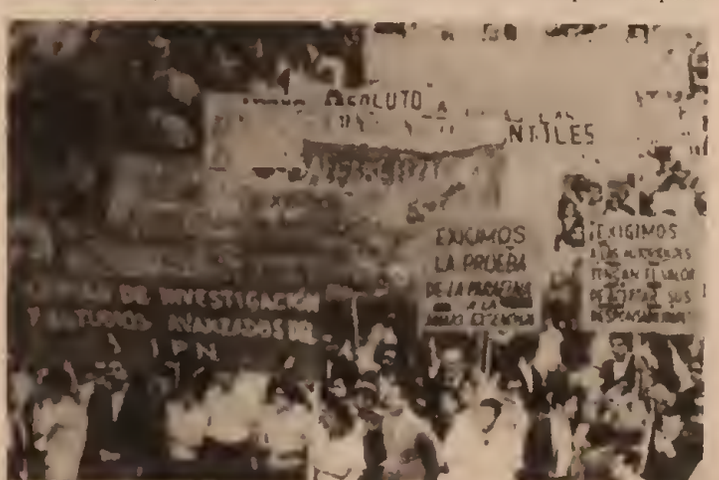
With the October 2 anniversary drawing near, the pro-government magazine *¡Siempre!* (8 September) ominously hissed that those who "seek to appoint themselves judges of the past" are trying to "destabilize the nation." This warning was aimed at surviving leaders of the 1968 student movement who have joined with liberal intellectuals in a "Commission of Truth" to raise the elementary demand that government and army archives on the massacre be opened, as well as reformist calls that the perpetrators be tried in the courts. These calls are particularly utopian given that the courts belong to the same capitalist government of the PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) that ordered the massacre, and that has stayed in power since the 1920s through a combination of repression, nationalist demagogy and government control of most worker and peasant organizations. This government is increasingly starving Mexico's working people in order to pay debt service to Wall Street banks, as Mexican capitalists stake everything on the "Free Trade Agreement," through which U.S. imperialism plans to take over even more of the Mexican economy, to build a "Fortress North America" in the face of increased competition from Japan and Germany.

The Shock Waves of 1968

In 1968 Mexico City, the host of the summer Olympic Games, was to be a showcase of capitalist "order" under the despotic regime of President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz. The Mexican bourgeoisie and its U.S. overlords were afraid that as heroic Vietnamese fighters were defeating the imperialists in Indochina, Uncle Sam's own "backyard" would be "destabilized." 1968 was the year when ten million workers took over the factories in France, in strikes touched off by student demonstrators protesting police repression and sympathetic to the Vietnamese. The shock waves were soon to extend to Rome, Tokyo and Berkeley, and all the way down to the Argentine city of Córdoba, where workers rose up against the military dictatorship.

In those days in Mexico, having long hair or getting caught kissing in the park was enough to get you beaten and arrested for "violating morality." The mass student movement was ignited in protest against the savage attack on students by blood-crazed riot police who had intervened in a fight between two groups of high school students. Soon after, July 26 marches in solidarity with the Cuban Revolution and against police brutality were attacked, leading to broader protests, which brought further repression. Soldiers used a bazooka to blast their way into a vocational school where student protesters had taken refuge; troops occupied the huge National University campus and the Polytechnic Institute in Mexico City.

The National Strike Council, uniting representatives from 150 schools, was formed to coordinate protests demanding the freeing of arrested students (and later expanded to include all political prisoners, such as railway workers leaders jailed ten years earlier for leading a militant strike); compensation for injured students and the families of those killed; abolition of the special riot police force; firing of the Mexico City police chiefs; and abolition of the infamous Article 145 of the penal code prohibiting "social dissolution" (subversion). (Veteran Mexican Trotskyist Octavio Fernández has told us Article 145 was drafted in 1941 largely to suppress "Trotskyist agitation" among the working class during World War II.) The student strike council demanded a "public dialogue" with the government on these issues. The high point of the movement occurred in mid-August, with marches of 150,000 and then 300,000 to the Zócalo, the central city square in front of the presidential palace.



Ediciones Era

Student and worker unrest exploded in Mexico in 1968.

Yet even the biggest student marches could not force the government to back down. The working class—and Mexico has one of the largest in Latin America—is the social force with the power to bring capitalist society to a grinding halt. Wide sectors of the working people sympathized with the students, whose marches were joined by groups of parents and housewives, a few peasant organizations and small "independent" unions. Some student activists made attempts to reach out to the factories. But the key sectors of the working class, chafing under the reign of PRI-appointed union heads who smashed all dissent with armed goon squads, could be mobilized only through a struggle which went beyond the limited democratic demands, student-centered strategy and reformist-nationalist illusions of the protest movement.

As we noted on the tenth anniversary of the massacre: "What was desperately lacking in the Mexico 1968 student struggles was a leadership with a broad revolutionary program that could mobilize the workers in a struggle for power and appeal to the impoverished peasant masses for support" ("Mexico City 1968: Student Protesters Massacred," *Young Spartacus* No. 67, October 1978). The *anti*-revolutionary role which

continued on page 8

Spartacus Youth Clubs Protest

U.S. Massacre in Mogadishu

Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth Club member speaks at Columbia University protest against U.S. war crime in Somalia.

On September 9, U.S. Cobra helicopters fired their 20mm guns into a crowd of women and children in Somalia's capital. Eyewitness reports from the scene of this U.S. war crime describe a highway of death—the raw seepages of up to 200 human bodies, mainly civilian women and children, lay splashed across a Mogadishu street. U.S. Army Major David Stockwell made a chilling statement to a world horrified by this slaughter: "There are no sidelines or spectator seats. The people on the ground are considered combatants." In other words, every African baby is a "legitimate" target for the kill-crazy "peacekeepers."

Chanting "From Waco to Mogadishu, Clinton is a racist murderer!" Spartacus Youth Club (SYC) members swung into action to protest the carnage wrought by U.S. imperialism. As we have consistently *and uniquely* pointed out since the imperialist troops landed in Somalia in December, "famine relief" American-style means "let 'em eat bullets." Other left groups, from Workers World to the International Socialist Organization, criminally masked the nature of the imperialist intervention in Africa by pleading for the U.S. (in UN drag) to deliver "food, not guns."

At a September 14 rally initiated by the SYC at Howard University in Washington, D.C., Howard sophomore William Gruen succinctly stated our position: "The Howard SYC calls for the U.S. to get out of Africa. Period!!!" Spartacus Youth Club spokesman Jeff London, whose speech is reprinted below, explained the role of imperialism in Somalia and pointed to the need for a revolutionary *internationalist* struggle in defense of black rights at home and abroad.

* * *

This mass murder is just the latest in the recent escalation of use of force by the barbaric, bloodthirsty and racist rulers in this country. The wanton slaughter of countless unarmed Somali men, women and children by U.S. imperialism proves beyond any doubt that the purpose of the military presence is not to feed starving black Africans, even under the code name "Operation Restore Hope." It looks more like "Operation Restore Bloody Colonial Occupation!" Just yesterday, there were reports of tanks firing into an occupied hospital, killing at least 25. So one is left asking, "What does the mowing down of defenseless civilians have to do with 'humanitarian relief,' or 'ensuring the flowering of democracy,' etc., etc." *Nothing!!*

It was the Spartacist League that denounced this fraud from the outset, saying an aim of the occupation is to set up a permanent military installation, strategically situated astride the sea lanes of the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden, providing a forward base for intervention in the Near East. *U.S. out of Africa! U.S. global cops out of Somalia!* We also pointed out that the imperialists are trying to play this role on top of a debt-ridden financial structure and a population whose living standards have been driven down for the past two decades.

This chronically racist government is trying to assert its global leadership through a massive military apparatus resting on a decaying economic base. No longer able to compete effectively with its main capitalist rivals, Japan and Germany, and after their insane anti-Soviet war drive, which led the ideologically bankrupt Stalinists to strangle the remaining gains of the Russian Revolution, American imperialism is now driven to use the Pentagon war machine to carve out its own exclusive trade zones and spheres of exploitation. To see that this job is done properly, the ruling class has secured for the job of Commander in Chief the racist executioner and Arkansas redneck, Democrat Bill Clinton. And he served notice last April in Waco, Texas, that if you get out of line and in the way of his aims, you'll pay.

Over the past decade, the only thing U.S. imperialism had to offer in reasserting its "superpower" status was military adventures on the cheap against poor Third World countries—the pillage of Grenada, the terror bombing of Qaddafi's Libya, the "turkey shoot" in Operation Desert Slaughter in Iraq, and now the murderous occupation of famine-stricken Somalia. But these cops of the world cannot reverse their decline by taking over small and impoverished Central American or African countries. The Pentagon's military power can change the real balance of economic forces in the world only if it is successfully directed against Japan in Asia and against Germany in Europe. In other words, another world war, only this time it will begin where the last one finished—with nuclear weapons.

These rapacious monsters must act as cops of the world today because the bloodsucking Wall Street banks and the profit-gouging Fortune 500 corporations exploit the working people of the entire world, from South Korea to South Africa, and from Central America to Central Europe. Only when our capitalist masters are smashed by the multiracial working class, allied with the black, Hispanic and Asian poor, can the drive toward a new world war be halted and the enormous productive capacity of this country be made to serve the genuine interests of *all* humanity. *Imperialist troops out now!* ■

Spartacist Events

Spartacist League Forums

New World *Disorder* and the Collapse of Stalinism

Cuba in Peril

Bureaucratic Castro Regime at a Dead End—
Defend Cuba Against Imperialism and Counterrevolution!

Eyewitness accounts—Speakers recently returned from Cuba

Speaker: Marjorie Stamberg, SL Central Committee

Tuesday, Sept. 28, 7:30 p.m.
Emerson Hall, Room 305
Harvard University, Cambridge
For more information: (617) 492-3928

Speaker: Tom Coburn, Spartacist League

Thursday, Sept. 30, 7:30 p.m.
School of Management, Room 426A
Boston University
For more information: (617) 492-3928

BOSTON

Fall of USSR Unleashes Poverty, Nationalist Bloodbaths
Anti-Immigrant Frenzy Sweeps Europe, U.S.

New World Disorder

Speaker: Ed Clarkson, SL Central Committee

Saturday, October 2, 7:30 p.m. Regency Room, Blackstone Hotel
636 S. Michigan Ave. (at Michigan and Balbo)
For more information: (312) 663-0715

CHICAGO

Spartacist League Forums

From California to Berlin

For Workers Struggle Against Anti-Immigrant Racism

Speaker: Joseph Seymour, SL Central Committee

Friday, September 24, 7:30 p.m.
145 Dwinelle
University of California, Berkeley
For more information:
(510) 839-0851 or (415) 777-9367

BERKELEY

Friday, October 8, 7:30 p.m.
Yablon Cultural Center
7213 Beverly Blvd.
(west of La Brea)
For more information: (213) 380-8239

LOS ANGELES

Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste Forums

Somalia, Iraq, Balkans

Imperialist Butchers: Hands Off the World!

Speaker: Oliver Stephens, TL Central Committee

Friday, October 1, 7:30 p.m.
Room L3, Britannia Community Centre
1661 Napier St. (off Commercial)
For more information: (604) 687-0353

VANCOUVER

Speaker: Andrew Shilling, Trotskyist League

Saturday, October 2, 7:30 p.m.
St. Paul's Centre
427 Bloor St. West (west of Spadina)
For more information: (416) 593-4138

TORONTO

As Crowd Stands By

Skinhead Racists Beat Black Woman to Death

Orange County, California

Tina Rodriguez with her family.

LOS ANGELES—It was broad daylight in the parking lot outside the mall in the Orange County community of La Habra when Tina Roxanne Rodriguez, a black mother of four, was savagely beaten to death by two white racists September 2. Mrs. Rodriguez was a passenger in a car which had been cut off by a speeding stolen vehicle. When she got out of the car to protest, she was set upon by two young white women, one an avowed fascist skinhead. Screaming racist slurs, they delivered a barrage of frenzied blows, pummeling Tina Rodriguez to the ground and repeatedly smashing her skull against the curb. This gruesome murder was witnessed by a largely white crowd of 30 people who looked on—*never lifting a finger* to stop this heinous attack! Tina was left to die in a pool of blood as her three-year-old daughter watched in horror.

Tina Rodriguez's tragic death comes barely a month after the highly publicized "discovery" by federal agents of a fascist skinhead plot to bomb the oldest black church in L.A. But the news of this brutal racist murder has been consciously buried by the bourgeois media in Los Angeles and Orange County in a conspiracy of silence which holds black life in contempt and gives the green light to future fascist attacks.

Both of the racist killers have been arrested, one as she confidently swaggered into the La Habra police station the next day on other business, but to date they have only been charged with involuntary manslaughter and "committing a felony against another because of race or color" ("La Habra Star" supplement, *Orange County Register*, 9 September). This was wanton racist murder!

La Habra, a racist enclave on the north end of Orange County, has an even smaller number of blacks than the county as a whole—less than one percent. Rusty Kennedy of the Orange County Human Relations Committee told *WV* that this was the same general area where a Chinese American youth was beaten by a gang of skinheads last year. More recently a contingent of Latino high school students from La Habra were among a group of 300 youth who were sprayed with pepper gas and clubbed by Fullerton police during a demonstration/walkout over the lack of Latino teachers at their schools and the absence of any classes on Chicano subjects.

Workers Vanguard reporters went to La Habra and spoke to Mila Ramirez, the manager of a hair salon in the mall, who ran out to help after the driver of Tina's car had rushed into the shop begging for assistance. But she was too late. One witness commented, "I am so shocked, I can't believe it. It's like something that would happen in downtown L.A." (*Whittier Daily News*, 4 September). But when Reginald Denny was brutally beaten in South-Central Los Angeles following last year's acquittals of the racist cops who beat Rodney King, Denny was rescued by black neighborhood residents who *came out of their homes to save him* after seeing live coverage on TV of the hideous assault!

With four children, ages 3 to 10, Tina Rodriguez had been forced on welfare and faced eviction after recently separating from her husband. This integrated couple had met in Tina's native Kentucky, where Jorge Rodriguez had been stationed in the military. Tina had recently talked of returning to Kentucky. Those hopes were dashed on September 2.

The tide of racist terror in this country permeates the Los Angeles area as the LAPD bigots-in-blue continue their rampage against the beleaguered black and Latino masses. The killers take their cue from the kid-glove treatment for the cops who beat Rodney King, and an L.A. mayor and city council trying to one-up each other on how fast they can get thousands more cops on the streets. Now the "Police Protective League" plans a provocative demonstration in front of the L.A. city council meeting this week, demanding higher wages for terrorizing the city.

It is urgently necessary that the power of Los Angeles labor—unions such as longshore, aerospace, city workers—be mobilized in defense of the besieged minority populations in Southern California. In the midst of the racist anti-immigrant hysteria campaign whipped up by capitalist politicians trying to divert anger over the economic depression ravaging the state, the integrated labor movement has the power to crush the skinhead/Klan vermin in the egg. Last year's strike by heavily Latino drywall construction workers seeking to organize a union repeatedly took on the racist powers that rule the reactionary bastion of Orange County.

In building a revolutionary party that champions the cause of all the oppressed, the racist murder of Tina Rodriguez must be seared into the memory of the working class. Vengeance for the victims of cop and fascist terror will come when the power of the capitalist class and their racist attack dogs is smashed by a socialist revolution that will thoroughly clean out the rats' nests of reaction. ■

The ISO...

(continued from page 5)

peddled the obscure theory of "state capitalism" to describe the former Soviet Union and other Stalinist-ruled countries. But if these countries were capitalist, Germany's bourgeoisie, for example, wouldn't need to reintroduce private capitalist ownership in the former DDR. "State capitalism" is not really a "theory" but an *appetite*. The purpose of all efforts to define the USSR as a new form of capitalism was nothing other than to create a justification for support to one's "own" "democratic" bourgeoisie. You don't even have to be a Marxist to understand that the rise of mass unemployment, skyrocketing food prices, the destruction of childcare and the rise of racist anti-Semitic violence in the former Soviet Union is a step backward to the days before the Russian Revolution of 1917. You *do* have to be a communist to understand and defend the gains that were made and to know what to fight for now.

If you're looking for the real communists, check out the Spartacus Youth Club. If you want to do something about the racism and oppression endemic to this system, if you want to eliminate the threat of imperialist war and nuclear annihilation, join us!

New York Spartacus Youth Club
15 September 1993

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Mexico 1968...

(continued from page 6)

fake-socialist groups can play was shown by the Mexican left organizations at the time. The People's Socialist Party (PSP), which supported the government outright, appealed to Mexican nationalism and ludicrously blamed the protests on "CIA agents." The reformist Communist Party (PCM) sought to channel activists into legalistic reform schemes and an alliance with a nonexistent "progressive bourgeoisie." And the small New Left, Maoist and pseudo-Trotskyist groups bolstered illusions in everything from "student power" to guerrilla warfare, leading radicals away from the working class. Tragically, when the government's escalating repression culminated in the massacre of October 2, there was not even a small nucleus of a revolutionary Marxist party to draw the lessons from this experience and point the way forward.

As the 25th anniversary of the massacre draws near, Mexico resembles a pressure cooker. The glaring inequality, corruption and repression that were the backdrop to the 1968 movement have not gone away. Far from it—workers' wages have been cut by well over 60 percent in the last ten years, starving peasants are having their lands taken away for sale to U.S. agribusiness under the "free trade" treaty, while the rich flaunt their wealth all the more obscenely as their ideologues bray that communism and the struggle against exploitation have been "buried" forever.

But the lid is not kept on by repression alone. Because the PRI is widely despised, a new nationalist party has been formed to refurbish the capitalist system: the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), headed by Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, son of General Lázaro Cárdenas, the bourgeois-nationalist president of Mexico who in the late 1930s nationalized oil and railroads and built the party which became the PRI, with its control of the unions. The PRD, this "new improved" version of the PRI, obscenely unites the victims with the executioners of 1968: the remnants of myriad left groups (including the ex-PCM), former and current student leaders, "independent" union leaders and activists from populist community groups are now in the same party headed by a gaggle of former longtime government politicians—including Porfirio Muñoz Ledo, the former president of the PRI who was a close adviser to Díaz Ordaz! The pseudo-Trotskyist (and steadily disintegrating) PRT, a section of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat, has shed its fig leaf of "independence" and announced it is supporting the bourgeois candidate Cárdenas for president.

Against this grotesque version of the "popular front" of class collaboration, the Grupo Espartaquista de México, as part of the International Communist League, fights to build the nucleus of an authentic Trotskyist, internationalist workers party, in close collaboration with the Spartacist League/U.S. and our comrades around the world. The "free trade" rip-off, as well as the growing importance of immigrant labor in the U.S., underline how the working class needs to unite its struggles across the border, on both sides of the Rio Grande, and across the Pacific Ocean to Japan and beyond, in revolutionary struggle for a socialist society. That struggle is the most fitting monument to the martyrs of Tlatelolco and all victims of capitalist repression. ■

"Health" Plan...

(continued from page 1)

General Motors, who currently pay out 19 percent. Company plans will be restricted to a "basic package" of health insurance capped at $1,800 a year for individuals and $4,200 for families. Workers who want to maintain their existing better coverage will either have to pay the difference from their own pockets or be taxed on any additional benefits secured from employers.

• **Despite Clinton's "pro-choice" posture during his election campaign, the word abortion does not appear once in the 246 pages of the administration's draft proposal.** This would effectively gut the right to abortion for the many women whose insurance plans currently cover the operation. Mammograms will be allowed only for women over 50, and Pap smears only for those with "considerable risk" of cervical cancer, although both procedures are advised for all women over age 35. Eyeglasses and hearing aids will be deemed "nonessential" and therefore not covered; ditto for routine physicals.

• **Undocumented immigrants are to be excluded entirely, while emergency rooms—which are currently their only source of medical treatment—will have their federal aid cut back.** In fact, if they show up at the hospitals, they'll probably be arrested and deported.

• **Medicaid and Medicare expenditures are to be slashed by over $200 billion in the next five years, leading to a cut in services for the poor and elderly.** A National Health Board would be set up to enforce overall spending limits by, for example, denying hip replacement and cardiac bypass operations to "elderly patients in declining health" (*Time*, 20 September). This will also lead to more hospitals shutting down wards or closing entirely, forcing layoffs of thousands of underpaid hospital workers.

In short, Clinton's "health" plan is a blueprint for death! And to help finance this killer program, the government intends to levy an additional $100 billion or so in "sin taxes"—which disproportionately screw poor and working people—slapping another dollar in taxes on the price of a pack of cigarettes, for example. Meanwhile, small businesses which may now have to provide health insurance to employees threaten to retaliate with wage cuts, layoffs and speedup.

This country needs decent, universal medical care without charge, but that means ripping the health "industry" out of the hands of the American Medical Association, the American Hospital Association and the profit-gouging insurance giants. And all the liberals' talk of "single payer" national health insurance and other "welfare state" schemes is just a smokescreen to cover for the Democrats' "health care" swindle. What's needed is nothing less than a socialist revolution that sweeps away this entire capitalist system. For free abortion and contraception on demand—For massive funding for AIDS research and care—For free, quality health care for all!

Goulding/Orange County Register

WV Photo

Health benefits are a key issue in recent labor struggles. Southern California drywall construction strikers, June 1992 (above). Striking Eastern Airlines, NY Telephone and 1199 hospital workers in NYC, August 1989 (below).

"Managed Competition": Insurance Company Spin-Off

The current health crisis has its immediate historical roots in the economic crisis of U.S. capitalism. The bankrupt American empire has tried to make up for its economic decline vis-à-vis its Japanese and German imperialist competitors through displays of might, like the bloody slaughter in the Persian Gulf and the neocolonial invasion of Somalia. Domestically, the American ruling class has sought to restore profitability by squeezing working people and minorities harder through rampant union-busting and budget-cutting. With medical costs chewing up over $900 billion a year—more than the entire economy of Italy—the bourgeoisie sees health care as a prime target for rationalization as it seeks to compete in the "New World Order" era of heightened interimperialist rivalries.

By 1991, the health care crunch had gotten so severe that *Fortune* magazine (1 July 1991) devoted a special report to the "American disease" of "unchecked health care spending." In an outpouring of "blame the victim" vitriol, this mouthpiece for Wall Street's financial empires traced "the root of the unrivalled cost increases" to "reckless pregnancies" by "underclass mothers continuing their addiction to crack cocaine," to "the alcohol and drug abuse of workers," to cigarette smokers (who are preponderantly poor and working-class) and, of course, AIDS. *Fortune*'s "remedy" was to introduce "more marketplace logic into the system."

During the '92 election campaign, Clinton's emphasis on health care "reform" won widespread backing in ruling-class circles. It is no accident of history that such a wholesale assault on the working people is undertaken by a Democratic Party administration in the name of "progress." As part of the division of labor between the two property parties of American capitalism, the Democrats posture as the friend of the little guy as opposed to the "big business" Republicans. So Clinton window-dresses his health plan with "concern" for the plight of the uninsured, while Hillary listens earnestly to ordinary people brought in to tell their heartbreaking stories—and it's all just photo ops for the press.

Far from being a throwback to New Deal liberalism or a halfway house to socialized medicine, Clinton's health plan is the product of a conservative think tank dominated by the insurance monopolies. In its essentials, the scheme was first promoted by Bush and is currently endorsed by most Congressional Republicans, though there is grousing over the "smoke and mirrors" financing of the scheme. "Managed competition" is the brainchild of the Jackson Hole Group of insurance company executives, pharmaceutical CEOs, AMA top guns and hospital administrators, who concocted the scheme in a luxury ski resort in Wyoming. One of its foremost advocates is the *New York Times*, which has run no less than 35 editorials in the past two years pushing the plan, and whose board of directors is infested with insurance and drug company executives. The chief architect is Alain C. Enthoven, a longtime consultant for Kaiser Permanente, the largest "health maintenance organization" (HMO).

Enthoven brings a wealth of experience to dealing in the arithmetic of death. Coming from the Rand Corporation, he was the top Defense Department "whiz kid" in the Kennedy/Johnson Democratic administration which launched the U.S. war on Vietnam. Systems analyst Enthoven authored a study which promoted a "cost effective" nuclear arsenal for "destroying the Soviet urban society, if necessary, in a controlled and deliberate way" (cited in Fred Kaplan, *The Wizards of Armageddon* [1983]). He applied the same skills to "rationalizing" U.S. imperialism's losing counterrevolutionary war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants, with a grisly "body count" argument that additional U.S. ground forces would not be effective in killing "all the enemy." So enamored was Enthoven with "kill ratios" that he stayed on to serve Richard Nixon as Undersecretary of "Defense."

Now Enthoven has brought his "more bang for the buck" approach to maximizing American capitalism's profit margins by plugging up the sinkhole of health costs. Warning that any attempt to guarantee equal health coverage to the entire population would "come at a high price in terms of efficiency," he bristles: "I do not believe that justice demands that everybody must have exactly the same system and style of care" (*Theory and Practice of Managed Competition in Health Care Finance* [1991]). "Justice"?! The bottom line in

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"Health" Plan...

(continued from page 9)

"managed competition" is to increase profitability by squeezing health care cuts out of the working class.

This scheme is designed to place the health industry even more firmly in the death grip of the insurance vultures, particularly the five largest—Aetna, Prudential, Cigna, Metropolitan Life and Travelers—while plowing under hundreds of smaller companies. These Wall Street giants are already highly proficient at reaping profits, including through grotesque bigotry—like excluding HIV-infected people by such practices as denying insurance to people living in Zip codes "known" to be gay neighborhoods! The Big Five—who are not covered by federal antitrust laws—recently banded together to form a lobbying cartel to boost Clinton's plan.

Another big winner in "managed competition" is the extortionate Blue Cross/Blue Shield network, which makes billions of dollars (1986 net revenue topped $43 billion) despite its supposed "nonprofit" tax-exempt status. New York's Empire Blue Cross is notorious for doctoring its books in order to secure regular and exorbitant rate increases. As documented in Esmond Coleman's *The American Health Care System—Betrayed by Greed* (Vantage Press [1993]), Blue Cross's boards of directors are dominated by banking, finance and hospital executives. Blue Cross made a financial killing when it was appointed "fiscal intermediary" for Medicaid and Medicare in the mid-1960s at the behest of the AMA and AHA, assuring that padded hospital bills would be "paid with a minimum of trouble, examination, and delay" while raking off its cut.

Under the proposed system, patients would be herded into giant HMO bureaucracies like California's Kaiser Permanente, notorious for its shoddy care and contempt for the poor (it refuses to accept patients from the state's MediCal program), where doctors are pressured by economic incentives and bureaucratic intransigence to withhold treatment. Investors have a sharp eye on these medical cattle cars as a current and future source of high profits. And Hillary Clinton is in on the ground floor, with a "blind trust" invested in health-related industries (*Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, 20 May). Symptomatic of the medicine-for-profit scam, one of the highest-paid CEOs in the country is Thomas Frist, head of Hospital Corporation of America, who pulled in a cool *$127 million* last year.

Medicine for Profit in Capitalist America

The grotesque inequities in medical care are a symbol of the injustice, inequality and indignity of this society. While hospitals for the rich just "dump" poor patients because the paltry Medicaid fees don't pay enough, space age equipment like the $2 million MRI and the $5 million PET glisten in lavish private hospital suites. Meanwhile diseases like tuberculosis have been allowed to flourish once again by a system so demented that it will not spend the relatively small sums necessary to stop this dreaded killer. As Esmond Coleman summed it up in his book, "As it stands now, unless you are a very healthy millionaire, it is not safe to be alive in the United States."

The big business, medicine-for-profit forces in the Jackson Hole Group are the updated face of the health establishment which forged U.S. health care into the greed-ridden disaster it is now. In the early years of this century, most of capitalist Europe instituted some form of national health insurance as a means of defusing class struggle. Social welfare schemes were given an added impetus after World War II and the onset of the Cold War, as part of the ideological battle with the Soviet degenerated workers state and the deformed workers states of East Europe, where access to free, universal medical care was a right. This led to the establishment of the British National Health Service (NHS). But the American ruling class has never been forced to concede such broad welfare plans, partly because the proletariat has historically been fractured along race, ethnic and regional lines, and politically bound directly to the bourgeois parties.

A major factor in this equation of treachery is the role of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. For years now health care benefits have been a major issue in strike after strike, as the bosses try to claw back union benefit plans. Yet while acquiescing to every wage cut, slashed benefit and "two-tier" wage system, the AFL-CIO executive board can't even pass a paper resolution to support women's right to abortion, let alone fight for equal rights for blacks, women and gays. Now, having helped put this governor of an open shop state into the White House, they are squandering $4 million of unionists' dues money to join the insurance tycoons in trying to sell Clinton's killer plan.

Meanwhile, the self-avowed "progressives" in the trade-union bureaucracy, like CWA vice president and "Democratic Socialist" Jan Pierce, push as an alternative to Clinton's scheme the so-called "single payer" plan. Modeled on Canada's national health insurance—where a government trust fund pays for all medical bills—this proposal also has the fulsome support of rad-libs, like the *Village Voice*, and all sorts of fake-leftists from the social-democratic *Labor Notes* to the Communist Party, Workers World and the *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*. In fact, the single-payer crowd is nothing but a pressure lobby on the Clinton White House. As Pierce frankly conceded: "We're probably not going to get it, but if we don't start bargaining from that position...we're going to go to a position that is probably even less than even Clinton wants to do" (*Village Voice*, 21 September).

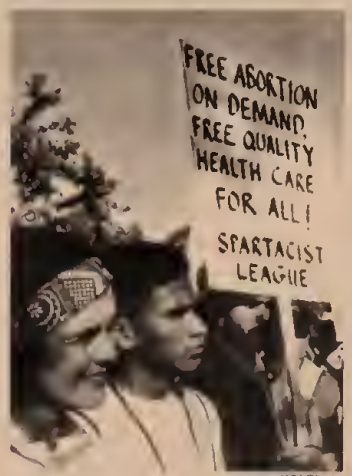
Even taken at face value, the single-payer scheme is a bankrupt "lesser evil" accepting the dictates of the capitalist profit system and maintaining private medicine. While the Canadian system provides better general health care to the population as a whole, many people must wait for elective surgery or can't get access to expensive procedures requiring high-tech medical equipment because there isn't enough money in the tight budget. In the hands of the Clinton crowd, a "single payer" system would certainly be aimed at slashing existing union benefit plans in order to cut corporations' costs. More importantly, with an international recession and the end of Cold War, the Canadian system, like its counterparts in West Europe, is under sharp attack hy the budget ax-wielders. In Britain the NHS has been virtually devastated over the past decade of Thatcherite austerity. Under capitalism, the social equation is always subject to recalculation; in the absence of social struggle, even the most minimal gains are swept away.

The fight for decent health care cannot be separated from the struggle for gay rights, for women's rights, for full citizenship rights for immigrants, for black equality. What happens first to AIDS patients will happen next to leukemia patients. While the capitalists have their eye on the bottom line, budgetary considerations are often not even the main factor in bourgeois opposition to socially beneficial measures like distribution of condoms in schools to help combat the spread of AIDS or making contraception available to young women who don't want to get pregnant. Such relatively inexpensive measures have met with widespread opposition in ruling-class circles because they run against their "blame the victim," racist and anti-sex ideology which serves to bolster fundamental institutions of capitalist rule like the family and organized religion.

The struggle for decent health care exposes the gaping holes in all the pathetic patchwork reform schemes advocated by liberal social workers, social democrats and the like. In a system based on exploitation and the immiseration of ever greater layers of the population, in which minority youth are confined to ghetto hellholes with no prospect of an education or a decent job, no health insurance plan can assure the health of poor and working people. As we wrote in "Wealth Care USA" (*Women and Revolution* No. 39, Summer 1991):

> "Health means much more than shots and pills and surgical knives: it is a decent place to live; plenty of good food to eat; knowledge of human biology; air clean of pollution; safe, decent working conditions; the principles of public health rigorously applied. Medicine can't save lives ruined by poveny and malnutrition."

The crisis of health care will end only with the triumph of a socialist revolution laying the basis for a society which will abolish exploitation and social oppression. When the workers are in charge of this planet, the only limits on human health will be scientific—and these will be constantly enlarged by thoughtful, energetic research. ■



WV Photo

Bay Area Spartacists in clinic defense call for free health care for all.

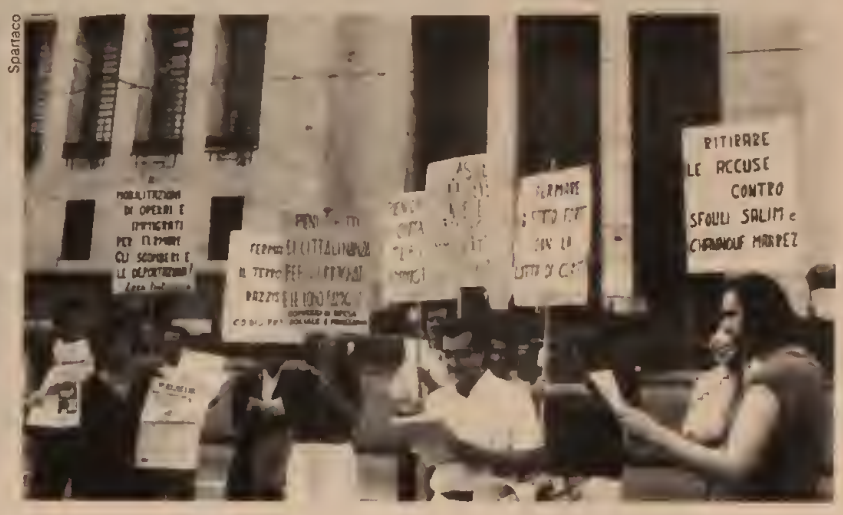
Italy's "Rodney King Case"

Spartacist Demonstrators Defend Immigrant Youths

In Milano, Italy, on the night of August 19, two North African youths, Sfouli Salim and Channouf Mahrez, were chased, seized and severely beaten by *eighteen* police officers in full view of a crowd of Italian citizens, who were themselves threatened by the police when they pleaded with the cops to let the youths go. Typical of bourgeois "justice," the persecution didn't stop with the cop attack but continued in the court system, where both youths were outrageously charged with "resisting arrest."

African immigrants are increasingly the targets of racist hatred and the scapegoats for attack as Italy plunges further into economic and political uncertainty. Our Italian comrades in the Comitato di Difesa Sociale e Proletaria and the Lega Trotskista d'Italia took the lead in combatting this wave of racist hatred and initiated a united-front defense demonstration to demand, "Drop All Charges Against Sfouli Salim and Channouf Mahrez" and "Stop the Racist Terror!" On August 25 the charges were dropped, and our comrades are proud to have been an active factor in exposing and defeating this racist frame-up.

Meanwhile, the erstwhile Stalinists of the PDS (Democratic Party of the Left) call *for* deportations and the ostensibly pro-communist split from the PDS, Rifondazione Comunista, calls for police action to deal with the "excessive concentration of immigrants in the urban centers"! As our comrades' leaflet stated, "The class-collaborationist politics of the sellout leaderships must be defeated through the construction of a revolutionary workers party, which includes immigrants in its ranks, and which will put an end to racist capitalism and build a workers government. Under such a government, workers tribunals will finally bring justice to the victims of racist terror!"



August 25: Italian Trotskyists demonstrate outside Milano courthouse. Protest demanded charges be dropped against North African victims of police beating and called for worker-immigrant mobilizations to stop racist attacks and deportations.

S.F. Demo...

(continued from page 12)

its colors, cannot begin to embrace its own class liberation without first militantly defending democratic rights of the foreign-born!"

Valerie West of the Partisan Defense Committee read a protest statement addressed to the Immigration and Naturalization Service and to Democratic president Bill Clinton, demanding the immediate release of hundreds of Chinese immigrants who have been imprisoned under brutal conditions in California (see box). The demonstration was given prominent coverage on a local Chinese-language TV broadcast, with chants ringing out in the background: "They made it here—Let them stay! Free the Chinese immigrants now!"

The Clinton White House has rallied every former presidential hasbeen—from Gerald Ford to Jimmy Carter to George Bush—to push for the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which would provide an untrammeled field for imperialist exploitation south of the border. In opposition to this "free trade" rape of Mexico, aimed at strengthening the power of U.S. imperialism against its European and Japanese rivals, demonstrators raised the call: "For Socialist Revolution from the Yukon to the Yucatán!"

Speaking for the Spartacist League, Jorge Ramírez said: "The union misleaders who have sacrificed our jobs and betrayed every strike on the altar of class collaboration want you to oppose NAFTA with the chauvinist rationale that it will 'steal our jobs.' In opposition to this social-patriotic filth, we call for a *proletarian internationalist* fight against the U.S. imperialists' NAFTA plan. We call for class struggle on both sides of the border. We call for uniting U.S. labor with the Mexican workers of the *maquiladora* belt, against their common class enemy!" Ramírez' remarks were punctuated by protesters' chants of "Asian, Latino, black and white—Workers of the world unite!" and "The working class has no nation! Defend the right of immigration!"

In contrast to this demonstration of working-class internationalism, another demonstration the same day nominally in defense of immigrant rights had as its central slogan the social-chauvinist appeal: "You Can Deport Immigrants—But You Can't Deport the Recession"! Called by the Latino Civil Rights Coalition, this rally was headed up by a variety of social service organizations which make their living from immigration. Not surprisingly, the main speakers were representatives of the SF Board of Supervisors.

Pandering to backward prejudices against "illegal aliens" to be found as well among minority communities, Hispanic SF supervisor Susan Leal told the crowd of several hundred gathered at City Hall, "None of us here is advocating illegal immigration. What we oppose is the scapegoating of our community." In short, those who have made it in the "land of opportunity," having found themselves a seat in City Hall, don't want their chances cramped by desperate "illegal aliens."

Bringing up the rear of this demonstration was something called the "Sin Fronteras/Break Down the Borders Contingent," whose sponsors included the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). Seeking to justify their opportunist tailing after the "you can deport immigrants" crowd, RWLers at the University of California, Berkeley vociferously denounced members of the Spartacus Youth Club as "sectarians" who were counterposing themselves to the "community movement." But as is so often the case with the RWL's "movements," they are indistinguishable from the bourgeois Democratic Party swamp, in this case rather grotesquely so. To this we are indeed unremittingly counterposed.

As Kathleen Harris of the SYC put it in her speech to the SL/LBL protest: "In opposition to leftists who peddle illusions in the Democrats, we know we must build a revolutionary workers party that fights all forms of oppression and will take this whole rotten capitalist system apart and build a rational, socialist society. For full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Only under socialism can we have a world without borders." In this spirit the demonstration ended with the singing of the *Internationale*. ■

PDC Condemns Jailing of Chinese Immigrants

The following letter was sent by the Partisan Defense Committee to denounce the continued imprisonment of Chinese immigrants, whose seizure last May was protested by a PDC-initiated demonstration outside the San Francisco INS office.

13 September 1993

District Director
Immigration and Naturalization Service
San Francisco, CA

We protest the incarceration and brutal treatment of hundreds of Chinese immigrants in the Kern County jail. These include those who arrived in San Francisco last May aboard the freighter *Pai Sheng*. We denounce this despicable treatment and demand their immediate release!

Reports have leaked out of desperate protest including a three day hunger strike by as many as 60 prisoners some of whom have been subjected to solitary confinement. There are also complaints that prisoners are unable to retain attorneys because INS agents confiscated papers containing relatives' phone numbers. This is an outrage!

These Chinese prisoners are victims of a viciously racist policy of incarceration for immigrants whose appeals are pending. Bill Clinton and his National Security Council recently ordered this policy, now being executed by the well-hated INS. Across the country immigrants are being made the scapegoats of a bankrupt economy by the two parties of capitalism, represented in California by Republican Governor Wilson and Democratic Senators Boxer/Feinstein, who have revived 19th-century-style "yellow peril" hysteria. This is pure racism, of a piece with the Coast Guard blockade of black Haiti. At the same time anti-Communist Cuban plane hijackers are welcomed to Miami.

Down with the Clinton/INS incarceration of the Chinese immigrants. Release them now! With great hardship, they got here—let them stay here!

The Partisan Defense Committee

cc: Bill Clinton, The White House
U.S. Department of Justice
Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington

Alabama Strikers...

(continued from page 12)

across the picket lines, while strikers have been baited and provoked by scabs and then arrested. Keith Cain was almost killed once before, on August 29, when a scab trucker carried him on the hood of his truck down Interstate 65. Cain was arrested but the scab wasn't charged.

As the company and cops work hand in hand, the USWA International and District bureaucrats are on their knees, begging the same "law enforcement authorities" who outlaw pickets to "see that justice is served." International USWA president Lynn Williams' only response to the brutal murder of Cain and Fleming was to announce that Steelworkers at other National-Standard plants would wear black armbands! The death of these union brothers was for Williams just an excuse to plead anew for the *anti-labor* "striker replacement bill" which would put *all* strikes under binding arbitration by the bosses' government.

National-Standard plants in Niles, Michigan; Corbin, Kentucky and Mishawaka, Indiana *must honor their fallen brothers by shutting down these union-busters, now!* A victory in Alabama could spur the organization of National-Standard's non-union plant in Stillwater, Oklahoma. But the USWA tops have sabotaged any solidarity, even forcing strikers at the Corbin plant back to work without a contract a week before the Columbiana strike.

Betrayal at Bessemer

The 14,000 members of the Steelworkers in Alabama are under siege. USX's Fairfield steelworks is a shell of the former plant, employing only 2,400 workers. Small USWA locals like Columbiana are threatened by scabherding. The murder of these union martyrs follows closely on the heels of the strike by black and white workers at Trinity Industries in nearby Bessemer. Local 9226 at Trinity was out for eight months in a battle against company union-busting at the old Pullman rail car plant.

Last October, strikers won a pitched battle with strikebreaking goons from the Special Response Corp. who have terrorized strikers from the West Virginia coal fields to the New York *Daily News*. But USWA tops ground the strike down, with the District bureaucrats imposing a return to work on June 4 and abandoning 57 of the best militants, who have been fired. Twenty-five workers face criminal charges, at the insistence of the black Democratic Party mayor of Bessemer. One fired worker told *WV*: "We had the strike won. We kicked their ass. The union sold us out."

Throughout, the counterfeit "socialists" in the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party backed every betrayal by the bureaucracy. The CP's *People's Weekly World* (31 July) shamelessly labeled the stab-in-the-back at Bessemer a "victory." The SWP, which *hailed* an earlier court injunction curtailing picketing (*Militant*, 30 October 1992), has continued its capitulation to the union tops, covering up their betrayal of the fired workers—even as SWP supporter Raul Gonzalez was fired and sentenced to a year's probation after pleading "no contest" to frame-up charges for "unlawful discharge of a weapon." *Labor must demand: drop the charges and rehire all the Bessemer strikers!*

Organize the South, Smash Racist Terror!

The strikes in Bessemer and Columbiana illuminate the need for a class-struggle leadership that is willing to take on the capitalist politicians, their courts and cops and agents in the labor bureaucracy. The defeats served up by capitalism's labor fakers feed the growth of the union-busting, racist nightriders of the KKK. Last year, fascists from Shelby County called the Confederate Hammer Skinheads brutally murdered a homeless black man in Birmingham.

The labor bureaucracy, loyal servants of their Democratic Party "friends," are not about to organize the black and white workers who work and die in the non-union plants across the South. To unionize deathtraps like Imperial Foods' Hamlet chicken plant means going right up against Clinton's billionaire friends, like the Walton family's Walmart and Tyson's poultry empire.

The labor traitors and black misleaders *fear* the mobilization of integrated labor power that is necessary to smash the entrenched racial oppression in this country, North and South. When the Spartacist League organized protests last July against the notorious Jim Crow treatment that Denny's restaurant hands out to its customers and workers, demonstrators carried signs declaring "Labor—Smash the Open Shop! Organize the South!" and "Break with the Democrats, Build a Workers Party!" The battle to break the chains of capitalist exploitation must go together with the fight for black freedom—in a struggle led by a revolutionary workers party that will avenge all the class-war martyrs.

The Partisan Defense Committee has made a contribution to the memorial fund established for the families of Keith Cain and Walter Fleming. We encourage WV readers to contribute: Cain-Fleming Memorial Fund, P.O. Box 192, Shelby, AL 35143. ■

Partisan Defense Committee Forum

International Campaign of Protest!

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Speakers:

Wadiya Jamal
Wife of Jamal, MOVE supporter

Ray Martinez, Jr.
Member of Statewide Executive Board
SEIU Local 668
(Pennsylvania Social Services Union)*

Leonard Weinglass
Jamal's Attorney

PDC Representative

*Organization listed for identification only

Featuring a video of Jamal speaking from Huntingdon's death row

Friday, October 1, 7 p.m.

P.S. 41
116 W. 11th Street
(at 6th Ave.)

For more information (212) 406-4252

NEW YORK CITY

Stop Racist "Legal" Lynchings!
Abolish the Death Penalty!

WORKERS VANGUARD

Walter Fleming and Keith Cain Gave Their Lives—Win This Strike!

Scab Runs Down Alabama Strikers

Walter Fleming

Keith Cain

Birmingham News photos

ATLANTA, September 18—A scab truck driver deliberately plowed into two strikers, killing them in cold blood, at the National-Standard plant in Columbiana, Alabama on September 7. United Steelworkers Local 15015 members Walter Fleming, a 55-year-old mill worker, and Keith Cain, just 23 and the father of a young daughter, were martyred at their posts on the picket line defending their union.

Strikers who witnessed the killings said that Larry Gray, the scab driver of the 18-wheeler, *sped up* as he approached the pickets, intentionally swerving into Cain (who was seated in a chair), Fleming and another striker, Wale Williams. A company guard admitted to the *Birmingham News* that Gray said "he was going to go out of there as fast as he could and he didn't care who or what he took out." Company security goons coolly videotaped the murder. Fleming was dragged for 20 yards, as the scab fled the scene and was arrested 12 miles away.

The strikers exploded in anger when scabs tried to drive out of the plant an hour later. Pickets swept aside sheriff's deputies and went after the strikebreakers with whatever they could find—sticks, rocks, iron horseshoes. National-Standard bosses and the cops shut down the plant, fearing that workers were going to storm it. That night, workers barricaded the entrance with 55-gallon drums.

Unionize the South!

For Mass Pickets to Shut Down National-Standard!

Songer/Birmingham News

Strikers surround scab's car after unionists were murdered on picket line in Columbiana.

The 200 members of Steelworkers Local 15015 have been on strike against National-Standard since June 1, fighting company demands they give back *over $7.00 an hour!* As "Open Shop" Clinton and his yuppie Democrats in Washington declare that "the jury is still out on whether the traditional union is necessary," scabs and company goons think they can strike down unionists in the racist open shop South with impunity.

Yet Columbiana is just a few miles from Birmingham, and there are thousands of black and white workers in the area. National-Standard produces wire bead for radial tires, and there are nearby tire plants organized by the United Rubber Workers. In fact, Alabama has the second-largest number of unionized rubber workers outside Ohio, but URW-organized plants in Opelika and Tuscaloosa were recently forced to take major job concessions. Labor must avenge the murder of these union brothers with a powerful mobilization to win this strike. For mass pickets to drive out scabs! Steelworkers, Mine Workers, Rubber Workers—shut down National-Standard!

The murder of Keith Cain and Walter Fleming was set up by the capitalist state, whose cops and courts harassed USWA pickets while scabs were given free rein. A Shelby County judge limited the number of pickets to ten and even ordered strikers' families to stay away from the strike. He has outlawed *any* gathering of union members or their supporters on any public road in the county. State police have been escorting scabs

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S.F. Demo Protests Racist War on Immigrants

SAN FRANCISCO, September 16—Some 55 people turned out today in response to a call by the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense to protest the bipartisan racist war on immigrants. The protesters marched in front of Governor Pete Wilson's San Francisco office behind a banner demanding, "Down with Wilson/Boxer/Feinstein's Racist War on Immigrants! Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!" As the SL/LBL call pointed out, Republican Wilson and Democratic Senators Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer compete in whipping up anti-immigrant hysteria: as Wilson raves that immigrants should be denied social services and even wants to take away citizenship rights from children born here, Boxer and Feinstein call for sealing off the Mexican border with a wall of gun-wielding cops and troops (see *WV* No. 583, 10 September).

"Dixie Dianne" Feinstein made her mark as a racist years ago, when as SF mayor in the 1980s she planted a Confederate flag in the heart of the city. In response to this provocation, the Labor Black League tore down and burned this flag of slavery.

At today's protest, LBL spokesman Jeff Higgins emphasized that the aim of this latest racist assault is "to create a whole permanent category of inhabitants considered less than human, outside the perimeter of basic bourgeois democratic rights. Open calls to deny immigrants welfare, or medical care, to kick their children out of public schools, to insist on racist identity cards. During the American Civil War, Marx said that labor could not be free in the white skin until it was free in the black. I say that today the integrated American working class, *in all*

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WV Photo

San Francisco, September 16—Spartacist and Labor Black League supporters protest outside governor's office.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 585

8 October 1993

Would-Be Czar Boris' Bloody Monday

Yeltsin Coup Serves Washington

OCTOBER 5—As flames leapt from the Russian parliament on Monday, the capitalist rulers from Washington to Bonn cheered on their man in Moscow, Boris Yeltsin. Hundreds have been killed and some 1,600 arrested as a state of siege was imposed on the Russian capital. Ten oppositional newspapers ranging from the so-called left to the nationalist right have been banned, all other media are under strict censorship. All political organizations involved in demonstrations defending the parliament have been banned as has the display of communist symbols such as the hammer and sickle. The smoke-charred "White House" and the blood in its corridors are the face of the capitalist counterrevolution which destroyed the Soviet Union, the homeland of the October Revolution of 1917.

Just over two years ago, Yeltsin had stood outside the same building as he seized power from the disintegrating Stalinist bureaucracy which for decades ruled the Soviet degenerated workers state. This ushered in a period of counterrevolutionary chaos as the capitalist-restorationist regime, in the absence of working-class resistance, managed to cohere a bourgeois state apparatus, although weak and fragile. At the same time, the capitalist-restorationist forces split into bitterly hostile factions, headed by the Yeltsin presidency and the Russian parliament presided over by Aleksandr Rutskoi and Ruslan Khasbulatov. By destroying the parliament, Yeltsin has also taken aim at the layers of ex-Soviet bureaucrats in regional councils around the country. A bloody curtain has now been drawn on the initial, "democratic" phase of the counterrevolution.

The tank shells slamming into the "White House" on the morning of October 4 were the opening shots of a bonapartist regime aimed at brutally suppressing any kind of resistance to "free market" immiseration. For months, Western capitals and the world bankers cartel, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), have been pushing Yeltsin to clear out the obstacles to deepening the economic "shock treatment," whose next stage is mass layoffs of millions of workers and devastation of industry. Two days before Yeltsin decreed the dissolution of the parliament on September 21, the IMF put a scheduled $1.5 billion loan to Russia on hold until the government carried out promised economic "reforms." The U.S. threw its full backing behind Yeltsin's coup. Hours before the military assault on the parliament, the view from

AP

Reuters

Boris Yeltsin, goaded by Clinton and IMF paymasters, ordered storming of Russian parliament.

Washington, according to an ABC-TV correspondent, was that they would "be quite happy" to see Yeltsin "break a few eggs to make this omelet."

Only hours after arresting Rutskoi and Khasbulatov, the Kremlin issued decrees vastly expanding the state of emergency. Security forces were authorized to conduct searches without court warrants and to set up checkpoints on main roads and at transportation facilities. Moscow mayor Yuri Luzhkov said the capital would be "cleansed" of "undesirables." Already 600 parliament supporters are being held in a sports stadium in Krasnaya Presnya district. The banned groups range from various "Communist" parties to the "left-right" National Salvation Front and the fascistic Russian National Sobor. The outlawed papers range from the chauvinist *Sovietskaya Rossia* and the virulently anti-Semitic *Den* to *Pravda*, formerly the premier organ in the Soviet Union and now connected to the Communist Party-Russian Federation, which was established in February of this year as a claimant to the legacy of the old CPSU.

Rutskoi/Khasbulatov and the fascist-infested "red-brown" coalition that supported them are no less hostile to the working class than is Yeltsin. But, as we wrote last March, when the squabbling capitalist-restorationist factions were heading for a showdown: *"The working class must oppose moves from any corner to place its neck in the yoke of a bonapartist dictatorship"* ("Dogfight in Moscow," *WV* No. 572, 26 March). Today the already widespread fear and distrust of would-be czar Boris has been enormously intensified. Even Western correspondents report overwhelming popular hostility to Yeltsin's "bloody Monday" massacre. The urgent and immediate task of the working class and its allies is to prevent Yeltsin, in the wake of this coup, from consolidating an effective police state. Class-conscious workers must demand an immediate end to the

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New World Disorder and the Collapse of Stalinism

Cuba in Peril

See Page 6

Havana Report

See Page 8

Blacks and the Cuban Revolution

See Page 9

WV Photo

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Hampton, Virginia: Hundreds March

Racist Frame-Up of Basketball Star Allen Iverson

Allen Iverson has heen featurcd in *Sports Illustrated* (26 July) and is considered by many professional scouts to be the finest high school athlete in the country. But instead of attending college and competing on court, he has been condemned to five years behind bars for the "crime" of fighting hack against a racist provocation. Iverson was sentenced on Septemher 8 hy Judge Nelson T. Overton, and is currenlly in the Newport News prison farm, where he won't be eligihle for parole for ten months. Three other young black mcn were also sentenced to jail as a result of the same incident (one, Melvin Stephens, is free on bond pending appeal, but Iverson and two others have been denied an appeal hond).

Along with Michael Simmons, Samuel Wynn and Melvin Stephens, Allen Iverson was arrested after a clash at a local bowling alley last Valentine's Day. Thc incidcnt hcgan when a group of white bowlers hurled racist slurs at Iverson and his friends. After the melee ended, the young black men werc charged and later convicted of "maiming by mob." The white racist provocateurs, of course, weren't charged at all.

The sentences meted out to thc "Hampton Four" are a gross racist injustice which has galvanized thousands in outrage in the Virginia Tidewater area. On September 25, hundreds marched past the Hampton Circuit Courthouse, chanting "It's 1993, and we're still not free" and "Free the Hampton Four." At an earlier protest September 14, over 700 angry protesters rallied. Supporters of the four have formed SWIS (from the initials of the last names of the young men). Joyce Hobson, a teacher and SWIS founder, denounced the sentencing, saying, "We're beginning to see Klansmen in robes of another color."

One teacher described Allen Iverson as "the kind of student you like to teach. He listens, he's respectful, and he's very enthusiastic." But it didn't make any difference in the racist courts. This Hampton courthouse travesty, like the 1989 Virginia Beach cop riot, shows that even privileged black star athletes and college students are targeted hy the racist cops and courts. On Labor Day 1989, Virginia Beach police rioted against Southern black students at a weekend celebration of black fraternities and sororities. The cops brutally beat and arrested over a thousand black students for jaywalking, not wearing a shirt, or any other excuse they could make up to stomp on hlack youth.

Among those at the Hampton rallies were longshoremen from the local community. At the September 25 protest, Newport News shipyard workers told a *WV* supporter that they had raised the "Hampton Four" case in their Steelworkers local meeting, but it was referred to the International. The predominantly black unions of the Tidewater area are a potential beachhead of labor power in the "open shop" South. In 1983, when the Norfolk school board voted to abolish busing, 10,000 predominantly black workers and youth poured into the streets to protest, as hundreds of International Longshoremen's Association members carried signs saying "ILA All the Way Against Segregated Schools."

Under militant class-struggle leadership, the labor movement can and must be in the forefront of the fight against racist attacks. We need to build a multiracial workers party independent of the capitalist parties—the Democrats and Republicans—that will mobilize the power of those who produce the wealth in this society, to fight on behalf of all the oppressed and for a workers government. Free the Hampton Four! ■

Brever/Sports Illustrated

Allen Iverson

TROTSKY

LENIN

Cuba and Trotskyism

With the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, the Cuban deformed workers state is in mortal danger. The Castro regime has facilitated Cuba's isolation with its fealty to the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country"—opposing social revolutions in Latin America in the interest of befriending bourgeois-nationalist regimes—and its denial of workers democracy for the Cuban masses. Key to extension of the revolution is the ouster of the nationalist Castroite bureaucracy through proletarian political revolution. From the time of its inception as the Revolutionary Tendency of the now-reformist Socialist Workers Party, the Spartacist League has fought for unconditional military defense of the Cuban Revolution while opposing any illusions in Castroite Stalinism.

The Cuban Revolution has exposed the vast inroads of revisionism upon our movement. On the pretext of defense of the Cuban Revolution, in itself an obligation for our movement, full unconditional and uncritical support has been given to the Castro government and leadership, despite its petit-bourgeois nature and bureaucratic behavior. Yet the record of the regime's opposition to the democratic rights of the Cuban workers and peasants is clear: bureaucratic ouster of the democratically-elected leaders of the labor movement and their replacement by Stalinist hacks; suppression of the Trotskyist press; proclamation of the single-party system; and much else. This record stands side by side with enormous initial social and economic accomplishments of the Cuban Revolution. Thus Trotskyists are at once the most militant and unconditional defenders against imperialism of both the Cuban Revolution and of the deformed workers' state which has issued therefrom. But Trotskyists cannot give confidence and political support, however critical, to a governing regime hostile to the most elementary principles and practices of workers' democracy, even if our tactical approach is not as toward a *hardened* bureaucratic caste....

Experience since the Second World War has demonstrated that peasant-based guerrilla warfare under petit-bourgeois leadership can in itself lead to nothing more than an anti-working-class bureaucratic regime. The creation of such regimes has come about under the conditions of decay of imperialism, the demoralization and disorientation caused by Stalinist betrayals, and the absence of revolutionary Marxist leadership of the working class. Colonial revolution can have an unequivocally progressive significance only under such leadership of the revolutionary proletariat. For Trotskyists to incorporate into their strategy revisionism on the *proletarian* leadership in the revolution is a profound negation of Marxism-Leninism no matter what pious wish may be concurrently expressed for "building revolutionary Marxist parties in colonial countries." Marxists must resolutely oppose any adventurist acceptance of the peasant-guerrilla road to socialism—historically akin to the Social Revolutionary program on tactics that Lenin fought. This alternative would be a suicidal course for the socialist goals of the movement, and perhaps physically for the adventurers.

—Revolutionary Tendency, "For the Rebirth of the Fourth International" (June 1963), *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9

Silver/Hampton Roads Daily Press

Hampton, Virginia: Hundreds rally September 14 against racist frame-up of the Hampton Four.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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New York Post

Scabherding Union Tops Bust the Guild for Murdoch

September 30: Newspaper Guild strikers shout "Don't be e scab!" as Allied Printing Trades bureaucrets breek strike.

WV Photo

OCTOBER 4—At noon today almost 300 members of the Newspaper Guild at the *New York Post* took down their picket line and lined up to "reapply" for jobs that some of them had held for more than four decades. Driven to the wall by the new owner of the *Post*, media mogul and global union-buster Rupert Murdoch, the Guild struck a week ago. Murdoch had demanded the virtual obliteration of the Guild through a four-month "free-fire zone" during which he could arbitrarily dismiss any worker without having to pay the millions in severance pay they had been "guaranteed." Over 200 members were slated to be fired, so they fought. Their signs read "No Justice, No *Post*." When they were defeated, it wasn't by Murdoch, but by the *scabherding of the union tops*. Their knifing of the Guild is a threat to all labor.

All summer the architect of the "Fortress Wapping" newspaper war in London prepared the ground for smashing the Guild—*abetted by the traitors in the Allied Printing Trades Council*. Hammered by their union tops and Democratic governor Cuomo's demand for "shared sacrifice," all nine production unions, including the key pressmen and drivers, made huge givebacks to Murdoch. Led by Allied head George McDonald, the scabherding union tops swore they would keep the paper open if the Guild struck.

But in a dramatic turnaround, when the reporters and editorial, clerical and advertising workers of the Guild set up their picket line on September 27, a handful of pressmen successfully appealed to the drivers and the rest of the production unions to honor the line. Murdoch's presses never started. McDonald and the Allied union bureaucrats went berserk, desperately trying to force unionists to cross the picket line. But pressman Phil Meyer, whose family has been at the *Post* for 40 years, said they weren't going in: "I don't care who told them to cross." For three days the Guild's line held.

Murdoch responded by threatening to walk away from the deal to buy the *Post*, and his flunkeys on the Allied council whipped up a campaign to return to work. Finally, on Thursday night, scabherder McDonald and Pressmen's union chief Edward Flemming led one group of production workers after another across the Guild's lines, as NYC cops kept Guild members penned up behind police barricades. A few pressmen, including a cleanup crew, honored the lines to the end. Strikers angrily burned copies of the scab *Post* as the trucks rolled. Harry Leykis, Guild unit chair at the *Post*, bitterly told *Workers Vanguard*, "if we could have all the union people that George McDonald has put out of work it would go from here to Wall Street."

At a Guild meeting on October 3, the union voted to give in to Murdoch's terms. Workers with decades at the paper were told they will have to beg for their jobs, with seniority and severance pay down the drain. The existence of the Guild at the *Post* is in question, as Murdoch may replace over half its members. Clearing $605 million last year, he relishes breaking unions in his far-flung businesses, which include Fox TV, a cable empire and newspapers from Australia to Britain.

The crushing of the Guild strike by the open strikebreaking of the labor bureaucracy is a threat to the existence of every newspaper union. The *New York Times* in particular is preparing to reap the benefits of this defeat—the Guild contract there expired last March.

For the last three years, the only "tabloid war" in New York has been a war on the unions. At the *Post*, the union tops have enforced givebacks (with the lie they are "saving jobs") to an endless succession of "rescuers" at the sleazy, right-wing scandal sheet: bankrupt developer Peter Kalikow, financial con artist Steven Hoffenberg, junk king and nut case Abe Hirschfeld, casino hustler and landlord Donald Trump, and now the king of union-busters, Murdoch.

Over at the *Daily News*, labor-hating *U.S. News* publisher Mort Zuckerman set the table for Murdoch last winter, when he threw 170 Guild members at the *Daily News* on the street. At that time, McDonald demonstrably moved across the negotiations table to sit with the bosses.

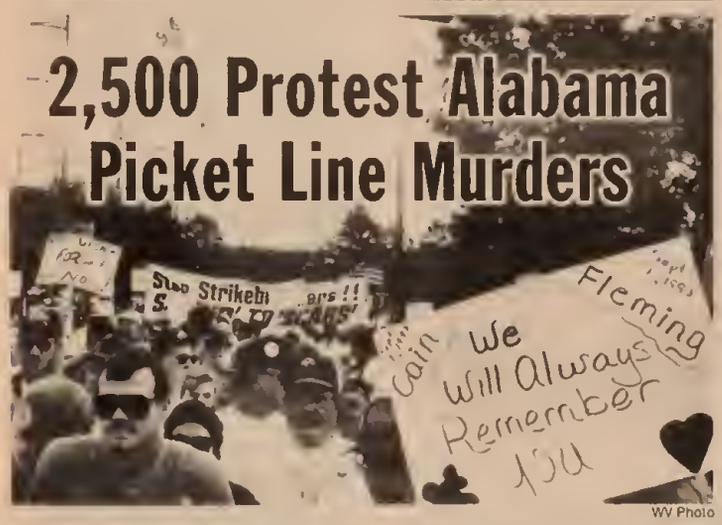
At yesterday's Guild meeting that voted to end the *Post* strike, one angry worker demanded to know, "When are we going to stand up and fight back?" The *Post* strike comes on the heels of the 1990-91 *Daily News* strike, where the militant solidarity of the pressmen and drivers in particular kept the scab *News* off the streets. Thousands of New York unionists came out to solidarity rallies. But the bureaucrats, including the Guild's Barry Lipton and "militant" Juan Gonzalez, diverted the *News* strikers into a useless and impotent consumer boycott which eventually delivered them into the hands of British tycoon "Cap'n Bob" Maxwell.

At the beginning of the *Daily News* strike, the Spartacist League issued a special *Workers Vanguard* supplement calling for ousting the pro-capitalist labor traitors and pointing the way to victory:

> "Labor's strength lies in organization, unity, militancy, and a leadership with a class-struggle program and the determination to win. Against the bosses' cynical attempts to pit unemployed black and Hispanic workers against the unions: fight to create jobs through a shorter workweek and no loss in pay, set up union-run minority recruitment and training programs, at full union scale and at the bosses' expense. We need, *here and now*, a massive display of working-class power, crossing all the craft and race lines. *To stop the scabs, strikers should occupy the* Daily News *and surround it with the New York City working class.*"

That's what it will take to win a strike against the ruthless newspaper barons. And to carry out such a class-struggle program it's necessary to drive out the labor traitors who are destroying the unions. ■

2,500 Protest Alabama Picket Line Murders



WV Photo

COLUMBIANA, Alabama—Over 2,500 unionists rallied here September 26 to honor Keith Cain and Walter Fleming, two striking members of United Steelworkers Local 15015 who were murdered in cold blood. As Cain and Fleming were at their posts on the picket line outside the National-Standard plant September 7, they were deliberately run down by a scab.

Attending the memorial rally were members of 52 of the 63 unions in this "open shop" state. Miners and paper workers joined steel, rubber and auto workers to chant "Scabs must go!" and "We are one big union!" Workers came from Tennessee, Florida and Mississippi, as well as striking steel workers from La Place, Louisiana. Defying a court injunction, workers took to the streets and marched two miles to the plant chanting "Scabs out!" Integrated groups of bystanders cheered the marchers as they passed. It was striking that here in the Deep South there were virtually no Confederate flags in evidence.

At the plant entrance, marchers joined picketers shouting "Take the gate!" calling to shut the plant down at the next shift change. USW president Lynn Williams, dressed in tasseled loafers, fled the scene with the rest of the AFL-CIO tops. Even as unionists die on the picket line in Clinton's America, the bended-knee strategy of the union bureaucracy is to appeal for "peace" and beg Congress to outlaw "permanent replacement workers." But the marchers here wanted to avenge the murder of their brothers by *cleaning out the scabs and shutting down the plant.*

Outrageously, since the day Cain and Fleming were run down, at least ten strikers have been charged with felonies and misdemeanors for defending themselves against scabs. Drop the charges! For mass picket lines to shut down National-Standard! Walter Fleming and Keith Cain gave their lives—Win this strike! Unionize the South! ■

Spartacus Youth Clubs Class Series

The Fight for Socialism

Next class:
Wed., Oct. 13, 6:30 p.m.
"The Russian Revolution of 1917"

San Francisco State University
Student Union, Room B114
For more information: (415) 777-9367

SAN FRANCISCO

Next class: Thurs., Oct. 21, 8 p.m.
"How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled"

UC Berkeley, West Madrone Room,
ASUC Student Union Building
For more information: (510) 839-0851

BERKELEY

First class: Sat., Oct. 16, 4 p.m.
"The State"

Spartacist Public Office,
41 Warren St.
(1 block south of Chambers,
between Church & West Broadway)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY

Next class:
Sat., Oct. 16, 2:30 p.m.
"Race and Class in Capitalist America—For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!"

University of Wisconsin
See "Today in the Union" at
Memorial Union for room number
For more information: (312) 663-0715

MADISON

Next class:
Thurs., Oct. 14, 7:30 p.m.
"The Marxist Understanding of the State and Imperialism"

Harvard University
Sever Hall, Room 111
For more information: (617) 492-3928

BOSTON

Biweekly class at UCLA
Call for time and location
For more information: (213) 380-8239

LOS ANGELES

Young Spartacus

RWL Hypocrisy

From MOVE to Waco to the "L.A. 4"

Last spring the racist rulers of this country breathed a collective sigh of relief when the urban ghettos and barrios did not explode in massive outrage over yet another racist verdict in the trial of the four L.A. cops who brutally beat black motorist Rodney King. An arsenal of police-state terror had been mobilized to crush any peep of protest. Two days later, on April 19, the government turned its guns on the Branch Davidian religious commune outside Waco, Texas, murdering nearly 100 men, women and children because they were, in the words of the feds, "hostile to law enforcement." Now the forces of capitalist "law and order" have their finger on the trigger as they await the outcome of the trial of the black youths accused of the vicious attack on white truck driver Reginald Denny.

The contrast between the kid glove treatment given to the racist cops who sadistically tortured Rodney King and that meted out to these black youth, who have been dubbed the "L.A. 4," drives home the race and class bias that weighs the scales of "justice" in capitalist America against the working class, blacks and all the oppressed. A lynch mob of more than a dozen L.A. cops savaged Rodney King. Only two were ever convicted and given slap-on-the-wrist sentences. But until now these cops have remained free while the two black men accused of beating Reginald Denny have already spent 16 months behind bars.

But this does not take away from the fact that whoever was responsible for beating Denny to within an inch of his life—purely on the basis of the color of his skin—are guilty of a hideous crime. In trying to do to "whitey" what the cops did to Rodney King, the lumpen youth at the corner of Florence and Normandie were reflecting a false ghetto consciousness that doesn't recognize the difference between a Simi Valley cop and a white worker.

Guilty Liberal Alibis

It would seem to be elementary for communists to oppose random attacks on white workers. But this has provoked a hysterical response from members of the Revolutionary Workers League, a self-proclaimed "Trotskyist" organization (at least on those rare occasions that it travels under its own name). At UC Berkeley, RWL members shriek that the "L.A. 4" trial is nothing less than the trial of the "L.A. rebellion." Well, that is certainly the line of the capitalist rulers of America. TV ran endless reruns of the vicious attack on Denny, designed to portray the multiracial plebeian upheaval over the racist acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King as nothing other than a "race riot."

Conveniently left out of this equation are the courageous black people who risked life and limb to *rescue* Denny. The aim of the bourgeoisie was to whip up a racist "law and order" frenzy among the white population. Those leftists who rally to the defense of the "L.A. 4" are helping the bourgeoisie to harden the racial lines that divide the working class of this country and prevent them from engaging in united class struggle against the common enemy, the racist capitalist rulers.

The RWL's response is cheerleading for lumpen rage, not Marxism. Communists fight to build a revolutionary party as a tribune of all the oppressed. We solidarized with the multiracial outrage against racist cop terror that shook L.A.—and reverberated in sympathetic protests across the county—as we sought to mobilize and transform this outrage into revolutionary *class* consciousness. As we demanded, that required bringing the power of the organized working class to bear in defense of the ghettos and barrios.

return to nature." The MOVE supporters live in a black neighborhood and apparently caused real problems for their neighbors. They violated numerous health and building codes and harassed people repeatedly.

If there had been organized black self-defense in Philadelphia, this would have been an easy problem to deal with. The defense units could have told MOVE that its anti-racist rhetoric did not justify its harmful behavior toward the black community. If persuasion failed, the defense units, backed up by the entire community, could have intercepted MOVE members on the street and administered some more powerful forms of persuasion

Fighting Worker
June 1985

UPI

1985 MOVE massacre: Cops murdered eleven black people, burned down neighborhood in Philadelphia. RWL grotesquely called for "black self-defense" to "deal with" the MOVE "problem."

In the immediate aftermath of the L.A. upheaval, the RWL's press *Fighting Worker* (May-June 1992) denounced as an "outrage" the arrest of those accused of what they described as the "apparent assault" on Reginald Denny and demanded that "all prisoners taken during the rebellion be released immediately with the charges dropped!" But now, with the trial going on and the papers filled with graphic descriptions of the assault not only on Denny but on Hispanics and Asians, and the harrowing scene faced by blacks who rushed to the intersection to help, the cynical leaders of the RWL are whistling something of a different tune.

After feeding their members a steady diet of slanders that the Spartacist League's refusal to defend the "L.A. 4" is "racist," the latest issue of *Fighting Worker* (September 1993), discovers a "problem" with the slogan "Free the L.A. 4." Instead they argue that "we must fight to end the racist prosecution of the LA 4+ and we must build independent worker/black tribunals, which alone can administer real justice in this case...." The same demand was also raised by a tiny outfit called the Revolutionary Trotskyist League (RTL) who argue: "It is up to the integrated workers militias and tribunals that will defend the Black communities against the capitalist state to stop excesses by Black youth, not the racist capitalist state. Such is the ABC of the class struggle that the SL ignores."

It is the ABC of Marxism that the racist cops are the armed thugs of the capitalist state whose purpose is to defend the interests of property against the working class and oppressed. To call for "militias" to curb the "excesses" of black youth, or to stop "other violent crime" as the RWL writes in its Detroit election program, is to call for racist vigilante squads with a "labor" cover, for the workers to enforce *capitalist "law and order."* This can only translate into a fake-left version of Guardian Angel-style vigilantism, i.e., "integrated" gangs who keep the neighborhood "safe" for the local proprietors. Similarly the demand for "workers tribunals" *under capitalism* is just play acting, where it isn't directly a workers auxiliary to the capitalist state! Communists fight for workers militias and integrated defense guards as the embryo of the struggle for *proletarian state power.*

As we wrote in our special *WV* supplement (4 May 1992) on the Los Angeles upheaval:

> "The Rodney King verdict has illuminated the whole *system* of American capitalism, built on a bedrock of racist oppression. It cannot be reformed, it must be smashed. The question is how. The situation cries out for revolutionary leadership, to organize the social power of labor and unite behind it all the oppressed in a struggle for state power that gets rid of the whole rotten racist capitalist system and opens the road for genuine emancipation for all."

But, the idea that what is required is a socialist revolution is more than the RTL and the RWL think that their audience can bear.

Lawyers for Mass Murder in Waco

The bottom line is that both organizations have a rather touching faith in the rule of bourgeois "democracy" (especially as administered by the Democratic Party). This was more than apparent in their response to the hideous incineration of 86 innocent men, women and children at the Branch Davidian commune near Waco, Texas. Ordered by Democratic president Clinton and his top cop Janet Reno, the intended message of this massacre—the biggest government slaughter of American civilians in this century—was that anyone who gets in the way of the "New World Order" will be crushed.

The Spartacist League made the biggest outcry we could. In emergency protest demonstrations from New York to Washington, D.C. to the Bay Area we drew the connection between rampant racist police terror and Waco, with signs reading "Rodney King Beating, Waco Inferno: America's 'New World Order'" and "We Will Not Forget: MOVE Massacre, Desert Slaughter in Iraq, Waco Holocaust." But when we raised a banner declaring "Waco Holocaust—Clinton/Reno/FBI Are Mass Murderers" at the Lesbian, Gay and Bi March on Washington in April, it drew howls of derision from members of the RWL and its front group, the National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition (NWROC).

At best they shrugged that the Waco massacre was "irrelevant" and had nothing to do with the D.C. gay rights demonstration. Our banner sure wasn't in keeping with the "Hail to the Chief" red-white-and-blue spirit of this march which was parading for Clinton to hold to his electoral promise to end the ban on gays in the military. To call Clinton a mass murderer was also not in keeping with the spirit of the RWL/NWROC contingent which simply sought to apply the most "militant" pressure to the Democratic White House with idiotic chants like "You made a promise, don't back down—Lift the ban or we'll burn this town!" (Expressing their role as a pressure group on the Democratic Party, *after* the Washington march the RWL complained that the leaders of the demo "made no demands on Clinton"!)

To date the RWL has said not one word in print about Waco, which is a statement in itself. But on Cal campus their members have tried to whitewash this massacre by comparing the Branch Davidians to the crazed anti-abortion terrorists of Operation Rescue and even the

continued on page 14

WV Photo

New York City federal building, April 19: Spartacists immediately organized international protests after Clinton government massacred members of small religious group in Waco, Texas.

Vote Against "Free Market" Misery, Clerical Reaction

Polish Elections Reject Solidarność

WARSAW—In the September 19 elections for Poland's parliament, working people, women and youth registered their verdict on four years of capitalist restoration with a resounding thumbs down. The parties of Solidarność counterrevolution were trounced, and two parties associated with the former Stalinist regime, the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) and the Polish Peasants Party (PSL), together won over a third of the votes and two-thirds of the 460 seats in the Sejm, the lower house of parliament. Shivers went down the spines of anti-Communists and financiers as election results showed that "*they*"—the "forces of the old order"—are back. Actually, the victors are no more "communist" than is Mr. Solidarność, Lech Walesa himself. But the dramatic Polish vote symbolizes a turnaround across East Europe, as wide layers of the population realize that they have been hoodwinked by promises of a "free market" paradise.

The various components of the fractured Solidarność movement were decimated. The Democratic Union (UD) of incumbent prime minister Hanna Suchocka, the Thatcherite "Iron Lady" who was the favored candidate of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Clinton White House, came in a distant third with barely 10 percent of the vote. Suchocka's former coalition partners in the Liberal-Democratic Congress (KLD) and the Christian Nationalists (who ran as part of the overtly clerical-chauvinist "Fatherland" bloc) failed to get into the Sejm at all. President Walesa had set up a "Non-Party Bloc to Support Reform" (BBWR) as a vehicle for his bonapartist appetites, but the BBWR just managed to squeak in above the 5 percent vote now required for parliamentary representation, running behind the Union of Labor (formerly Labor Solidarność) and

Financial Times

Former press spokesman of Polish Stalinist regime, Jerzy Urban, celebrates election success of Democratic Left Alliance.

the fascistic Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN).

Despite its unabashed commitment to capitalism, the SLD's sweeping victory marks a sharp protest by the working people against the IMF-dictated capitalist "shock therapy" administered by the Solidarność parties, which has resulted in widespread poverty and an unemployment rate approaching 20 percent. The vote was also a clear message against the draconian abortion law pushed through the Sejm earlier this year as part of the Catholic church's crusade to turn Poland into a Vatican-dominated theocracy.

Four years after their Stalinist predecessors surrendered power to Solidarność, ushering in the destruction of the bureaucratically deformed workers state, the "renovated" Social Democrats (SdRP) who dominate the SLD look set to take the reins of government in a now capitalist Poland. Coming after an electoral victory by ex-Stalinists in Lithuania, and amid growing support for former Stalinist parties in Hungary and elsewhere in East Europe, the election results set alarm bells ringing in Western capitals. "The West won't like the outcome of Sunday's vote," commented an editorial in the *New York Times* (23 September), voicing concern that "it may dampen enthusiasm for reform elsewhere in the former Communist bloc." Two days after the Polish elections, Washington's man in Moscow, Boris Yeltsin, carried out his oft-repeated threat to disband the Russian parliament.

Szulecki/NY Times

Ravages of capitalist restoration: striking workers from Ursus tractor factory march in Warsaw, August 1992.

Ex-Stalinists Push Hoax of Capitalism With a "Human Face"

From the moment Walesa dismissed the Sejm in June following a vote of no confidence in the Suchocka regime, the keynote of the Solidarność parties has been to keep the SLD out of office, warning that it would be a "catastrophe for Poland." Walesa's BBWR, which is modeled on a similar "non-party" formation with the same initials set up by interwar fascistic dictator Pilsudski, was created with the explicit aim of preventing a "left" victory. The Christian Nationalists, who hark back to the anti-Semitic Endek/NSZ pogromists of the '30s and '40s, carried out provocations outside SLD meetings. Marian Krzaklewski, head of the Solidarność union federation, which ran its own candidates, warned of political strikes in the event of an SLD victory, though he later retracted the threat.

On the eve of the elections, Walesa and Suchocka staged elaborate ceremonies celebrating the departure of the last Russian troops from Poland and the reinterment of the corpse of nationalist World War II idol Sikorski. The unconcealed purpose of these chauvinist displays, timed to coincide with the anniversary of the 1939 Soviet occupation of eastern Poland, was to tar the SLD with the brush of Russian "Bolshevism." Despite its professed electoral neutrality, the Catholic hierarchy mobilized the priests to warn against a vote to those "who oppose our national traditions and faith." The U.S. weighed in with a heavy-handed endorsement of the Solidarność regime: Clinton enthused in a much-publicized letter to Suchocka that "all Polish people can take pride in how much has been accomplished in just four years."

But the mass of the Polish population knows only too well what has been "accomplished" in the past four years, and this time even many people leaving Sunday mass didn't obey the priests' injunctions. The right to a job, access to education and medical care, social security for the elderly have all been ripped away. As living standards plummet, the incidence of TB has been climbing since 1990. Women needing an abortion must either travel abroad or pay 10 million zlotys (over $500)—four months' wages for a worker—to get one illegally in a state clinic. Anti-Semitism is rife—even Suchocka was Jew-baited during the election campaign—while Roma (Gypsies) and other minorities are subjected to racist attacks by the cops and pogromist mobs.

Meanwhile, the *nouveau riche* entrepreneurs ostentatiously flaunt their wealth. When the government organized a lavish affair to celebrate the "miracle on the Vistula"—Pilsudski's defense of Warsaw against the Red Army in 1920—enraged readers of *Gazeta Wyborcza* (25 August) said: "The elite enjoy themselves like a king's court on the eve of revolution," "exactly like a ball on the Titanic." Former prime minister Bielecki was nearly lynched when he responded to an old-age pensioner's complaints at an election meeting by "joking" that his audience did not yet look like starving Somalis.

In striking contrast particularly to Russia, where working-class passivity has bred pervasive apathy and cynicism, Polish workers have engaged in militant struggle against the ravages of counterrevolution virtually from the outset, beginning with a massive rail strike in the spring of 1990 and continuing through last winter's tumultuous coal strike. The voter turnout in this election was significantly higher than in the last parliamentary poll two years ago, with many women and young people casting their ballot for the "left." An unemployed young woman in the textile center of Lodz, which has been devastated by factory closures, said she was going to vote for the SLD because "The church has been ruling for too long." Another worker said, "I am voting for the old communists because the brick factory I used to work in was ruined by privatization."

But aside from vague promises to increase pensions and slow down the "shock treatment," the Social Democrats offer nothing to the workers, women and youth who look to them but the hoax of "capitalism with a human face." Under the leadership of 39-year-old Aleksander Kwasniewski, who was the minister of sports in the last Stalinist government, the SdRP has remodeled itself as a slick, yuppified, right-wing social-democratic party. The party tops parlayed their old bureaucratic sinecures into "free enterprise" fiefdoms, and the red necktie of the Stalinist careerist "is now replaced by elegant suits from Pierre Cardin" (*Warsaw Voice*, 19 September).

The SLD election program does not so much as mention the word "socialism." On abortion and the death penalty, it notes only that it is necessary "to consider the opinion of society," while Kwasniewski warns party members against taking part in "anticlerical activity." Jeffrey Sachs, architect of Poland's "shock treatment," certified that the SLD "campaigned on a platform of capitalism and integration with Western Europe" (*New York Times*, 20 September). The SLD left no doubts on that score when it voted earlier this year—despite

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Der Spiegel AP

Voters massively rejected Thatcherite prime minister Hanna Suchocka and Lech Walesa, shown kissing hand of his godfather, Polish Pope John Paul Wojtyla.

WV Photo

CUBA IN PERIL

We print below an edited speech by Jan Norden, editor of Workers Vanguard *and member of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League/U.S., at Columbia University in New York City on September 10*

To talk about Cuba, we have to talk first about the Russian Revolution. Because you can't understand what's going on in Cuba today outside of the context of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, which is the crux of it.

The Russian October Revolution of 1917 led by Lenin and Trotsky was the key event of this century, a turning point in world history, when for the first time the working class, at the head of all the exploited and oppressed, took the reins of power on an internationalist program pointing to world socialist revolution. The Soviet Union which came out of that revolution, even after Stalin's usurpation of political power at the head of a conservative bureaucracy, was a determining factor in the struggles of the 1930s, of the Second World War, of the postwar colonial independence movement; Soviet military strength and particularly its nuclear arsenal stayed the hand of the imperialists for 45 years of Cold War and so-called "détente." Today, in like fashion, the collapse of the Stalinist bureaucratic regime in August 1991 leading to the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state has had and is having consequences throughout the world. The would-be masters of the world in Wall Street, the White House and the Pentagon crow of the "death of communism" and proclaim a "New World Order" dominated by the United States, with some "multilateral" cover from its appendage, the United Nations.

Imperialist blockade and counterrevolution in USSR produced severe food crisis in Cuba. Above: anxious crowd in town of Cárdenas clamors for holiday pastries on July 26.

You can see this just by looking at the front page of today's papers, where we see two events that are a direct result of the collapse of Stalinism. On the one hand you have the bloody mass murder of a hundred or more Somalis, a truly wanton slaughter mostly of women and children, by U.S. helicopter gunships. This was billed as a "humanitarian" intervention to feed the starving Somali people, remember?—we said at the time this was hogwash—but it soon showed itself to be an effort to demonstrate U.S. power to its imperialist allies (as in the Persian Gulf War), and recolonize a part of Africa in the process. And on the other hand you have this "peace" agreement between the Zionist state of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization. Yasir Arafat's PLO received considerable support from the Soviet Union and the Soviet client state of Syria, as well as from the Saudis and other Gulf "oildoms," as we dubbed them. After the Gulf War against Iraq, which the U.S. never would have dared undertake as long as the Soviets were a factor, this all dried up. So now you have a "peace" of the oppressor, in which the PLO is to police the Palestinians on behalf of the Zionist masters, and paymasters. And it will be signed in Washington next week with Clinton as the godfather to this Pax Americana.

WV Photo

Spartacist solidarity demonstration outside Cuban UN Mission in New York, September 1991, protesting Gorbachev's treacherous withdrawal of Soviet aid.

The Yankee imperialists feel they now have a free hand to go after all their enemies. And right at the top of their "enemies list," as Nixon called it, whether there is a Republican or a Democrat in the White House, is Cuba. Three and a half decades after the revolution, American rulers are still so incensed at the effrontery of the semicolony not just in its backyard but on its back doorstep overthrowing capitalism, and the fear that this could inspire revolution elsewhere in their Latin American neocolonial empire, that Washington is determined to strangle the island, which it is continuing to do with its draconian embargo. That was intensified last year with the passage of the Torricelli Amendment, which would never have been passed without the support of the Democrats. And they're still squeezing.

Cuba is a key question for revolutionaries around the world, particularly in the U.S. and Latin America, and it has been a defining issue for the Spartacist tendency from our origins in the Revolutionary Tendency of the Socialist Workers Party. While the SWP was hailing Fidel Castro as an "unconscious Trotskyist," the RT noted that his petty-bourgeois nationalist guerrilla movement, which originally sought to carry out a program of bourgeois-democratic reforms, saw itself forced to expropriate the capitalists, both foreign and domestic, as the only alternative to submission to or defeat by U.S. imperialism. And that while the origins of Castro's 26th of July Movement were different from the Stalinist parties, the nature of the Castro regime and its political program were qualitatively the same as the Stalinist-ruled degenerated and deformed workers states. As we emphasized, the formation of a deformed workers state around late 1960 was due to a particular set of circumstances, including the simultaneous sharp hostility of the U.S. to a revolution on its back doorstep, and a hesitation to intervene for fear that it would spread through Latin America.

So amid all the initial enthusiasm for Castroism on the left, the Spartacist tendency, based on a Marxist analysis, held that Cuba was a *deformed workers state*, which we unconditionally defend against counterrevolution and imperialism. And we have insisted that this narrow, nationalist, bureaucratic regime was a roadblock to extension of the revolution, that there has to be a proletarian political revolution in Cuba to open the way forward. If "socialism in one country" was a nationalist lie and an impossibility in the giant Soviet Union covering a sixth of the globe, the Castro-Stalinist version of socialism in one small Caribbean island 90 miles from the most powerful imperialist power on earth is far, far more so. And now with the demise of the Soviet degenerated workers state, which provided three-quarters of Cuba's trade and vital oil supplies as well as a military presence as a trip wire against U.S. invasion, the situation of Cuba has become precarious in the extreme.

In our article "May Day in Havana" in *WV* No. 576 [21 May], we noted that the biggest threat to Cuba today is slow strangulation by U.S. imperialism's starvation blockade. We wrote, "Isolated, the Cuban Revolution cannot survive: 'socialism on one island' has no future. The bureaucratic leadership of the Cuban deformed workers state is driven to seek accommodation, 'peaceful coexistence,' with

Bureaucratic Castro Regime at a Dead End– Defend Cuba Against Imperialism and Counterrevolution!

WV Photos

Coping with fuel shortage in Cuba: horse-and-buggy taxis, bicycles and passengers piling aboard flatbed truck.

'enlightened' capitalism." While calling for workers political revolution and a Leninist-Trotskyist party in Cuba, we emphasized that "only a perspective of workers revolution, of proletarian uprisings across Latin America and beyond, into the belly of the imperialist colossus, can offer a road forward to the Cuban masses." Far more than ever, in this bleak situation the focus of defense of Cuba is *international*, particularly in Latin America, and it is an important task for revolutionaries in the U.S. And the decisive aid is not just collecting medicines by various solidarity committees, though that is needed, but by struggle for proletarian revolution *here* and in the key industrial centers of Latin America—Mexico, Brazil, Argentina.

Starr/Picture Group

Fidel Castro and Mikhail Gorbachev in Havana, 1989.

Cuba in Extremis

We recently returned from a two-week trip to Cuba, in which we traveled across the island, so I would like to give you some impressions of the situation in Cuba today. In the first place, it's important to emphasize that this tiny island achieved the highest standard of living for the working class of anywhere in Latin America. The official statistics list a Gross Domestic Product of $2,500 per person. That is roughly the same as Argentina, but you can't directly compare statistics for a workers state with those for a capitalist country. For one thing, the level of inequality is immensely less in Cuba. You can just see that the working-class districts in and around Havana and Santiago de Cuba are much better off than the huge slums surrounding Buenos Aires.

And you see it in a host of statistics: infant mortality in Cuba is now down to 9.3 per thousand, less than New York City, and it has continued to fall during this severe economic crisis. The Cubans say proudly that despite all the shortages they haven't closed a single hospital—compare that to Harlem and recall Sydenham Hospital. Life expectancy at birth is 72 years for men and 76 for women. The literacy rate of 96.2 percent is above that of the U.S.; 88 percent of school-age children go to secondary school; there is a huge number of university students and graduates, a majority of whom are women.

You could go on like this at length. Cuba had the second-highest food intake per capita in Latin America, with a calorie consumption of over 3,100 a day. Ninety-five percent of the population has electricity. With 22.5 percent of the workforce employed in industry (and another 16 percent in construction and transport), it was far and away the most industrialized country in Latin America. With a 1988 industrial output per capita of $1,335, Cuba was closer to the level of a backward European country, like Portugal ($1,591), which many of Cuba's statistics are similar to. But all of a sudden, this country has been brutally thrown back into a pre-industrial period.

Today Cuba is now facing the most serious and critical moment since the revolution, something that everyone there understands. The situation is excruciating, because they are caught between the American blockade and the collapse of the Soviet bloc. People will tell you that from 1989 on, as the Soviet bloc began crumbling—with capitalist-restorationist governments in Poland and Czechoslovakia, and the capitalist reunification of Germany—they never thought they would even make it this far. Their attitude is, well, we're somehow here, but it can't go on.

The fact that Cuba has been able to hold out against this tremendous pressure is a direct result of the collectivized property. Take the question of energy and transportation. Due to the Soviet cutoff of oil to Cuba, energy supplies were slashed to about 30 percent of what they were. That meant a number of industries have been cut way back, and transport was effectively militarized. They imported more than a million bicycles from China, and Cuba started producing its own bikes. They also began manufacturing carts to serve as horse-drawn taxis—it's infuriating to see this forced regression to a pre-motorized state. And if you have to go further than a bicycle or horse and buggy will take you, you wait at a transport point. There is a policeman at each one of these points, and he simply flags down every passing state-owned vehicle—whether it's a flatbed truck, or a bus, or a little car—and it stops, and people are put on it. People often have to wait for two hours for long-distance transport, but it works and we saw very little discontent with that.

The blackouts when we were there were about eight hours a day per neighborhood. They went up to 16 hours a day in August when they shut down some industries altogether for vacation, although now they have been reduced again. It's put in the paper when you're going to have it. So some people we met, they had a blackout that afternoon when we were sitting there, and the mother of the family was saying how silly her sister-in-law was, who had defrosted the refrigerator that morning; if she had just read the papers, she would have had it defrosted for her that afternoon. Of course, given the paper shortage it is extremely hard to get a newspaper at all: they eliminated all of the dailies except *Granma*, cut them back to weeklies.

But what may become the focus of the crisis here is the question of food. Hungry bellies cast a lot of votes, as the Sandinistas found out in 1990. Whereas people will put up with a lot if they have a perspective, there's no prospect of it ending, and it is really, really bad—there is *very* little to eat. Here let me read you the ration list in Centro Habana: Bread—one roll a day. That's it. Rice—five pounds a month. Sugar—six pounds a month. Cooking oil—half a pound a month. Dried beans—*ten ounces* a month. Cigarettes—well, they have tobacco, so they get four cartons a month. Chicken—*half a pound* every *two* months, "*cuando llega*" (when it arrives). Eggs—16 a month. Fish—two pounds a month, that's the main source of protein, which they continue to get because Canada lets Cuba fish off Newfoundland. And milk is available for children up to the age of seven, but nobody else.

One scientist who we talked to was in his mid-30s, and he explained that it's not just the lack of food, but how demoralizing this is. He said, "Ten years ago, I would have never bought anything on the black market, I support the revolution. But you have a family, you have kids, so you go out and you buy some milk on the black market, and then you feel so awful. You just feel demoralized because you've done it."

So what can be done about it? Well, a good part of the food shortage is a result of the fact that they decided, within the framework of COMECON, the Soviet bloc "common market," to concentrate on sugar production and import food from the Soviet Union. But now that is gone. Cuba is a very fertile island, and has the capability of producing many foods. We saw a lot of brigades out building vegetable gardens in the workers' housing districts. One friend said he planted garlic in his patio, "Well, not really planted, I just threw the seeds

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Agencia de Información Nacional (Cuba)

A million people celebrate May Day in Havana, 1993.

Havana Report

Crumbling buildings in Havana, as Cuba reels under blackouts, severe food rationing and shortages of basic construction materials.

Cambio 16

The following is excerpted from a letter by a leading comrade of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste of Canada.

This was our fifth trip to Cuba in as many years; we were last there in February 1992, though we hadn't been to Havana since summer 1990. It was clear that the situation in the country is *much much worse* even than last year. This is true at every level; the economic collapse, of course, but also a dramatic growth of social parasitism and a clear erosion of consciousness among the population. On every one of these counts, we were powerfully and negatively reminded of our trip to the Soviet Union in winter 1988-89. Barring dramatic changes in the international situation, a counterrevolutionary showdown cannot be far off, and I would not be very sanguine about the possibilities for successful political revolution.

We were last in Havana in 1990, and previously and more extensively there in 1989. The contrast today was striking. The city is visibly crumbling amid massive barely disguised unemployment. Power blackouts often amount to 12-16 hours a day, meaning what industry there is can barely function. The bus system has all but collapsed due to lack of fuel and spare parts. Shortage of even basic building materials means that there is no building repair or construction in the city (except for tourist hotels). Whole sections, and not just in Old Havana, are literally collapsing into rubble. People look gaunt and malnourished, and we were told repeatedly that petty crime (especially against tourists, of course) is sharply on the rise.

We took one of our standard three and a half hour walks from Old Havana through what was once the main shopping district, then to the university area and finally the tourist stretch around La Rampa. The shops in Havana, like the Soviet Union, were always shoddy and ill-stocked. But now literally 95 percent of them are completely shut down, seemingly abandoned. Those few that remain open either sell the rationed basic foodstuffs (and there are always huge lines outside them), or are one of a handful of establishments where the store itself is shut but a small table with children's toys or cheap trinkets is set up on the pavement in front. Even here, what little is available can only be purchased with ration tickets. Bookstores in Havana still have some works by Marx, Engels and Lenin as well as technical texts, but otherwise feature only pathetic displays of six-year-old copies of the Spanish-language editions of *Moscow News*, *New Times* and other former Soviet and East European publications.

The economic crisis combined with the disastrous harvest have cut the daily rations to bare subsistence level. Until earlier this year the meat ration consisted of a small piece of chicken every two weeks. Now meat is out of the diet altogether, except for young children who still get a tiny ration. Pork, formerly the staple meat, hasn't been available (except on the hard-currency black market) for many months. Milk is only available for children aged seven or younger. Bananas and most other fruit are only for the tourist industry. For those in the cities, the basic diet is a small portion of bread, rice and beans. Tens of thousands of people are leaving Havana and the other cities to return to the countryside (the government encourages this migration), where they can at least live off the land.

About the only "treat" left in Havana that doesn't require hard currency is the immense open-air Coppelia ice cream parlor. When we went there, on a weekday afternoon, the lines to buy a small dish of ice cream were more than two hours long. To add insult to injury, tourists paying with dollars get to go to the front.

The day after we arrived, Castro made his announcement that it would now be legal for Cuban citizens to hold hard currency. This was largely an acceptance of reality, as the economy increasingly depends on the tourist industry for dollars, and jobs in resorts like Varadero or Cayo Largo are seen as plum positions because they give individual access to hard currency. But this legalization of personal hard-currency holdings will further dramatically increase social differentiation.

In the tourist resorts tips used to be forbidden; now they are standard and expected. We heard several stories of skilled workers and professionals including doctors who quit their jobs in order

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there and within a few weeks it was flourishing." But this is the tropics, and sometimes the lush foliage is deceptive. For example, they successfully managed to adapt milk-producing cows by crossing Holsteins and Cebus. But they need imported feed—tropical grasses are not very nourishing, full of water—for which they now have to pay hard currency, that Cuba doesn't have, to Canada.

Various people we talked to argued that to solve the food crisis what Cuba needs is a "New Economic Policy," like the NEP in the Soviet Union during the 1920s, allowing small peasants to market their own produce. In fact there are relatively few independent peasants; most are in the cooperatives, and then there are the state farms. But in any case an NEP won't solve the problems. In the Soviet Union, as soon as they opened up private trade—which Lenin frankly said was a retreat toward capitalism, a *temporary* retreat—they got what Trotsky called the "scissors crisis," a disproportion between industrial and agricultural prices and production. Peasants wouldn't produce because they couldn't buy anything with the proceeds. Well, in Cuba, they're way out on one end of the scissors, and it doesn't matter if peasants get paid in pesos or dollars, because there's very little industrial production to supply the products they need.

It would be possible to achieve a considerable increase in food production by undertaking a serious mobilization of the working people. But to do this would require real implementation of workers democracy, for the workers themselves to decide on what needs to be done to meet the crisis. And such a mobilization would go in the opposite direction from introducing capitalist market mechanisms. So while the Cubans still have various things like the Student Work Brigades and Youth Army of Labor dating from the first years of the revolution, the government has *not* expanded these. There is migration out of the cities, people going back to their rural family homes, but it is overwhelmingly individual. And in any case, the most basic point is that *Cuba cannot overcome this crisis by retreating to a pre-industrial society and seeking agricultural self-sufficiency.*

WV Photo

Parallel economy provides luxury for those on "dollar track." Above, poolside at exclusive Havana "Diplo Club."

Or take the case of this strange eye disease, what they named "optic neuritis." Last March, they found out by accident about the existence of this epidemic, because the authorities in Pinar del Río province in the west kept asking for more medicines. The doctors decided from the evidence that vitamin deficiency is one of several possible contributing causes. With the food shortages, which have cut the rations down to something like 1,200 calories a day, even though no one is starving there's a real danger of malnutrition. The government decided to produce a B-complex multivitamin pill, and within 35 days from finding out about the existence of the disease, they started production of this pill. They now produce eleven million of those pills a day; there are eleven million people in the country. These pills are given to the family doctors—yes, they make house calls—who go around and distribute these pills. Once a month you get a package of 30 pills for yourself, another 30 for each child, for everybody in the household.

So faced with an emergency, they were able to take some basic measures and intervene effectively, with the result that the number of new cases has dropped dramatically. This is fundamentally a demonstration of the strength of the collectivized economy to rapidly mobilize resources. But it also shows most dramatically how grim the economic situation is in Cuba today.

Castro Bureaucratic Regime at a Dead End

In the title for this talk we said that the bureaucratic Castro regime is at a "dead end." Trotsky insisted that if the parasitic bureaucratic caste in Russia were not ousted in time by workers soviets, the Stalinist betrayers of the revolution, by blocking its extension internationally, would lead to social counterrevolution, as has now occurred in East Europe and the Soviet Union, as threatens China and Vietnam, and today looms over Cuba.

So what are the prospects for Cuba today? Without considerable state aid from a far more powerful workers state, the deformed workers state on this island of eleven million people cannot survive on its own forces, and no such aid is available. That is clear. The Castro regime is pretty aware of its prospects as well, which is why it is trying to present itself as Latin American nationalists, pushing José Martí instead of Karl Marx. And it is consciously introducing measures leading to a capitalist market and capitalist property relations. Castro made a speech six or eight months ago where he said, we desperately need dollars, we do not have oil to sell, what we have is beach to sell. So that's what they're doing. So far, these are joint ventures, mostly with Spanish or Canadian corporations, they are contracts of limited nature, of five years, and the actual property is retained by the Cuban state. But there is a discussion of going far beyond joint ventures in the tourist trade,

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Blacks and the Cuban Revolution

Mario García Joya

Literacy brigades, Havana 1961. Blacks, poor benefited most as Cuban Revolution overthrew capitalist misery and oppression.

The following is an edited excerpt from a speech by Marjorie Stanberg of the Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee at Howard University in Washington, D.C. on September 25.

The Cuban Revolution had a huge impact on American radicals, black and white. Two issues were to shake the U.S. out of the torpor of the 1950s Cold War McCarthyism: Cuba and the civil rights movement. This was just after the Montgomery bus boycott and at the beginning of the freedom rides and the sit-in movement in Greensboro. So when in 1960 Fidel Castro came to the United Nations, refusing to stay in some fancy midtown hotel but instead moving into the Hotel Theresa in Harlem where he met with Malcolm X, black people lined the streets.

In Cuba, where about a third of the population is black, and especially in Havana, and in Santiago province which is majority black and had a crucial participation in the insurrection, one of the first acts of the revolution was to formally abolish discrimination. In many ways Havana was a Southern city—there were restaurants blacks couldn't go into, for example. And slavery was not abolished in Cuba until the 1880s.

After the revolution, Cuba provided exile for such black radicals as Robert Williams, the Monroe County, North Carolina NAACP leader who advocated black self-defense, the author of *Negroes with Guns* who was framed up on kidnapping charges in 1961 after he led militant self-defense against the Klan.

More recently, it has offered haven to Assata Shakur, one of the New York Black Panthers, who has been living in Cuba since the early '80s. And Cuba's fate has been bound up with black struggle, for example, in the over 400,000 troops who served in Angola defending that country against the South African puppet Jonas Savimbi and direct South African invasion. And in black Grenada, where Cuban construction workers were killed in the 1983 U.S. invasion.

These two issues, of the Cuban Revolution and of the emerging civil rights movement, were the two central questions around which our tendency, the Spartacist League, was forged. Both centered on *the necessity for a conscious revolutionary vanguard* at the head of these struggles. In the civil rights movement, the absence of such leadership meant that in the split between the radical "black power" wing and the reformist "nonviolent" preachers, there was not the revolutionary leadership to win those radicals away from a ghetto-based vision to see the need for working-class power.

The black question in Cuba has come up lately with a book *Castro, the Blacks and Africa* (1988), by Carlos Moore, an Afro-Cuban writer who left the island in 1963. That alone tells you a lot, because he left when Cuba was implementing socially revolutionary measures and under greatest attack from U.S. imperialism.

Carlos Moore says that there was always racism in Cuba. It certainly had a legacy of slavery no less than the U.S. And the anti-slavery struggle was closely linked to the struggle for independence in the 19th century—Antonio Maceo was a black freeman who led the *mambises*, the "swamp fighters" who rose up against the Spaniards in 1868, and Maceo also played a major role in the 1898 uprising, which the U.S. eventually moved in to head off.

Moore also claims that there was racism after the revolution. Well, blacks were among the most enthusiastic early supporters of the revolution. They were the majority in Oriente province, where much of the fighting took place, and also in the sugar mills, where they lived in semi-slave conditions. In contrast, the early refugees who fled the revolution were overwhelmingly white.

Contrary to Moore, under the revolution there were tremendous strides made in abolishing discrimination and oppression of blacks. And blacks benefited disproportionately as the revolution raised the poor out of poverty. But the Castroites left it at that. They didn't actively seek to promote black leaders, black proletarian leaders, and instead sought to cohere a privileged petty-bourgeois caste dominating the state, which meant that the top Communist Party leadership remained very white, with the signal exception of Juan Almeida, who was one of the top commanders of the army.

One of the conflicts that Robert F. Williams had there was with the Cuban CP, which like the CPUSA was promoting Martin Luther King and his pacifist liberalism. Williams had enough experience to know in his gut that the CP was stone reformist. He saw how they supported the "peaceful legal" types in the civil rights movement, whose politics the radical black movement was breaking from. Cuban officials gave Williams a hard time in broadcasting his "Radio Free Dixie," for instance complaining about a show he did on jazz, saying it was "decadent" music!

In the middle of all this came the Sino-Soviet split. Cuba, which was economically dependent on the Soviet Union for its survival, supported the Soviets, whereas the radical rhetoric of the Maoists appealed to Williams. Eventually, the Cubans shut down "Radio Free Dixie" because of his support for the Chinese, and Williams went to China. But we said at the time that China was just "Stalinism under the gun," and despite its more radical posture, because the main target of U.S. imperialism was the Soviet Union, we said that the Mao regime could eventually get together with the U.S. And that's exactly what happened. Williams eventually returned to the United States in 1969, where he, like many disillusioned black radicals, attempted to make his peace with the American bourgeois order.

To return to Carlos Moore, he sees Cuban politics as a fight between Hispanics and blacks, says that revolution "duped" blacks, and downplays their central role in the revolution. Moore cites repression of Afro-Cuban religious groups, and in fact these groups were viewed apprehensively in the early days. He is also a hard opponent of Cuba's intervention in Grenada and Angola, claiming that because of the presence of Cuban troops in Angola the South Africans might have used nuclear weapons against black Africans! These are cynical pro-Savimbi arguments. The fact is that the defeat of the South African apartheid army's offensive at Cuito Cuanavale in Angola in 1988 was decisive in opening up the latest round of anti-apartheid struggle.

Journal and Guide

CITIZENS FIRE BACK AT KLAN

The Crusader

Robert F. Williams, hounded by FBI for advocating black self-defense, was given asylum in Cuba.

Stalinism and nationalism—whether Latin American anti-Yankee nationalism, or black nationalism—were not able to give a revolutionary answer to black struggle. American black radicals who looked to Cuba had tremendous potential. But they did not have a Trotskyist program of *revolutionary integrationism*—that only through socialist revolution can black people be emancipated and fully integrated into an egalitarian society. The multiracial proletariat under communist leadership must take aim at all manifestations of discrimination, from Woolworth's in the '60s to Denny's today, drawing on the power of black industrial workers in the struggle against black oppression throughout society.

Both black separatism and liberal integrationism had no program for urban ghetto blacks in the North, and no program for revolutionary-minded black radicals like Williams and many others who were attracted by the black power movement. ■

Ocean Press photos

September 1960—Harlem greeted visit of Castro, who met with Malcolm X at Hotel Theresa.

Cuba...

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and in basic industry as well. They already have joint ventures with the Canadians to explore oil drilling.

Then on the 26th of July, the 40th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Barracks in Santiago de Cuba, Castro made his speech in which he announced that it would be legal to hold dollars in the country. This will likely be a watershed. Interestingly, they didn't have a mass anniversary demonstration this time. A lot of the underground discussion was that, in addition to the very real economic reasons why it was difficult for them to mobilize for a mass celebration—they had just had a million people in Havana for May Day, the biggest ever—we heard from people in the Communist Party that they were worried that if they had a mass gathering, when Castro got to the point of announcing legalization of dollar holdings, there could be a big "No!" coming from party militants in the crowd. So instead the speech was given before 4,000 top leaders in a Santiago theater and broadcast over TV.

Legalizing holding the dollar, on the one hand, was a recognition of reality, because there are a lot of people who have dollars in Cuba now. Tourism is a fairly big industry—it has increased 40 percent a year for the past four or five years. In addition, the Cuban exiles in Miami, the *gusanos*, send money in. So partly what they wanted to do is get some of the huge quantities of dollars out from under the mattresses, so that they could use that foreign exchange in order to finance imports. And to do that they reorganized the network of dollar stores to sell to Cubans, something akin to the "Intershops" that they had in East Germany. But mainly, making the dollar legal tender opens a huge breach in the state monopoly of foreign trade, one of the fundamental economic requirements for the existence of a workers state. It will open the floodgates toward the dollarization of the economy.

So in exchange for getting some hard currency, the regime is setting up the dollar as the sought-after goal. Recall that in East Germany, the DDR, they had what we called the "D-mark elections" on 18 March 1990. We fought hard against that, and the Spartakist Workers Party was alone in taking a clear stand of "No to capitalist reunification!" The decisive point was when Gorbachev gave the green light to West German annexation, but key to the vote was when West German chancellor Kohl offered a one-to-one exchange rate of DDR marks to D-marks. And that was prepared by the whole previous period, when the DDR government actually encouraged people, by its policies, to focus on getting D-marks. So this can have a very powerful counterrevolutionary effect.

The decision to legalize dollar transactions is really playing with fire. A recent article in the *New York Times* (1 August) reported that even some of the most rabid *gusanos* in Miami, for instance, want to lift the American blockade because they want to flood the Cuban economy with dollars. The question is, to what degree will the regime be able to stay on top of this? Lenin said of the Russian Revolution that the Soviet Union would be more threatened by the economic undermining of the revolution than by the guns of the imperialists. And Trotsky, in his analysis of Stalin's USSR, *The Revolution Betrayed*, said:

> "Military intervention is a danger. The intervention of cheap goods in the baggage trains of a capitalist army would be an incomparably greater one. The victory of the proletariat in one of the Western countries would, of course, immediately and radically alter the correlation of forces. But so long as the Soviet Union remains isolated, and, worse than that, so long as the European proletariat suffers reverses and continues to fall back, the strength of the Soviet structure is measured in the last analysis by the productivity of labor."

For tiny Cuba, this is true ten times over.

In the meantime, the combination of severe economic crisis and rapidly advancing dollarization is creating explosive resentments in the population. You're developing sort of a two-track society, those people that are on the dollar economy and those people that are on the peso. All proportions guarded, it recalls something in *900 Days*, Harrison Salisbury's book about the siege of Leningrad, that there were two types of people: those that had no flesh on their hones, and the people who did have flesh on their hones—and if they did, you wondered who they were eating. Well, in Cuba today, there is a whole nation of thin people, and if you see people who are fat, or just a little chubby, you know they have access to the dollar. They work in tourism, live off the proceeds from prostitution, maybe in the upper bureaucratic elite. The vast majority of the party members, of course, *don't* have access to dollars, so it's no wonder they're hostile to it.

Der Spiegel

Cuba ended semi-slave conditions for agricultural workers and developed sugar combine, mechanizing cane harvest. But after cutoff of Soviet fuel millions of tons went unharvested.

And here I want to talk about one of the most dramatic and sensitive results of this economic crisis: the impact on black people. Blacks by and large won't have legal access to dollars. The *gusanos* in Miami are overwhelmingly white. So the explosive growth of social tensions is going to exacerbate race tensions. And it's already happening. For the first time, in the inner cities of Havana and Santiago, with the layoffs that have come from the fuel crisis, and with the situation of extreme hunger, there are now large numbers of youth who have nothing to do and are on the streets. Their only access to money is to swarm around the tourists, and engage in begging or petty thievery.

This is particularly shocking because Cuba made great strides in racial equality, and many of the cadres of the state are black. If you look at the Ministry of Interior personnel and army officers there's a very high percentage of blacks. But blacks were concentrated in two areas, central Havana and downtown Santiago, and for other reasons the government had decided they weren't going to rebuild the central cities. It was a peasant revolution, so they were going to improve life for the peasantry. And they've made tremendous improvements there. But downtown Havana is pretty run-down, and it's very heavily black. And with the economic crisis, what the regime labeled a "special period in peacetime"—such classic bureaucratese—there is a process of lumpenization that hits these areas first. As one of our friends remarked, "Old Havana is coming back."

Now I want to emphasize that this is an *indirect* result of the economic crisis. We visited other areas, for example walking through a huge housing district of Havana called Alamar, where some 700,000 overwhelmingly working-class residents live, very integrated, right on the ocean front, and there's a real collective attitude about dealing with the shortages, and a lot of innovation—they just introduced "train-buses" that hold over 300 people, to commute to downtown. Alamar was the product of a planned economy. But now the dollar is coming in, and the bald fact is that unemployed blacks in the central cities will have no legal way to get dollars.

Meanwhile, there is a whole layer of so-called "yummies"—the "Young Upwardly Mobile Marxists" who want to make it even if the system alters its social content to go over to a capitalist economy. These are the people who are currently in these economic think tanks, whose career choice is to he the Gaidars of the counterrevolution in Cuba—like Yeltsin's "Harvard Boy" in Russia. Right now they are advising the regime with some degree of influence. On our trip we were given a lecture by one of them. Their view is that there has to be unemployment in Cuba, that you need more introduction of the free market, and so forth.

Now these are not marginal people, but constitute the core of the new layer of the bureaucracy that has been promoted recently. The foreign minister Roberto Robaina, economics minister Carlos Lage, and so on. Some of them talk in private of following "the Chinese road." But it's obvious that tiny Cuba can't do what a huge country like China could for a period—introduce huge chunks of capitalist economic measures while maintaining Stalinist bureaucratic rule. And even there it's heading pell-mell for counterrevolution, as we wrote recently in *Workers Vanguard*. In Cuba, the more right-wing elements are already looking further and are dreaming of some kind of peaceful counterrevolution, i.e., some kind of social-democratic variety of capitalism.

At the end of his July 26 speech, Castro put forward a whole series of slogans, which were: "Save the fatherland, save the revolution and save the gains of socialism!" When a Stalinist starts talking about preserving the gains of socialism, hold on to your wallet. You have to realize, they claim that they *have* socialism. So when they talk of only preserving the *gains*, what they mean is they're going to try to keep as much of the elements of social equality that they can—the health system, the education system, and so on—while introducing rampant capitalism in the economy. But this idea of sort of molting into a tropical Sweden, a "third way," is reformist utopianism of the first water. The bigger danger right now is not a *gusano* invasion, but rather development of internal counterrevolutionary forces under the extreme pressure of the imperialist blockade.

For Workers Political Revolution—Defend Cuba Through International Socialist Revolution!

The Castro regime has hunkered down into a bunker mentality, as was exemplified by the Stalinist show trial of General Ochoa in 1988, who was executed evidently for talking back to El Jefe and his immediate boss, Raúl Castro, and to appease Yankee imperialism. This was hailed or alibied by a whole bunch of leftists, including the long-since ex-Trotskyist and now explicitly anti-Trotskyist SWP, and the National Lawyers Guild, the same types of Stalinist fellow travelers who whitewashed the Moscow purge trials in the '30s. As we have repeatedly written, *you don't defend Cuba by executing its generals*. We pointed out how Stalin nearly killed the Soviet Union by the purge of the general staff around Marshal Tukhachevsky in 1938-39. His "evidence" of treason later turned out to be Nazi "disinformation," but the real reason was he suspected the Red Army of being a nest of "Trotzkyites" and internationalists.

In the aftermath of the Ochoa trial, Castro carried out a purge of the interior ministry and offered to cooperate with Washington in the "war on drugs." More recently they cashiered the head of the National People's Assembly, Cuba's "parliament," Carlos Aldana, on charges of having favored Sony in some financial transactions. Actually, Aldana was a well-known Gorbachevite, so this was really a political purge. During the mid-1980s, Cuba went through what the regime called a "rectification process," in which some of the more notoriously corrupt and right-wing elements were weeded out. But subsequently, they have brought in some younger ministers who are all markedly rightist in their politics.

What's needed in Cuba is not one of the many bureaucratic purges that the Stalinists resort to when their policies lead them to a dead end, but a proletarian political revolution to oust the bureaucracy that is leading the country to counterrevolution, and to replace it with a regime based on democratic workers soviets, in which all parties that stand for and defend the workers state can put forward their programs. This revolution requires above all the construction of a Trotskyist vanguard party in Cuba to lead it. The Castro regime is viscerally hostile to this. If at first it didn't have a consolidated bureaucracy—decisions were taken more often with whoever was sitting with Castro in his jeep—it was nevertheless *bonapartist* rule by a petty-bourgeois layer that was separate from and hostile to the working class. And they were quick to arrest the Cuban Trotskyist group associated with the Posadas tendency in 1963, and rearrest them in the mid-1970s for the "crime" of breaking the ban on more than one party.

The Spartacist League has fought for workers political revolution and unconditional defense of Cuba for more than three decades. The SWP, on the other hand, tries to hark back to a heroic period of the 1960s and the figure of Che Guevara. They translated a book by Cuban economist Carlos Tablada on *The Economic Thought of Ernesto Che Guevara*. Now this is pretty funny. Under the planning system set up by Guevara as minister of industry, price accounting was done away with, calculations were done in physical units, so that the economic planners had no way of figuring out relative costs. This led to the brink of disaster symbolized by the failure of the 1970 sugar harvest of "10 million tons." There's an apocryphal joke about this, that Castro gets up before the Council of Ministers and says, "Che, I don't understand how you could have done this. I mean, we were all sitting around this table, and I asked 'Who here is an economist?' And you raised your hand." Che responds, "Oh, I'm sorry, I thought you asked, 'Who here is a communist?'"

But basically what they want to say is there should be a return to the ideals of Che's pamphlet "Man and Socialism in Cuba," where he polemicizes against material incentives. There is a constant tension among Stalinist rulers between

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Cuba...

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material incentives, brutal repression and an idealist emphasis on "moral incentives." Now we see in the case of Cuba, that after abolishing the peasant markets in 1986 because they were bringing back capitalist market relations, yesterday the Castro regime announced it was reintroducing peasant markets (without middlemen, for now). This kind of zigzagging is typical for this petty-bourgeois caste that sits atop the property forms of a workers state but seeks to reconcile them with imperialism.

A broad spectrum of reformist leftists in the U.S. and elsewhere have joined forces in a Cuba solidarity movement. For example, people like the "Committees of Correspondence," a social-democratic split-off from the Communist Party USA, for whom this waving of the flag of Cuba solidarity is a cheap way of disguising their flight to the right. Because in the "Cuba solidarity" movement there are now active openly counterrevolutionary forces. There was a recent "caravan for peace" which got a lot of publicity in Cuba (and very little here) because the American authorities stopped it at Laredo on the Mexican border and wouldn't let it go through. The "Pastors for Peace" who organized it made a big point of how they were carrying Bibles as well as medicine. But the dead giveaway was the presence on that caravan of one Ramsey Clark, the former attorney general under Lyndon Johnson who ordered the Chicago cops to beat up on the antiwar protesters at the 1968 Democratic convention (along with a lot of other crimes).

So what about Cuba? We found a lot of interest there in our analysis of the counterrevolution in East Europe and the Soviet Union. Everyone knows this is behind Cuba's crisis; Castro even admitted such a discussion was necessary, *later*. But to the extent that you can discern a political drift it is to the right. There is depoliticization of the youth, and we were looking for it, but a lot less than we expected. We found a number of young people who were not party members but did very much support the revolution. However, even in their case, their consciousness is very much impregnated with Stalinism.

There is a kind of internationalist awareness, with people proud of Cuban intervention in Angola and, for example in a sugar mill we visited, of building sugar mills in Nicaragua and Vietnam. Yet this is still Cuban nationalist in content rather than proletarian internationalist. So that while Castro presented Nicaragua with a sugar mill, he also told the Sandinista leaders a week after they took power that Nicaragua should not be "a second Cuba"—in other words, no social revolution. Just as he told Chilean leftists to follow the "democratic" path of Allende's Unidad Popular, which then led to the bloody Santiago coup of 11 September 1973. Tomorrow is the 20th anniversary of that tragic event. Castro visited Chile in that period and even stood shoulder to shoulder with General Pinochet reviewing the supposedly "democratic" Chilean army. And even when it was pushing guerrilla warfare in the late 1960s, the Cuban Stalinist regime was opposing socialist revolution. At the 1966 OLAS conference Castro delivered a blistering denunciation of the Guatemalan MR-13 guerrilla group as Trotskyists because they called for socialism.

Ernesto Fernández

Heroic Cuban fighters celebrate victory over U.S.-backed invaders at Bay of Pigs (Playa Girón) in 1961.

The central contradiction for Cuba is that the Castro regime attempted to legitimize and mobilize support for the regime on the basis of Cuban or Latin American nationalism, which they are now doing in a more pronounced way. While this has won them support, it is fundamentally counterposed to proletarian class consciousness, and ultimately spells defeat for the Cuban Revolution. Likewise Stalin's appeal to Russian nationalism in the face of the Nazi invasion won a certain amount of support in the short run. Brezhnev's "great powerism" granted a certain legitimacy to the Soviet Stalinist regime so long as living standards were rising. But the long-term effects of that program guaranteed the destruction of the remaining *communist* consciousness of the Soviet proletariat, ultimately leading to the destruction of the Soviet Union and a counterrevolution marked by rabid nationalism.

During July they held a meeting of the Latin American left in Havana, the "Forum of São Paulo." Not even a hint of aid to revolutionaries elsewhere in Latin America. On the contrary, Castro spent most of his speech telling stories about his participation in the Hispano-American Summit of heads of state in Brazil, and he told his supporters to get out of the guerrilla business and repeatedly praised the "strength of the unarmed masses"! Meanwhile, the program of the Forum called for "combining the market with democratic development and social justice." This kind of social-democratic crap is what Lula of the Brazilian Workers Party (PT), for example, is running on in next year's elections as he hobnobs with international bankers. And that program offers no aid whatsoever to an embattled Cuba. Castro's program of hemispheric coexistence with the Latin American bourgeoisies and their Yankee imperialist patrons certainly won't defend the existence of a workers state.

Sygma

Castro praised Allende's "peaceful road" in Chile. Shown here with General Augusto Pinochet, "constitutionalist officer" who carried out bloody September 1973 coup against popular-front government.

So how can Cuba be defended? As we have said, the fundamental defense of Cuba is outside the island, the need for revolutionary struggle in Latin America, in the U.S. and elsewhere. The prospects for Cuba are indeed bleak, but that only makes all the more urgent the need to fight, and the obligation to raise a Trotskyist program to defend the revolution, centrally through revolutionary struggle internationally. And this fight itself could change the outcome. Talking of mass struggle in Latin America in defense of Cuba against counterrevolution is not just a pipe dream. Just look at the thousands who turned out when Castro visited Brazil and Bolivia recently. And it makes a difference in this regard if the Cuban working people are prepared to fight to defend their revolution. Because their holding out against a murderous economic blockade is an inspiration to the Latin American masses.

But more than the will to fight, what's needed is a revolutionary program. In Cuba, and here, this means drawing a balance sheet of the Castro regime, understanding that the Stalinist program of socialism in one country, or a bloc of countries, or a single island, is a program for disaster. This program of defeat must be replaced with the proletarian internationalist program of permanent revolution, to mobilize the mass of the downtrodden and the rural and urban poor of Latin America behind the working class led by Trotskyist parties in a fight for workers revolution. And this fight must extend right into the "entrails of the monster," as José Martí called the United States, for it is socialist revolution *here*, in the imperialist center, that is the only guarantee that Cuba can be truly free of imperialist domination and able to proceed toward genuine socialism, a classless society built on material abundance rather than grinding scarcity.

We must raise the issue of the defense of Cuba prominently in our work in the U.S. and particularly in Mexico, explaining that the key is struggle for socialist revolution internationally. The Cuban masses' will to resist must be an inspiration to us to fight for that program. Cuba alone can't survive, but it is not inevitable that Cuba be alone. We of the International Communist League, of which the Spartacist League is the U.S. section, are fighting to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International on this program of world socialist revolution, which was the program of the October Revolution and the very reason for existence for the Communist International. We urge you to join us in this struggle. ■

Havana Report...

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to get work as waiters. The average monthly salary is about 200 pesos. While the official U.S. dollar exchange rate is about one to one, the black market rate is now 80 to 1. So, a $5 tip in a restaurant is equivalent to *two months' pay*. More to the point, you can actually buy something (children's shoes, some bread, a can of Coke or a beer) in a hard-currency store, while there is essentially nothing available to buy with pesos.

A couple of times we were told the same "joke"—that the wealthiest Cubans today are the prostitutes. This is likely close to the truth, though the pimps are surely wealthier. Prostitution in the resorts and around Havana's tourist hotels is rife and unconcealed, as the militia simply turns a blind eye. The same applies to petty hustling for currency exchange, which remains illegal.

The bureaucracy's turn to overwhelming reliance on tourism for hard-currency earnings may be simply for lack of any perceived alternative, but at every level it helps to erode consciousness among the population. A fitting symbol of this is the famous Habana Libre hotel, which was known as the Habana Hilton until it was expropriated after the revolution. Now the hotel is managed in a joint venture with a Spanish company, and is known as the Guitart Habana Libre.

In 1990 we attended the annual July 26 rally in Plaza de la Revolución which was spirited, well-organized, and as usual massive with at least half a million people cheering and chanting "*socialismo o muerte*" (socialism or death). Fidel gave the standard three hour speech, Daniel Ortega at his side. This was also carnival week, and later thousands upon thousands flocked to the rides and celebrations near the Malecón, eating and drinking till all hours. This year, celebrations of July 26 were canceled altogether. Instead Fidel gave his speech at a relatively small indoor meeting in Santiago and people gathered around television sets to watch, hoping that power blackouts wouldn't interrupt the coverage.

Fidel & Co. have been respected by a population which knew that, for all the problems, things were far worse before the revolution. Now this generation is growing old, dying off. Even here, there is ample evidence of souring on the regime, and even on the revolution itself.

Meanwhile, for much of the younger generation it is hard to believe that *anything* could have been worse than the situation today. Even the country's justly famous medical system is going downhill, as basic medicines become increasingly unavailable thanks to the U.S. blockade and foreign-currency shortages. From several discussions, we got a sense that the kind of depoliticization among the younger generation that occurred in the USSR is very prevalent in Cuba as well.

It is better for the workers of Cuba and the world that Castro is trying to "hold the line" and not simply surrendering outright to imperialism as did the Stalinist regimes of the USSR and most of East Europe in the end. But by itself this solves nothing at all. Castro remains a forthright partisan of "peaceful coexistence," "hemispheric détente," etc. Indeed all the more so as the revolution is increasingly under siege. And Cuba itself is in profound crisis, with the rhetoric of "socialism or death" ringing increasingly hollow for broad sections of the population. Revolutionary internationalism—in this context mainly socialist revolution in the United States—is the *only* road to save the Cuban Revolution. ■

Yeltsin Coup...

(continued from page 1)

state of siege, to the censorship, to the ban on political parties, and call for the immediate release of all anti-Yeltsin prisoners.

A massive anti-communist witchhunt is now under way. In the longer term, the real purpose of Yeltsin's coup is to ward off the spectre of working-class resistance to the ravages of capitalist restoration. Watching the results of the September 19 Polish elections—where a population fed up with three years of capitalist "shock therapy" threw out the IMF-backed Solidarność parties and handed a resounding victory to the former Stalinists—the imperialists were worried at the prospect of the "Polish scenario" spreading to Russia.

Today, Yeltsin is firmly in the saddle in Moscow. Whether or not elections for a new rubber-stamp "legislature" take place as scheduled in December, and even if they are combined with a presidential vote, today's masters of the Kremlin and their imperialist backers are intent on riding roughshod over any political opposition and imposing dictatorial rule. In our article, "How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled" (*WV* No. 564, 27 November 1992), we warned: "For Yeltsin and other restorationists to nail down a solid capitalist regime, sooner rather than later a bloody reckoning is likely, signaling to the masses that there is a new order."

But as they carry out their draconian economic program, and Russia's far-flung regions flagrantly disregard Moscow's writ, there will be continued turmoil. The Russian bourgeois state remains weak and fragmented, a stable capitalist class has yet to be congealed and the ever-deepening immiseration of the working people can well lead to explosions of class struggle in the coming period. The overriding necessity for the multinational Soviet proletariat lies in forging the nucleus of an internationalist vanguard party, which fights for socialist revolution to sweep away Yeltsin and all the would-be exploiters.

AP

Aleksandr Rutskoi (left), former Yeltsin ally turned rival, was key player in capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the USSR. In Yeltsin's August 1991 countercoup, Rutskoi organized defense of Moscow's "White House."

Split in the Counterrevolutionary Camp

The Western media describes the anti-Yeltsin forces centered on the Russian parliament as a "hard-line," "conservative" opposition to "free market reforms" who somehow want to restore the old Soviet system. In his speech announcing the storming of parliament Yeltsin railed that the forces opposing his *diktat* were "Communists seeking revenge," and that "Those waving red flags have once again covered Russia with blood." In reality, Rutskoi and Khasbulatov were once key Yeltsin supporters, standing shoulder to shoulder with him on the White House barricades in August 1991 as he seized power following the botched Kremlin coup.

Since then, however, the forces of capitalist counterrevolution have divided into two rival camps, though their differences are by no means irreconcilable. While personally a total opportunist, Yeltsin has taken on the role as the main agent of Western imperialist in transforming Russia into a subservient neocolony of Wall Street and Frankfurt. Rutskoi and Khasbulatov put themselves forward as spokesmen for more nationalistic forces, occasionally demagogically denouncing the IMF and Western capitals for seeking to degrade and impoverish Russia. They wanted to appeal to elements in the military, who chafed at seeing the one-time global superpower turning into a neocolonial vassal of the West; and to the corporatist faction of industrial managers, who didn't want to see their plants shut down on the altar of IMF monetarism.

So why didn't the parliamentary opposition succeed in rallying support from either the officer corps or the industrialists? And given the increasingly desperate economic straits of the masses, why was there no popular outpouring of opposition to Yeltsin's presidential coup? To answer these questions we must look at the various contending forces in post-Soviet Russia.

The nationalist-corporatist faction of the nascent Russian capitalist class, whose chief political representative is Civic Union leader Arkady Volsky, seeks to maintain the core of the existing industrial structure. Given the non-profitability in the world capitalist market of the giant enterprises built to function in a centrally planned Soviet-wide economy, the only way to presently keep them afloat is by massive subsidies from the central bank, leading to a hyper-inflationary budget deficit. For the last couple of years, Volsky & Co. have been engaged in a tug of war with the "shock treatment" economists represented by Yegor Gaidar, Yeltsin's former prime minister. Using the parliament as a battering ram against the president, they put in one of their own, Viktor Gerashchenko, as head of the central bank, and achieved a momentary victory by forcing Yeltsin to dump Gaidar last December.

The present political showdown began when Yeltsin, under pressure from international financiers, named Gaidar first deputy prime minister a few days before decreeing the dissolution of parliament. A former chief economist of the World Bank, Stanley Fischer, observed: "The IMF's tough stance in recent weeks has had a positive effect because it has helped persuade Yeltsin that it was time to act, both in getting back Gaidar and confronting his opposition in parliament" (*Financial Times*, 23 September). Moreover, immediately upon dissolving the Russian parliament, Yeltsin's first military move was to surround the central bank with troops and take it over. One would think that Volsky & Co. would have strongly supported the parliamentary opposition. Instead, the corporatists pushed for a compromise solution, to combine parliamentary and presidential elections, and ended up in Yeltsin's camp. Why?

As capitalist forces, in the first place the "industrialists party" requires social and political stability. Volsky and his fellow managers know that even a "slowed-down" introduction of the market will produce massive unemployment and potentially explosive social unrest. Thus they have always sought a solid "united front" of the nascent bourgeoisie, and have been pushing for a bonapartist regime, whether headed by Rutskoi or Yeltsin or someone else. But when parliament's defiance of Yeltsin was taken to the streets last weekend, threatening to ignite a civil war, this pushed Volsky & Co. from neutrality into Yeltsin's arms. Moreover, these well-versed businessmen are fully aware that they need massive infusions of Western cash even to maintain, much less modernize, Russian factories. The imperialists hold the dollars and D-marks, and Yeltsin is their man. But the imperialists are not irrevocably wedded to IMF-style monetarism, and might acquiesce to a more corporatist policy, particularly in light of the Polish elections.

Even more than looking to the industrialists, former air force general Rutskoi counted on support from the military. If anything, a significant section of the officer corps is undoubtedly more sympathetic to Rutskoi's brand of hard Russian nationalism than Yeltsin's subservient accommodation to the U.S. However, after Yeltsin's September 21 pronunciamento the military high command declared "strict political neutrality," which under the circumstances clearly favored Yeltsin.

But it was by no means given that the military would move to disperse the parliament. Senior generals had declared their reluctance to use the military, and many troops from Moscow had been sent out of the city to harvest potatoes and keep them away from the political showdown. The military high command feared the prospect of a civil war which would lead to a split in the army and a total disintegration of the Russian state. This fear sharpened over the weekend, after the Kremlin issued an ultimatum that the parliament be cleared out by Monday. On Sunday a protest of some 15,000 people organized by the "red-brown coalition" broke through police lines and armed Rutskoi supporters launched attacks on the Moscow mayor's office and the Ostankino television complex.

At a meeting of the collegium (council) of generals late Sunday evening, the top military leaders saw the spectre of division of the army. "Even so, the top council had lengthy deliberations before finally throwing its support wholeheartedly to Yeltsin," said military sources, according to the *Washington Post* (5 October). In the final analysis, the key was who controlled the payroll. A Reuters dispatch (4 October) by Carol Giacomo observed: "Senior U.S. officials have said the military backed Yeltsin because their leaders understand Khasbulatov and Rutskoi do not have any better answers than Yeltsin about the economy and realise Yeltsin has the support of the international community and thus access to financial aid."

"Red-Brown Coalition" Repels Working Class

The decisive factor conditioning the character and the outcome of the showdown between the Russian parliament and Yeltsin was the absence of the working class as an active force. Commenting on the prevailing mood on the streets of Moscow, the *Los Angeles Times* (23 September) remarked, "Suppose they had a coup and nobody cared?" The long-running feud between the Kremlin and the White House is generally (and rightly) regarded as a squabble between corrupt and cynical factions. Insofar as Rutskoi et al. are identified with any political line, it is extreme Russian nationalism, which is linked to reactionary social policies. For example, last summer the parliament proposed to outlaw the right of abortion, which was legal and free under the old Soviet system.

Among the militant defenders of the Russian parliament were a host of ostensibly communist groupings, including the RKRP of Viktor Anpilov and ex-general Albert Makashov, who were key leaders in the streets, and the RPK of Anatoly Kryuchkov, who appeared at Rutskoi's side on the White House balcony. From the outset, these remnants of the petty-bourgeois Stalinist bureaucracy have supported the restoration of capitalism. When the crowd gathered at the Lenin statue in October Square and headed off toward the parliament on Sunday, there were many red flags flying—along with the monarchist black, yellow and white banner. This time they forcefully smashed through the thin lines of riot police, who offered little resistance, and some of whom went over to the demonstrators. The *New York Times* (4 October) was venomous in bemoaning the "relative ease with which Mr. Yeltsin's enemies were able to move through the police lines Sunday afternoon."

For almost two weeks there had been a stand-off between the competing bourgeois-restorationist factions. Those who gathered before the White House were politically supporting one wing of the capitalist-restorationists. But with the fight taken to the streets, had there been a significant split in the state apparatus, opening up a clear power vacuum, there would have been an opportunity for a proletarian mobilization *independent of both camps* seeking to sweep away all the capitalist forces. But the unrest did not reach that point, and the working class saw no one fighting for *its* interests.

For all their red flags the Stalinist "patriots" are tightly bound to the monarchist/fascist scum and act as lackeys for the corporatist wing of the fledgling bourgeoisie. They are hostile to the independent mobilization of the working class, opposing every strike, from the air controllers last year to the recent Ukrainian miners strike. Their crude mix of Russian chauvinism, virulent anti-Semitism and racism against minor-

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ities from the Caucasus and elsewhere has made them despised by all but the most backward, lumpenized elements of the working class.

The ex-Stalinist official "union" federation, the FNPR, is part and parcel of the corporatist faction and a constituent element of Volsky's Civic Union. The newspaper *Rabochaya Tribuna*, one of those banned by Yeltsin, was jointly published by the FNPR "unions" and the Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs. At the beginning of the two-week standoff, the FNPR made some noises about considering strikes to defend democratic institutions, but following Volsky's tack, on Monday morning they issued a call for pro-Yeltsin "law and order."

Given the passivity of the working class, acquiescence to the West has fundamentally conditioned the outcome of power struggles among the Moscow ruling elite since the post-Brezhnev years, consistently tilting the balance in favor of those forces who are more pro-Western, and more acceptable to the West. Thus in 1987 Gorbachev came out on top of his "hardline" opponent Yegor Ligachev, who was initially a principal architect of perestroika. The same was true in August 1991 when Yeltsin faced off against the "gang of eight," elements of the Gorbachev regime who sought a gradual transition to capitalism, carried out through the bureaucratic apparatus, while maintaining a unitary USSR. The same pattern prevailed in the last two weeks. At bottom, this is a by-product of Stalin's "socialism in one country," which denied the possibility of proletarian revolutions in the imperialist West and preached the pipe dream of "peaceful coexistence."

Post-Soviet Russia: Immiseration, Looting and Chaos

When Yeltsin took over the Kremlin and then announced the dissolution of the Soviet Union in late 1991, Western governments and the media proclaimed a new era of "democracy" and "free market" capitalism. The reality has been economic collapse and social chaos. The breakdown of social order has reached a point that deadly diseases like cholera and diphtheria have reappeared, especially in regions of the former USSR ravaged by ethnic blood feuds and civil war such as the Caucasus and Central Asia. The *Washington Post* (20 August) summed up the condition of Russia after two years of capitalist counterrevolution:

> "Unemployment looms as antiquated Soviet factories teeter on the edge of bankruptcy. Already, 4 out of 5 Russians are said to be living below the poverty level. Secessionist pressures are mounting inside Russia, while civil strife threatens its borders. A power struggle in Moscow has nearly paralyzed the government...."

Yeltsin now clearly has the whip hand in Moscow. But Moscow is not Russia. The economic chaos engendered by capitalist counterrevolution has unleashed disintegrative forces throughout society—political, social, economic and regional. Vast quantities of raw materials are being smuggled out of the country by black market "entrepreneurs"; the effective currency is the dollar, not the ruble; regional bureaucracies jealously husband their industrial and extractive resources for their own benefit with little regard to the central non-government.

This situation cannot continue indefinitely. Western imperialism demands counterrevolutionary order in Russia, not counterrevolutionary chaos. Putting the Russian capitalist house in order will mean first and foremost teaching the workers that capitalist exploitation functions on the twin threats of starvation and repression. As Yeltsin—or his successor—moves to crack the whip against the working class and national minorities, what is posed in the coming period is a series of defensive struggles against mass layoffs and against attacks on women's rights and further bonapartist measures. Out of these struggles will come a new layer of revolutionary fighters, proletarian internationalists, to provide the kernel for a Bolshevik party worthy of the name.

AP

October 3: Anti-Yeltsin forces rolled over riot police, but pro-capitalist parliament leaders feared civil war and Western disapproval.

The task facing genuine communists in Russia is to wage an arduous propaganda struggle to overcome decades of Stalinist poison which atomized and paralyzed the Soviet working class, as it rooted out its revolutionary traditions and sapped even the most elementary class consciousness. The Russian revolutionary workers movement—out of which the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky was crystallized—was steeled through years of patient Marxist education, illegal organization and combative mass struggles, not only around the immediate economic interests of the working class but against all manifestations of tsarist autocracy and pogromism. Not for nothing did Lenin insist that the proletarian party must serve as a "tribune of the people." Only on the basis of the most deep-going proletarian internationalism could the workers of tsarist Russia and their Leninist vanguard strive to effect a socialist revolution in one of the most backward countries of Europe and bring together more than a hundred disparate nationalities in common class struggle.

The current generation of Soviet workers must now retrace the steps of their predecessors. As we wrote in "How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled":

> "What is required above all is a revolutionary leadership capable of overcoming the divisions inspired by chauvinism and nationalism, clearing away the decades of false consciousness fostered by Stalinism, and linking the struggles in the ex-USSR to that of the world proletariat."

The International Communist League fights to build a Soviet section of a reborn Fourth International. *For socialist revolution to sweep away bloody Yeltsin's starvation regime!* ■

Poland...

(continued from page 5)

significant internal opposition—to support Walesa/Suchocka's privatization bill. Now deputy leader Leszek Miller pushes tax breaks for foreign investors and vows: "We will not do anything without prior consultation with the IMF." And Kwasniewski assured visiting U.S. Senator Richard Lugar that "there are no strong anti-NATO sentiments inside his party" (*Gazeta Wyborcza*, 21 September).

Itself a popular-frontist formation including a nationalist group and police "trade unionists" (as well as the majority of the pro-Solidarność Polish Socialist Party), the SLD immediately issued craven appeals to the openly bourgeois parties to join it in a "grand coalition," even proposing to keep the monetarist Suchocka on as prime minister! The Social Democrats have also offered themselves up as gendarmes for Walesa's bonapartist drive, promising to give him "the authority necessary to fulfill the role of an arbiter intervening in crisis situations" and to support rule by decree "in precisely specified cases" (*Trybuna*, 8 September). Miller even called for an "above-party" government of "national salvation."

Given its parliamentary weight—the largest vote secured by any party since 1989—the SLD has no need to beg the Solidarność parties to join it. But in the classic manner of the popular front, the Social Democrats *seek* to subordinate themselves to the openly bourgeois parties as protective coloration for their own treachery to the working class. However, Suchocka & Co. have turned a deaf ear to the SLD's pleas, while Walesa has even made noises about dissolving the Sejm, blustering: "I won't allow any restraint on the reforms, even if I have to use Yeltsin's variant" (*Gazeta Wyborcza*, 28 September). Walesa's ambition to play the role of Pilsudski has long been obvious, but making it happen in the face of a combative proletariat and a hostile population is another matter.

For a Polish Trotskyist Party!

The Spartakusowska Grupa Polski (SGP), section of the International Communist League, declared in the current issue of its paper that "there's nothing for the working class to vote for in the upcoming election" (*Platforma Spartakusowców*, Summer/Fall 1993). In contrast, the fake-Trotskyists of *Dalej!*, supporters of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat, raised the hackneyed appeal to "fight the right," calling for a vote to the SLD and the Union of Labor. This was echoed by "Socialist Solidarność," followers of Tony Cliff, who called for a vote to the Solidarność union as well. The "Workers Self-Government" group, connected with the Morenoite tendency, while nominally disavowing support for "any coalitions or organizations," gave its members "a free hand" to "vote according to their own conscience" (*Samorzadnosc Robotnicza*, August/September 1993). Given this outfit's record of promoting ultrarightists like Solidarność 80 and the KPN, this could mean anything.

Now that the former Stalinists have become confirmed "free market" Social Democrats, the fake-leftists chase after them as readily as they earlier clamored for "solidarity with Solidarity." To justify their support for Ronald Reagan's favorite "union," they enthused that ten million Polish workers can't be wrong, dismissing the images of Walesa kneeling to the Pope. Even now, they sneer at the SGP's insistence on the centrality of the struggle against anti-Semitism and anti-Roma (Gypsy) racism, against women's oppression and anti-gay bigotry, against resurgent Polish nationalism and clericalism. But the election results show these questions are not irrelevant to the workers. "When the Pope came to Poland, Walesa as head of state drops to his knees and kisses his hand," complained one worker at the Gdansk shipyard where Solidarność was born. "Not all of us would drop to their knees to the head of the church."

When Walesa & Co. first made their bid to restore capitalism in Poland in late 1981, we Spartacists said, "Stop Solidarność counterrevolution!" While calling for proletarian political revolution against the bankrupt Stalinist bureaucracy, we took a clear stand against the clerical-reactionary forces which sought to destroy the social foundations upon which the Polish deformed workers state was based. Even as we swam against the stream of mass support for Solidarność, we noted that the historically socialist-minded Polish proletariat's infatuation with clerical reaction would not last long.

Today we warn just as strongly against illusions in the pro-IMF Social Democrats. The ex-Stalinist OPZZ trade-union federation has worked overtime to hold back strikes, which OPZZ chief Ewa Spychalska justified with the explanation that an SLD electoral victory "will be beneficial for the working people" (*Trybuna*, 21 September). But *not* fighting won't be beneficial for the working people. This criminal passivity is an open invitation to sinister ultrarightist groups who posture as a "populist" opposition to Walesa, like the KPN and Solidarność 80, headed by rabid anti-Semite and anti-Communist Marian Jurczyk. KPN *wodz* (leader) Leszek Moczulski, who denounces women in the workforce as a Communist "device," calls for "a brutal and sharp restoration of order." Ominously, this summer's parade by the KPN's paramilitary arm *Strzelec* (The Shooter) included a small army unit.

The Polish working class has demonstrated its capacity for struggle against the new exploiters. But just as there is no capitalism with a "human face," there can be no return to the days of the Stalinist regime, whose all-sided lie of "socialism in one country" paved the way for counterrevolution. It is necessary to forge an authentic Leninist-Trotskyist party, which acts as a "tribune of the people" and is committed to the struggle for world socialist revolution. In fighting to build such a party, the SGP calls on the working class to combat all forms of oppression, raising the call for free abortion on demand and for workers mobilizations to stop racist attacks.

In the struggle for socialist revolution and the liberating ideals of a truly communist society, Polish workers must reappropriate the heritage of Rosa Luxemburg, the Polish Jewish woman who embodied this country's contribution to internationalist class struggle. For a Polish Trotskyist party as part of a reborn Fourth International! ■

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2,000 Run Nazi Fascists Out of Town!

Auburn, New York

Nett/Syracuse Herald American

Demonstrators cheer after routing the Nazis in Auburn, September 25.

The neo-Nazis of the U.S.A. Nationalist Party thought they could strut through Auburn, New York with their swastikas on September 25, the Jewish holiday of Yom Kippur. Behind a line of riot cops, the fascists rallied on the steps of the Auburn courthouse under a huge Confederate flag. But when they tried to march to Freedom Park—a memorial to the great abolitionist and leader of the Underground Railroad for escaped slaves, Harriet Tubman—2,000 outraged anti-fascists filled the streets and stopped the Nazi vermin in their tracks. As the would-be goose-steppers scurried out of town like rats, hundreds celebrated in Freedom Park.

Auburn is a predominantly white town whose main "business" is incarcerating a lot of black people in a state prison. Defying the Auburn mayor's suggestion that townsfolk "ignore" the fascists and attend a local tomato fest (!), the many intended victims of the fascists—Jews (including Holocaust survivors from the Auschwitz death camp), blacks, gays and hundreds of youth from upstate New York campuses—put themselves forward to make sure the fascists were driven back. The National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition (NWROC) had the largest organized contingent with about 100 people from Albany and Michigan.

From the bombing of NAACP offices in California to the desecration of Jewish cemeteries in New York, to the bombing of an abortion clinic in Pennsylvania, the fascists are stepping up their cowardly nightriding attacks—*and* their broad daylight rallies to recruit new shock troops. The rot of the capitalist economy, the rising unemployment and desperation are the conditions which fuel the growth of these race-haters who serve the capitalist class and target minorities as scapegoats for widespread discontent. What's necessary is to mobilize the social power of the integrated working class in massive labor/black mobilizations to decisively defeat the fascists. ■

RWL...

(continued from page 4)

Ku Klux Klan! An *integrated* religious sect, living together communally *in Texas*—Klansmen? Does the RWL know what country they're living in? Do they care? The KKK *kills* people who live in integrated communes. In this case, the Klan didn't have to—Clinton and the FBI did it, and the RWL didn't make a peep.

Operation Rescue is a reactionary political organization with a base of fanatics who bomb abortion clinics and target doctors for assassination. The Branch Davidians, a fundamentalist Christian sect with a 50-year history, harmed no one. Their "crime" was to legally acquire more guns than the state thought they should have. So the state *wiped them out*. And this was Texas, where every 90-year-old white grandmother packs a pistol in her cookie jar—not to mention Ross Perot's arsenal.

As for the tiny RTL, their members called for a "workers tribunal" to "investigate" murdered Branch Davidian leader David Koresh for "child abuse." They're offering their "proletarian" services to Janet Reno who cynically wielded the charge of "child abuse" to alibi the *murder* of the children who lived in this religious commune.

Racist State Terror U.S.A.

As we wrote of the Waco holocaust: "Like the massacre of the Philadelphia MOVE commune in 1985, the Waco holocaust was intended as a deadly warning to all those who 'have a hostile attitude' toward this racist ruling class" ("Waco and the White House, First the Massacre, Now the Lies," *WV* No. 575, 7 May). This was not lost on other victims of the U.S. government. Bob Buck, a West Virginia steel worker, who was railroaded into jail for defending his union during the bitter strike against Ravenswood Aluminum in 1991-92, wrote in a letter to the Partisan Defense Committee: "They were so damned concerned for the children they unleashed an armed assault on the house they lived in and filled it full of bullet holes; they were so concerned for the children they turned off the water and power to them and then knocked down the walls these children had their backs to, gassed them, and ultimately burned them to death. Ain't America great. I'm glad Mrs. Reno isn't concerned about me."

This man, in jail for defending his union's picket lines, raised his voice in protest over Waco. Not the scab "socialists" of the RWL who have an established record of blithely waltzing across picket lines. They not only scab, they alibi it by declaring that the elementary trade-union principle that "picket lines mean don't cross" is yet another "sectarian" invention of the Spartacist League.

Delbert Africa, who is serving a 30-to-100 year sentence for the "crime" of surviving the 8 August 1978 siege

Q Sakamaki

RWL wants to "rebuild" a "militant" version of liberal Democratic Party-led civil rights movement.

by 600 cops on the MOVE house in Philadelphia, also wrote in protest over the Waco massacre: "You know what disturbs me about the situations like that *murder* of Branch Davidians in Waco? The fact that so many supposedly knowledgeable people will accept the damn government's propaganda about the people the govt. is getting ready to massacre."

But what would the "knowledgeable," even self-professed socialist, "people" of the RWL care what a member of the MOVE organization has to say? They alibied the 1985 firebombing of the Philly MOVE commune. An article in *Fighting Worker* (June 1985) peddles the government's story that the MOVE "problem" had to be dealt with:

> "If there had been organized black self-defense in Philadelphia, this would have been an easy problem to deal with.... If persuasion failed, the defense units, backed up by the entire community, could have intercepted MOVE members on the street and administered some more powerful forms of persuasion."

Despicable! Eleven black people, including children, had just been incinerated and the RWL's response was to declare that it would have been better if they had been pummelled by "workers defense guards"! But organizations like the RWL rely on the hope that people have a short memory.

Militant Liberalism and the Democratic Party

Now the RWL and its all-purpose front group NWROC posture as the "militant" answer to racist police and fascist terror. Most recently, they organized campus and other youth in upstate New York for the demonstration that drove the fascists off the streets of Auburn (see article above). That the would-be Hitlers of the U.S.A. Nationalist Party were stopped from carrying out their racist provocations was a victory for all the intended victims of fascist genocide.

The struggle against fascism and the racist cops is serious business. It requires a proletarian socialist perspective—one firmly grounded in the understanding that the capitalist state is the main, most deadly, armed enemy of the working class and oppressed. It requires the leadership of a multiracial workers party that will bring the *social power* of labor to bear on behalf of all the oppressed in the fight for socialist revolution.

This isn't what the RWL has to offer. On the contrary, their standard fare is militant protest politics...in the service of the Democratic Party. Take the RWL's "Fighting Worker Slate" in the recent Detroit elections. On campuses, the RWL rides on NWROC's reputation as the militant, in-your-face abortion clinic defenders. But in their election campaign, there was no mention of abortion rights—until we published an article scandalizing them for it ("RWL in Detroit Elections: Abortion Rights in the Closet," *WV* No. 578, 18 June). Then they finally put in the "A" word, but they couldn't choke out the words "socialist revolution."

While perverting Malcolm X on the "bullet or the ballot" to justify their "fighting" electoralism, the RWL's election slate mourned that Martin Luther "King's dream of equality and an end to racism is still unrealized. We need a new mass civil rights movement that can make that dream a reality." The RWL built a contingent for the August 28 demonstration in Washington, D.C. called by Coretta Scott King to commemorate the 1963 "March on Washington." Thirty years ago, Malcolm denounced the "farce on Washington" as a sellout to the racist Democrats of any struggle for black freedom. In 1963 it was a farce, in 1993 it was a groveling appeal to Clinton.

The RWL mimics the militant liberalism of the early New Left—when SDS went "part of the way with LBJ." Their program was bigger, better, more massive, more militant "street action"...in order to pressure the Democrats. But as the Democrats rained down death on the Vietnamese workers and peasants, many youth got fed up. Face to face with the hard realities of imperialism, the New Left *split* and many of them went in some pretty weird directions but some were won to genuine communism.

From MOVE to Waco to the "L.A. 4," as well as Auburn and abortion defense, the RWL can't see the *class* line...which is also why they can't see picket lines. They want to be the left wing of whatever is moving and shaking. So on abortion defense they do their militant stuff while carefully keeping their ties to NOW (and calling on these bourgeois feminists to form a third party). They oscillate in response to popular pressures, which can be pretty right wing. So in L.A. they feed into the bourgeoisie's portrayal of the 1992 upheaval as an anti-white "race riot." And by their silence and cynical sneers against the Spartacists over Waco, they alibi mass murder by the government.

Three former youth members of the RWL's Bay Area local got fed up with endlessly trying to pressure pro-Democratic Party liberals to "fight," by posing as militant lesbians, militant clinic defenders, militant (fill in the blank)... anything but militant young communists. So they split and joined the Spartacus Youth Club to openly fight for Trotskyism. Like, why be a retro New Leftist in the RWL closet when you can come out as a real red with the SL/SYC. ■

S.F. City Hall Assaults the Homeless

SAN FRANCISCO—For two months, squads of cops have been sweeping through the city, rousting the poor from parks and alleys, trashing their bedrolls and blankets, and issuing citations for "public nuisance crimes." The victims are packed off to roam outlying districts, to Berkeley, to jails already so overcrowded that the city has to rent prison space in neighboring Alameda County. In the works are plans to seize the grocery carts homeless people use to haul around their meager possessions. Mayor Frank Jordan calls it "Operation Matrix," a.k.a. "Operation Quality of Life," and his aim is to drive the weakest and most abused victims of capitalist greed somewhere else to die.

There are more than 10,000 homeless people in San Francisco, whose hourgeois boosters promote it as a prime tourist and business travel destination. The downtown moneybags want to clean out the "riffraff." Now you're a criminal in SF if you lose your job and apartment and freeze your butt off trying to sleep on a park bench or in a doorway. And it's literally a crime to feed the starving: dozens of people from Food Not Bombs have been arrested in the last couple of months ...for giving away food in public! They are maliciously charged with "felony conspiracy," to maximize jail time. On September 29, police waded into a protest rally called by the group at City Hall and hauled off more than 35 to jail. Drop all charges against Food Not Bombs supporters now!

While capitalist recession and general decay have thrown thousands more onto the streets, the "housing" available to them in this sky-high-rent city has shrunk. Mayor Jordan is determined to reduce it further: last July 11, he had about 20 squatters forcibly evicted from a vacant building. Beginning in August, the Transbay bus terminal was locked down at night, driving 300 homeless people who had been sleeping there back to the streets.

Now Jordan has a scheme to force those who receive a $345-a-month "general assistance" pittance to turn over up to *80 percent* of it to the city, which will then pay slumlords for rooms in rat-infested, firetrap "residence hotels." A similar scheme of former mayor (now Democratic U.S. Senator) Dianne Feinstein, dubbed "Hotel Hotline," was an enormous scam, stealing from the poor to further enrich slumlords who were paid for empty rooms with the seized welfare money!

Those consigned to these rat holes can pay with their lives. On September 8, the South-of-Market Folsom Street Hotel burned to the ground, killing John Jordan and injuring 13. Jordan was on general assistance. The building had been cited for code violations going back to *1989*, including no fire doors and rooms without smoke detectors. The building's owner, one Charlie Patel (who got a cut of the "Hotel Hotline" loot), owns a string of these deathtraps, including the Mission Hotel, recently selected for Jordan's new program—which (surprise!) turns out to have been plastered with citations by building inspectors. Indeed, "most of the city's homeless hotels have repeatedly been cited for unsafe and unhealthy conditions" (*Chronicle*, 16 September).

Mayor Jordan has also put on the November ballot a "Proposition V" requiring anyone on welfare to be fingerprinted in the name of fighting mythical "welfare fraud." This racist outrage aims to drive the poor and minorities off the welfare rolls to starve. The mayor's "liberal" Democratic opponents on the Board of Supervisors, including its president Angela Alioto and that darling of the "left," Terrance Hallinan, are decrying the "heartless" mayor, proposing an "amnesty" for the victims of "Operation Matrix"—offering, in sum, to make it equally legal for the rich and poor to sleep in doorways and beg for crumbs. Meanwhile, they pass vicious, racist budget cuts which are literally killing the poor.

Getting the homeless a decent place to stay, impossible as long as the vicious capitalist class remains in power, can be solved overnight by a revolutionary workers government: just requisition the needed space from fancy high-rise hotels and the mansions of the rich. Tear down the firetraps, and put up the homeless in the Hilton, the St. Francis and Pacific Heights! And by taking the productive forces out of the hands of capitalist parasites and founding a planned, socialist economy, the victorious workers will be able to provide jobs for all and eliminate starvation. Down with Jordan's murderous campaign against the poor! Decent housing and jobs for all!

Rick Gerharter

In San Francisco it's a "crime" to feed the homeless. Above, cops prepare to arrest "Food Not Bombs" protesters in 1988.

Jamal...

(continued from page 16)

Americans—and that was lawful. We imported human beings from Africa—and that was lawful. We subjected them to slavery—and that was lawful," he said, adding that the U.S. government's dropping of the atomic bomb and ravaging of Vietnam, Nicaragua and Cuba were all "lawful deeds."

A message was read from Ray Martinez Jr., a Philadelphia union official for SEIU Local 668, who urged the audience to "spread that word—an innocent man is on death row. Only through our combined efforts—and definitely with labor's support—can Mumia stand a chance to achieve his rightfully deserved freedom."

"Jamal's case is what the death penalty is all about," PDC spokesman Cooperstein said. "We do not accord this government the right to say who lives and who dies. The American capitalist class has sought to maintain itself by repeated exemplary executions for the sheer purpose of instilling terror, just like the lynch rope." Reviewing the U.S. ruling class' long history of terror—from the 1887 Haymarket martyrs and IWW hero Joe Hill to the Scottsboro Boys and the '50s anti-Communist electric chair murders of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg—Cooperstein warned: "the impending sentence of death against Mumia threatens to be the first political execution since the Rosenbergs."

"Our strategy is mass labor-centered protest, like those around the world that saved the life of the Scottsboro defendants," he concluded: "We place no faith whatever in the justice of the courts, but look instead, as James P. Cannon said, to the supreme court of the masses.... Ultimately it is only socialist revolution that can end the system of capitalist lynch law and guarantee the rights of the oppressed. In a socialist America, with Geronimo Pratt in the ministry of justice, Mumia Abu-Jamal in the ministry of information—then and only then can you start to speak of justice."

Fred Horstmann of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal made an appeal for funds for the legal team and investigation. Over $1,500 was raised at the rally. Much more is needed. Send money to help pay for Jamal's legal defense to the fund set up by attorney Leonard Weinglass: tax-deductible contributions can be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Jamal," and mailed to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.

Join the PDC campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal—write: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, (212) 406-4252. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Wadiya Jamal at NYC Rally

The Fight to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal

WV Photo

Dan Williams, co-counsel for Jamal, speaks at New York City rally, October 1.

On October 1 about 150 people came out for a Partisan Defense Committee rally in New York City on behalf of black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. A former Philadelphia Black Panther Party spokesman, award-winning radio journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless" and supporter of the MOVE organization, Jamal was framed over a decade ago on charges of killing a Philadelphia police officer, and was sentenced to die for his political views.

Philadelphia Magazine

Mumia Abu-Jamal

Jamal's message to the audience, taped from death row at Pennsylvania's Huntingdon prison, had a powerful impact. "I come to you from the land of the dead, with the vibration of life. This place is a place where the living are entombed by law, a law with an accent on force, a law with an absence of justice, a law that protects the outlaws of wealth and power, yet which spits on the poor and powerless," he said. Mumia concluded, "This government, which bombed babies in Philadelphia *and* in Baghdad, which mows down children in Somalia, is sowing the seeds of their own destruction. It is a time, not for confusion, but for opportunity, to transform what *is* into what must be."

Wadiya Jamal, Mumia Abu-Jamal's wife, spoke quietly and movingly to the crowd. "Twelve years is long enough for an innocent man to be sitting on death row, separated from his family, separated from his children, that he cannot physically touch," she said. "Mumia continues to be strong," she went on. "I never, in the 12 years, have had a sad letter, visit or phone call."

Dr. Alan Berkman spoke powerfully from the audience about Mumia Abu-Jamal. Berkman served eight years in prison in the "Resistance Conspiracy" case, in which six activists (including Susan Rosenberg and Marilyn Buck) were framed on charges of conspiracy to bomb the U.S. Capitol and other buildings following U.S. imperialism's bloody rape of Grenada in 1983. Dr. Berkman recalled his meeting with Jamal in prison, noting that Mumia, while fighting his own death sentence, was always busy helping others with their court cases as well.

Jamal's cause is winning national and international attention, including a recent Harlem "literary evening" of readings from Jamal's work by actor Danny Glover and others. Building for the New York rally, PDC spokesman Paul Cooperstein and Wadiya Jamal spoke on WBAI-FM, and on Clayton Riley's WLIB radio show on September 30 alongside State Senator David Paterson and *Amsterdam News* editor Wilbert Tatum, who said it was urgent that journalists especially take up the case of Jamal, a black writer imprisoned for his outspokenness.

Dan Williams, Jamal's co-counsel with Leonard Weinglass, described the legal team's efforts to win a new trial for Jamal, who has exhausted his automatic appeals and could, under law, be executed at any moment. Williams pointed out the grotesque distinction between "legality" and "illegality" in this racist country. "We exterminated native

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U.S./UN Butchers Out of Somalia!

OCTOBER 4—The colonial occupation of Somalia, under the guise of a "humanitarian" mission, has become increasingly bloody as U.S./UN forces wantonly slaughter black Africans. But last Sunday, in the latest battle in the capital of Mogadishu, for the first time the American forces suffered heavy casualties at the hands of the lightly armed Somalis, who shot down three U.S. Blackhawk helicopters. At least a dozen American soldiers were killed and about 75 wounded. This amounts to almost a quarter of the "elite" hit squad of 400 U.S. Army Rangers Clinton sent to Somalia a few months ago. Now Clinton is sending in more troops, heavy battle tanks and deadly C-130 gunships to wreak a bloody revenge.

Seven of the U.S. commandos are listed as missing in action. At least one, a pilot of the downed Blackhawk, was captured by forces loyal to defiant clan chieftain Mohammed Farah Aidid. This U.S. pilot, speaking on a video made by a freelance Somali journalist, plaintively admitted, "innocent people being killed is not good." He should know. With their overwhelmingly superior firepower, the American forces have slaughtered and mutilated hundreds of Somalis. There are truckloads of dead. Mogadishu hospitals are overflowing with at least 500 wounded. "People are lying all over the floors in pools of blood," reported a Canadian journalist.

AP

Jubilant Somalis hold up piece of U.S. helicopter shot down over Mogadishu.

Nonetheless, the Somalis are jubilant that they were not simply defenseless victims of another one-sided massacre by the U.S./UN "peacekeepers." Cheering crowds in Mogadishu displayed the corpses of two U.S. soldiers while a child danced atop a UN military vehicle.

For the racist pigs of the U.S. ruling class, the deaths of some 20 American soldiers count infinitely more than the hundreds of black Africans butchered by the U.S./UN forces since they occupied Somalia last December. Even before last Sunday's battle, there were increasingly strident calls in Washington to withdraw before the Somalis took out more U.S. soldiers. Senate Republican leader Robert Dole has called for getting out of Somalia, and Democratic Senator Robert Byrd warned, "we will be drawn further into this quagmire, with a very real prospect for the loss of American lives."

At the same time, there is a strong sentiment in the U.S. ruling class to avenge itself against Aidid for bloodying its military forces. One recalls that in the late 19th century a small British colonial army in the Sudan under General "Chinese" Gordon was wiped out by the Mahdi, an Islamic visionary. The British then sent in a far bigger expeditionary force under General Kitchener to exterminate the Mahdist movement.

The exploited and oppressed peoples throughout the world can only welcome the stinging humiliation of the American imperialist adventure in Somalia. As Clinton lashes out, we demand: U.S. imperialism get out of Africa! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 586 | 22 October 1993

"Vietnam Syndrome" Haunts U.S. Rulers

U.S./UN Get Out of Somalia Now!

Eldon/Reuters

U.S. Army Cobra assault helicopter terrorizes Somali children in Mogadishu.

After months of gunning down Somali women, children and men, U.S./UN troops finally found out on October 3 what it's like to be on the receiving end, and Washington is still vibrating from the repercussions. Following the disastrous raid by elite U.S. Rangers on Mogadishu's Olympic Hotel, during which three UH-60 Black Hawk helicopters were shot down by Somali militiamen, thousands of Somalis—mostly women and children—in the nearby Bakhara Market came under U.S. attack.

Over 300 Somalis were massacred and at least 700 wounded by U.S. Cobra helicopter gunships and ground troops during the 15-hour bombardment. "There were hundreds, hundreds," said a relief worker, "women, children, all with awful wounds." But the Somalis fought back, pinning down the Rangers for hours before UN reinforcements arrived. The U.S. death toll of 18 troops killed and 85 wounded was slight compared to the butchery inflicted on the Somalis (which certainly doesn't bother the Pentagon). But it caused many Americans to have flashbacks to the U.S. defeat in Vietnam.

The image of a dead Ranger being dragged naked around Mogadishu by triumphant Somalis was humiliating to the U.S. military, and the carnage shocked a lot of Americans who still had naive illusions in a "humanitarian intervention" in Somalia into seeing that the U.S. was not wanted there. Even before the October 3 debacle, sentiment was running high on Capitol Hill for getting out of the Somali "quagmire." And as we go to press, it is reported that the U.S. is pulling the 750 Rangers from Somalia as part of an informal truce in their undeclared war.

The White House blamed everything on UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali's obsession with hunting down Somali clan militia chief Mohamed Farah Aidid, and the media dutifully went after the designated scapegoat. Clinton's personal choice to run the "UN" military operation. The *New York Times*

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Down with Army Death Squad Regime!

Haiti: U.S. Gunboat Diplomacy

Aristide, Front Man for Washington

OCTOBER 18—In a classic example of "gunboat diplomacy," the imperialists have sent a flotilla of six U.S. and three Canadian warships into Haitian waters to pressure the puppet military regime to step back into line. The blockade is supposed to enforce an embargo on oil and military supplies decreed yesterday by the United Nations Security Council. President Clinton also sent troops to the Guantánamo naval base in Cuba and beefed up the Marine contingent at the U.S. embassy in Port-au-Prince.

The imperialists' threatening moves came after Clinton pulled back some 200 U.S. and Canadian troops aboard the USS *Harlan County* because of a rowdy demonstration by some 50 armed supporters of the military regime screaming, "We are going to turn this into another Somalia!" The troops were sent as part of a deal to restore elected president Jean-Bertrand Aristide to office. Despite its embarrassment over last week's incident, U.S. rulers have never been that gung-ho for the populist priest Aristide. And Washington is hesitant to take even minimal casualties, as the Pentagon's humiliation in Somalia has set off an uproar

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U.S. Navy

U.S. imperialists wave Big Stick.

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Defeat Prop 174! For the Separation of Church and State!

California Public Schools Under Attack

In California's November special election, the term "pro-choice voter" has acquired a sinister new meaning that includes Christian fundamentalists and a host of right-wing ideologues. They're all rallying behind Proposition 174, the so-called "Parental Choice in Education Amendment," which promises to wreck the already crippled public education system. The proposed amendment to the state constitution would provide "vouchers" for every school-age child (K-12). These vouchers, valued at about $2,600 per year—*half* what is currently spent educating each child in the state's public schools—would then be sent to public, private or religious schools to pay tuition.

Backers of the voucher plan are taking advantage of the justifiable and widespread dissatisfaction with the public school system by pledging to "save money" and "eliminate bureaucracy." A glaring indication of the severity of the crisis is that public schoolteachers disproportionately send their own kids to private schools. Perennial budget cuts and years of conscious malign neglect dating back to the passage of Proposition 13 in 1978 have left California schools understaffed and on the verge of bankruptcy. If passed, Prop 174 would siphon an additional *$1.3 billion* out of public education to subsidize students in private schools, most of whom don't need a subsidy anyway! The immediate result would be a shift of revenue *away* from poor school districts toward private schools in affluent areas, with black and other minority students getting the extremely short end of the stick.

Schiebeck/AFP

L.A. teachers strike of 1989 won broad support. Needed now: a statewide teachers strike backed up by the power of all labor to save California schools.

The voucher system is being pushed by an army of ultrarightists whose program is to *liquidate* public education and undo the constitutional separation of church and state. Drooling over the prospect of state-funded church schools, the religious right has adopted the voucher initiative as a modern-day crusade against "secular humanism," the teaching of evolution and sex education. Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition has kicked in $100,000 toward pro-voucher ad campaigns, and is hosting $50-a-plate banquets to pay for more than four million voter guides. Robert Simonds of the ultraright "Coalition on Revival" aims to "replace all public local schools" with private Christian campuses by the year 2000 and has founded "Citizens for Excellence in Education" to raise funds for the initiative. At one church-sponsored voter drive, a pro-voucher zealot raved to the Oakland *Tribune*, "America was considered a Christian nation, and we were gracious enough to let other people come here as guests. We should not let public schools say you can be neutral about religion."

The Democratic Party "opposition" to the initiative is trying to outdo the religious right in racist demagogy. Since any private school with at least 25 students would qualify to receive state funding and there are no criteria for curricula or faculty credentials, Los Angeles State Senator Diane Watson conjures up the spectre of the "Crips" and "Bloods" street gangs starting their own voucher schools. "What's to keep them from getting a school together and teaching their children to use weapons?" asked Watson in a cable TV call-in debate. None of the draconian cuts in the state's education budget could have passed without the approval of the Democratic Party's majority in the State Assembly.

The teachers unions have buried themselves in a "Committee to Educate Against Vouchers," where they make common cause with the employers—the California State Board of Education—as well as state officials, Democratic Party politicians, People for the American Way, the Church State Council and the Business Roundtable! The Committee's primary objections are that teachers at voucher schools require no credentials, that voucher schools would be virtually impossible to regulate, and in a calculated appeal to conservatives they argue that the voucher system "creates pressure for a major tax increase."

Against a background of rising unemployment and anti-immigrant hysteria, the education ax in California will cut particularly viciously at minorities, the poor and school employees unions. The teachers unions—CTA, CFT, CSEA and CSCSE—have come under increased attack as voucher proponents blame the overworked and underpaid teachers (who don't want to take salary cuts) for the crisis in education. But the unions have politically disarmed before the battle by tying themselves to the bosses' Democratic Party and limiting themselves to "fighting" the onslaught against public education at the ballot box. A fighting labor movement could make short shrift of Wilson's killer cuts—and win thousands of unorganized workers, including many undocumented immigrant workers, to its ranks. When the Los Angeles teachers struck in 1989 they drew the enthusiastic support of thousands of students and community residents angry at the cutbacks and destruction of public education.

Proposition 174 should be defeated overwhelmingly at the polls, but *voting "no" is not enough!* Surveys indicate that it will probably fail this time around, but a revised edition is likely to appear on the ballot next year. Having gauged public opinion, the forces of reaction have a much better idea of exactly what they can get away with in this period. What is urgently needed is a broad social struggle—*a statewide teachers strike, backed up by the power of all labor, to save California schools.* To organize such a struggle requires forging a new class-struggle leadership in the union movement to break with the Democratic Party exploiters. In this epoch of capitalist decay, it is no less true than it was in Karl Marx's time that it is the communists who fight for universal public education. For the right of free, quality public education for all! Not a penny for the church and private "academies"! Defeat Prop 174! ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Trotsky on the Chinese Revolution

Leading into and summarizing the experience of the Russian Revolution of 1905, Trotsky developed his program of permanent revolution: that the revolutionary seizure of power by the proletariat, leading the peasantry, is the only way to resolve the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, which become inextricably intertwined with the socialist expropriation of the bourgeoisie. This was confirmed by the 1917 October Revolution, underlining the crucial role of the leadership of a Bolshevik vanguard party. The disastrous defeat of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, in which Stalin reverted to the Menshevik policy of subordinating the proletariat to the bourgeoisie—i.e., Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang—proved (in the negative) the general validity of this perspective for the colonial and semicolonial countries in the imperialist epoch. Trotsky addressed this question in The Third International After Lenin, *his comprehensive critique of the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country."*

The first stage of the Kuomintang was the period of domination of the national bourgeoisie under the apologetic label of a "bloc of four classes." The second period, after Chiang Kai-shek's *coup d'état*, was an experiment of parallel and "independent" domination of Chinese Kerenskyism, in the shape of the Hankow government of the "Left" Wang Ching-wei. While the Russian Narodniks, together with the Mensheviks, lent to their short-lived "dictatorship" the form of an open dual power, the Chinese "revolutionary democracy" did not even reach that stage. And inasmuch as history in general does not work to order, there only remains for us to understand that *there is not* and *will not be* any other "democratic dictatorship" except the dictatorship exercised by the Kuomintang since 1925. This remains equally true regardless of whether the semi-unification of China accomplished by the Kuomintang is maintained in the immediate future or the country is again dismembered. But precisely at a time when the class dialectics of the revolution, having spent all its other resources, clearly and conclusively put on the order of the day the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, leading the countless millions of oppressed and disinherited in city and village, the E.C.C.I. [Executive Committee of the Communist International] advanced the slogan of a *democratic* (i.e., bourgeois democratic) dictatorship of the workers and peasants....

The key to the situation lies precisely in the fact that *the task of winning the movement of the poor peasants already fell entirely upon the shoulders of the proletariat*, and directly upon the communist party; and that the approach to a genuine solution of the bourgeois-democratic tasks of the revolution necessitated the concentration of all power in the hands of the proletariat.

—Leon Trotsky, *The Third International After Lenin* (1928)

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Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

Stockton: Longshore Mass Picket Shuts Down Port

ILWU Union Tops Scuttle Solidarity Action With Teamsters

Longshore mass picket outside Continental Grain mill shut down port of Stockton, October 8.

OAKLAND—On October 8, longshoremen shut down all Northern California ports and poured into Stockton to join the picket line of Teamsters Local 439, whose 60 members are striking Continental Grain. Over 300 members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), including busloads from the Local 10 hall in San Francisco, came to stop Continental's use of scabs to load wheat on a ship at the struck facility. The massed pickets put a stop to Continental's scab operation—even state grain inspectors refused to cross their line. As the grain sat in nearby silos one Teamster quipped, "Maybe we'll have to pour milk on it and eat it for dinner."

Continental Grain is part of the world's second-largest grain and commodity empire with estimated sales of $15 billion. After six years without a raise in pension or health and welfare and after working without a contract since March 1, the Teamsters who operate the Stockton mill went on strike last week over medical benefits and an arrogant company demand for a steeper multi-tier wage structure. New employees would take more than three years to reach top wages instead of the current 30 days!

Local 54 longshoremen who work dockside at the Continental terminal refused to cross the Teamsters picket line on October 7. The company proceeded to load the grain using management personnel. The Pacific Maritime Association employers and coast arbitrators, well aware that the recent sellout longshore contract was voted down by Bay Area longshoremen and fearing widespread labor disruption, told Continental to stop loading the ship. But when work continued, hundreds of longshoremen the next morning shut down the port of Stockton and all Northern California ports. At the Stockton picket line, one worker saw our supplement "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!" and told a *Workers Vanguard* salesman, "I've got a proposal: 500 bats, three balls and no mitts!"

Among the Continental strikers were women from Teamsters Local 601 who have been on strike for two years against Diamond Walnut, a Stockton growers cooperative and the world's largest supplier of walnuts. The company replaced the strikers with scabs and the Teamsters leadership's only response was a worthless consumer boycott. Under the government-installed regime of "progressive" Teamsters International president Ron Carey, the scabs are in, the workers are still out. One woman Teamster told *WV*: "Continental thought that the women would be willing to cross a picket line after the experience of losing their jobs at Diamond Walnut. But they were wrong!"

By afternoon, ILWU International president David Arian was on the cellular phone to Local 10 president George Romero trying to call off the job action. But Romero's plea to go back to work to avoid an injunction and possible fines against the union fell on deaf ears. Longshoremen came out to *win this strike*, not just for a one-day action turned into a ritual of labor solidarity. One ILWUer appealed that they needed to keep the ports shut down and the picket line up to prevent the cops from running scabs past the Teamsters. Surrounded by angry longshoremen, the rump of the Local 10 Exec Board on the spot flipped around 180 degrees and passed a motion to stay out until the Teamsters got a contract from Continental, and to call on longshore locals up and down the coast to join the action. This motion was passed by acclamation in a meeting of the more than 200 longshoremen on the line.

But no sooner had the longshoremen dispersed that afternoon, than another rump Local 10 Exec Board meeting (on the bus going home!) overturned the membership's decision, relying on a court injunction against Continental using non-union labor to load the ship for now. The next day, longshoremen were dispatched to work the California ports. Teamsters bureaucrats are enforcing an injunction limiting picketing at the mill, which is running as non-union truckers deliver corn and pick up tapioca. "We need the longshoremen," said one striker. Teamsters from all over the valley, including the giant Safeway warehouse in Tracy, must be mobilized in mass picket to shut Continental down!

The key to winning against Continental Grain is real labor solidarity—spreading the strike to its other facilities in Tacoma and Portland, and for Teamsters, railroad workers and longshoremen to "hot-cargo" (refuse to handle) its products. In the Pacific Northwest, the grain operators have been on the offensive against the ILWU. Peavey Co. in Kalama, Washington, a grain subsidiary of food industry giant ConAgra, unilaterally imposed a contract last July slashing longshore manning scales by 50 percent. The employers smell blood.

In his column in the ILWU *Dispatcher* (20 September) Arian writes that in three years the union could see a 20 percent decline in membership "under the worst scenario." He ought to know! The recent contract agrees to help the bosses "modernize" operations—i.e., slash jobs and work rules that stand in the way of greater profits. Rather than fight for longshore jobs through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, Arian proposes to organize other workers to keep his dues base. This will lead to the kind of deadly raiding which is destroying union conditions at East and Gulf Coast ports, where ILA tops have just extended the contract. On the fruit docks in Philly, ILA dock workers have been replaced by Teamsters and other unions and pay scales slashed.

Reds built the ILWU in sharp class battles like the 1934 SF general strike. But the decades-long retreat by the "progressive" union tops—first Harry Bridges, then Jimmy Herman—in the face of the employers' offensive threatens to turn into a rout under Arian. For years the union tops blamed every defeat on the anti-labor policies of Reagan/Bush—preaching things will be different with a Democrat in the White House. Now under Clinton they pursue the same slavish policies, hiding behind the bosses' anti-labor laws and injunctions. The one-day ports shutdown once again demonstrates the power of the integrated labor movement. But to wield that power a leadership is needed that transforms the unions from agencies for policing the workers on behalf of the capitalists into organizations for waging class struggle, a leadership fighting to build a workers party against both wings of the "property party" on a program for a workers government.

S.F. Newspaper Bosses Declare War on the Unions

SAN FRANCISCO—With the contracts of eight unions set to expire on November 1, the bosses at the San Francisco Newspaper Agency (SFNA) are gearing up for war. The agency publishes two papers under a "joint operating agreement": the afternoon *Examiner*, fiefdom of William Randolph Hearst III and flagship of the notorious reactionary Hearst clan for three generations; and the morning *Chronicle*, owned by the wealthy Thieriot family. They hope to take advantage of the economic slump to get rid of the unions which stand in the way of unfettered exploitation and profit. Hundreds of jobs, wages and working conditions are on the line.

A new "management team" has been brought in to do the dirty work. John Sias, formerly of the Reaganite anti-labor ABC/Capital Cities media empire, was brought in as *Chronicle* CEO. James Hale, once a union-busting executive at the *Kansas City Star*, was brought out of retirement to head the SFNA. And the company has hired the notorious union-busting Tennessee law firm of King and Ballow, which was used by the Tribune Company, owners of the New York *Daily News*, whose 1990 attempt to smash the unions ran into stiff resistance in a months-long strike.

The Hearst & Co. media trust's first target is the Newspaper Drivers Union, Teamsters Local 921. SFNA bosses want to replace them with "independent contractors" who don't get regular wages or benefits. The first to go are more than 900 kids who work with the Teamsters to deliver papers—starting with 300 youths in the largely Hispanic Mission district.

In another provocation, on September 20 SFNA summarily fired 12 union janitors represented by SEIU Local 87 at its Army Street printing plant. The company announced it had cut a deal with Teamsters Local 665 to cover janitors at its three printing plants, and would fire 40 members of SEIU Local 1877 in Richmond and Union City in October. New janitors supposedly "represented" by Local 665 were to be paid $5.95 an hour—*less than half* what the fired janitors made—and had to pass a racist "language screening test" aimed at purging immigrants, especially Latino workers. Local 665 is reportedly backing away from this sweetheart contract, under pressure from the SF Central Labor Council.

The *Chronicle* is also threatening to get rid of *15 percent* of its reporters and clerical staff, represented by the Newspaper Guild, and eliminate the union composing room. In negotiations with the typographers union, BATU Local 21, the SFNA proposes to accelerate "buyouts" to cut union members by 50 percent, eliminate "substitute" workers hired through the union and hire 75 part-time "composing room associates" at $7.25 an hour, less than half of union scale and without pension or health plan! This is the bitter fruit of decades of attrition packages and so-called "guaranteed lifetime jobs" deals by the Local 21 bureaucrats, letting hundreds of union jobs go down the drain without a fight.

Local 21's social-democratic officials have set up a "Preparations Committee" which includes perennial Workers World Party candidate Gloria La Riva and small-time bureaucrat Fred Ferguson (now running for secretary-treasurer of Local 21), a real sleazeball who is best known for trying to throw the retirees off the union's health plan last year. But rather than a bureaucratic committee to do donkey work (e.g., "organize participation in Joint Conference of Newspaper Unions called actions"), what's urgently needed in this life-and-death battle is to call a mass meeting of all unions and workers at the *Chronicle* and *Examiner* to *elect* a strike committee and hammer out a program to *win a strike*.

There's only one way to stop the Hearst & Co. media barons: *Strike together to shut down the* Chronicle/Examiner*—including especially their newer color plants in Richmond and Union City—with mass pickets and plant occupations to stop scab operations, and mobilizing Bay Area labor to beat back strikebreaking company goons, Mayor Frank Jordan's SFPD cops and the bosses' courts.* In order to forge a fighting alliance with black and Latino workers, the wretched history of job-trusting by the historically white craft unions (with their aging membership) must be overcome. There should be one industrial union of all newspaper workers, and a fight to integrate the workforce through union recruitment and training of minorities.

Newspaper unions are under siege across the country as media moguls introduce new technology and play on divisions between the once-strong craft unions. In bitter strike battles at the *Chicago Tribune* (1986), the New York *Daily News* (1990-91) and the *Pittsburgh Press* (1992) newspaper workers have shown their willingness and ability to fight, only to be sold down the river by union bureaucrats who fear above all any real use of union power, because they are wedded to the bosses' profit system and its Democratic Party front men. We need a multiracial, class-struggle workers party with a program to fight for workers power! ■

Stalinism and Counterrevolution in China

New York, New York
26 September 1993

Dear *Workers Vanguard*,

In the China article (*WV* No. 582, 13 August) there was a confusing formulation concerning Mao's façade "bloc of four classes," which was initiated upon the proclamation of the People's Republic of China in October 1949. The sentence in question reads:

> "After it took power, the CCP [Chinese Communist Party] initially banned strikes and for several years maintained a 'coalition government of four classes' *including representatives of the bourgeoisie.*" (emphasis added)

This sentence is open to misinterpretation and confusion that the Chinese bourgeoisie had real "representatives" in the government which ensued from the revolution, following three years of bloody civil war. The Maoists hold this "bloc of four classes" up as proof of Mao's theory of New Democracy, which they claim resurrected Lenin's policy of a "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry." But Lenin's formula was explicitly aimed *against* the Menshevik policy of coalitionism, and he abandoned that slogan in April 1917.

In fact, during the Civil War (1946-49) all sections of the Chinese bourgeoisie and the imperialists gave military support to Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang (Chinese Nationalist Party) against the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Liberation Army (PLA). For that reason, the Civil War destroyed the Chinese bourgeoisie as a politically organized class, reducing them to atomized property owners. Despite "the bloc of four classes" rhetoric, the early Maoist regime did not share power with any section of the Chinese bourgeoisie. The government power was clearly in the hands of the CCP, and most important, the state power was based on the unquestioned military dominance of the PLA. The bulk of the bourgeoisie fled to Taiwan.

Was the New Democracy (a rewrite of the Stalinist two-stage revolution program) or Trotsky's Permanent Revolution proven to be correct in China 1949? In spite of the Maoists' best wishes for a "democratic dictatorship" there was none. Trotsky predicted the outcome in *Third International After Lenin*, which is quoted in our pamphlet *The Stalin School of Falsification Revisited*:

> "The third Chinese revolution, despite the great backwardness of China, or more correctly, because of this great backwardness as compared with Russia, will not have a 'democratic' period, not even such a six-month period as the October Revolution had (November 1917 to July 1918); but it will be compelled from the very outset to effect the most decisive shake-up and abolition of bourgeois property in city and village."

The Permanent Revolution was confirmed by the events both objectively (concerning the social revolution), and in the negative sense, subjectively; that is the absence of a revolutionary Trotskyist party leading the revolution. Thus, as is stated in the same *WV* article:

> "Despite the enormous gains of the 1949 Revolution, the Chinese workers state was deformed from its inception, ruled by a nationalist bureaucracy that prevented the worker and peasant masses from exercising political power."

Communist regards,
Keith Markin

Tokyo, Japan
8 September 1993

Dear Comrades,

In the section on minorities in the article "Explosion Builds in China" in *WV* No. 582, we mention the May protests which occurred in Tibet in the context of the national question.

I do not want to ignore the real Han chauvinism which does exist, nor that there is a real national question among the many nationalities that China encompasses, but my understanding of the most recent demonstrations was different than "...protests against inflation that quickly took on political demands against the central government, as 4,000 Tibetans attacked police and Han Chinese businessmen who have flocked to this remote mountain area in search of quick riches."

Scott/BBC

In 1989 protests, workers hold Mao portraits as rebuff to "capitalist roaders." Sign on left reads, "Older Big Brother Is Angry," a reference to the working class.

Coinciding with these most recent protests was a very public international campaign by the Dalai Lama, including a highly publicized meeting with Clinton and Gore in Washington and an appearance at the UN conference on "human rights" in Geneva.

Historically Tibet has been an embryo of counterrevolutionary activities to overthrow the Chinese Stalinists and destroy the Chinese deformed workers state. I would think that many of the protests in Tibet that are called in the name of fighting Han chauvinism are either moves to attain independence and restore the "god-king...who gives all the answers as well as asks all the questions" or could be manipulated for that purpose.

Communist greetings,
Jeanne

Hong Kong
26 August 1993

To: *Workers Vanguard*
Letters to the Editor

The *Workers Vanguard* article, "Explosion Builds in China," demonstrates the correctness and clarity of applying both Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, on the progressive role of the proletariat in transforming society and the concomitant need for a vanguard party, as well as understanding the deadly nature of Stalinism, when changes to a backward society are advanced by a nationalistic peasant-oriented bureaucracy, which wraps itself in the red banner of October whilst it systematically smothers the proletariat, in whose name it rules!

But we are seeing a more assertive proletariat across China, resisting the "reforms" of the Stalinist sellouts in Beijing through strike actions and underground trade-union formations. The recent strike during June and July at the Beijing Cooling Machine Factory exemplifies the growing resentment of the workers to the quickening slide towards capitalist counterrevolution. The factory, which employs over 1,000 workers, saw men and women workers shoulder-to-shoulder with retirees raising a picket line at the front gates of the factory (they were denied a permit to hold street demonstrations by the police).

The factory's parent company threw out the workers from a plant and adjoining office, paid for by the workers' labour, and began to set up modern apartment and office building complexes in its place. "If an outsider comes into your home and tells you to get out, would you just up and leave?" asked one worker. The workers were told they would receive only 70 percent of their salaries over the next 3 months, after which they might get only a meagre 50 yuan (US$8.65/month).

The corrupt Stalinist bureaucracy continues digging its grave, and that of the revolution, with its steady track of alienating the workers and atomizing them politically, fueling a resentment of communism as they perceive it to be by the practices of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). "We are extremely furious.... This action has severely affected the Communist Party's image and caused considerable harm to the interest of workers," said a statement by the striking workers.

Indeed, Deputy Prime Minister and head of the central bank Zhu Rongji is the front runner to the title of "China's Gorbachev," but the spectre of "China's Lech Walesa" and "China's Solidarity" looms just ahead as the living conditions worsen and the alienation of the proletariat from organising and participating in the political life of society heightens.

Han Dongfang, leader of the Beijing Autonomous Trade Union which was set up in May 1989 and subsequently crushed in the June 4 massacre, was recently thrown out of China when he crossed the frontier between colonialism and the very deformed workers state at the Hong Kong/Shenzhen crossing.

Han, the darling of the colonialists of Hong Kong, who cherishes the democracy and trade-unionist rights he fights for in China (yet connives with the comprador-like Chinese bourgeoisie of Hong Kong against organising workers in Hong Kong textile, domestic workers, truckers, etc.) displays a syndicalist outlook, at best, and a blind belief in the generosity of capitalism.

We have not heard any statements from him about defending the gains of the 1949 revolution and the planned economy—or extending the influence of the proletariat to guarantee these preserves of socialism. Where does Han Dongfang look for inspiration? In the working class? In Leninism? The *South China Morning Post* (22 August) provides a clue: "I prayed every day hoping Jesus Christ can always come along with me, so that when I face a harsh situation I can handle it in a calm way." Do we need a photograph of Han Dongfang kissing the ring of Archbishop Carey before he will be exposed as the agent of western imperialism that he is?

In a declaration of the Preparatory Committee of the Beijing Free Trade Union, dated 16 January 1992, besides relying on the International Labour Organisation (ILO) as its mentor, in Article 3 (*We are Now Organising Free Trade Unions*), it states from the very first sentence who their model and mentors are:

> "Ten years ago, the Solidarity Union was set up in Poland. They have now won their crucial victory. Now, a free trade union is also being set up in China. Ten years later, we will also win our victory.... What does it matter if the authorities refuse to recognise and authorise our own union.... Didn't the Polish Solidarity get banned and suppressed ten years ago? What were the results? Solidarity won, and their oppressor fell. The Chinese free trade union will definitely succeed, and those who suppress the free union are also destined to fall."

These are the enemies of the proletariat, the entire working class and peasantry, and are the agents of capitalist counterrevolution. We have the experience of Poland and the correct programme that exposed Solidarity for what it was. The imperialists also have a robust experience. Only the Spartacist League/ International Communist League analyzed the events correctly. To this day, the Revolutionary Communist Party of China—a.k.a. *October Review*, in Hong Kong, the Chinese section of the USec [Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat"]—refuse to admit their mistakes about Solidarity. The RCPC is very active in China today, but they are supplying the same mistakes and illusions in forming independent unions extraneous of the leadership of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party. These are mistakes that will lead to *WV*'s summation (in the negative) that:

> "The contradictions of the 'socialist market economy' will be resolved either by the intervention of the working class to stop capitalist restoration and extend socialist revolution to the rest of Asia, or by the destruction of the workers state and the transformation of China into a superexploited neocolony completely subordinated to world imperialism."

With communist greetings,
Ron F.

WV comments: Han Dongfang already stands exposed as a willing instrument of imperialism. Like his role model, Lech Walesa, he has been underwritten by U.S. agencies and "labor" fronts. Han has received the AFL-CIO's "George Meany Human Rights Award" and the "Democracy Award" of the National Endowment for Democracy, and attended the recent Geneva "human rights" conference on behalf of Washington (*AFL-CIO News*, 26 July and 23 August). ■

Yeltsin Tightens Grip of Repression

Ramsey/Reuters

Yeltsin cracks down. Masked police outside the Itar-Tass press agency in Moscow.

In the days following the October 4 "Bloody Monday" massacre which left the Russian parliament building a charred skeleton, would-be czar Boris Yeltsin has rammed through a series of measures aimed at terrorizing the population and outlawing all opposition to his imperialist-dictated "free market" austerity. Thousands of police and troops roam through Moscow, randomly stopping and hijacking cars, breaking up even the smallest street-corner discussions, assaulting and arresting people at will. While the Western press claims the streets of the Russian capital are quiet, the reality is that Yeltsin's minions have been busy, mainly under cover of night, carrying out a reign of terror. Dozens of people have been killed or wounded by the trigger-happy cops.

A racist hysteria has been whipped up against darker-skinned people from Central Asia and the Caucasus, who are reviled by Russian racists as "blacks" and turned into scapegoats for the astronomical rise in street crime which has accompanied the restoration of capitalism. Moscow authorities seized on the state of siege to launch a pogromist dragnet, officially expelling over 3,400 non-Slavic people and terrorizing at least 10,000 more into leaving in the space of a week. Police have indiscriminately broken into hotels and apartments and ransacked street markets which are predominantly run by Central Asians and Caucasians, beating people, stealing their possessions and dragging the victims off to be loaded onto trains and planes out of the city.

Der Spiegel

Bodies piled up in front of Russian parliament as hundreds were killed in Yeltsin's "Bloody Monday" massacre.

The shell-pocked "White House" stands as a stark reminder of what Yeltsin has in store for any who would defy him. One German newspaper noted that while "the official toll of fatalities is consistently corrected downward, Western sources speak of 500 to 1,000 dead" (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 11 October). Hundreds more were dragged off for "interrogation" and torture. Some Yeltsinite "democratic" forces have demanded a ban on all communist symbols. (In our last issue, we incorrectly reported that this ban had already been implemented.) Even tame social democrats like Boris Kagarlitsky, whose Party of Labor is modeled on its parliamentarist British namesake, were arrested and brutally beaten by OMON riot police before being released. Kagarlitsky later said: "I was a dissident under Brezhnev and jailed for 13 months then. But I was never beaten like that then."

Yeltsin has proceeded apace to impose his presidential dictatorship. Rutskoi, Khasbulatov and other arrested leaders of the parliamentary opposition face up to 15 years' imprisonment. The Constitutional Court has been suspended; local and regional councils have either been disbanded or had their powers stripped in favor of "governors" handpicked by the Kremlin. All but a handful of regional councils have knuckled under to Yeltsin's decree for December elections to a rubber-stamp "Duma"—the name of the tsarist autocracy's sham "legislature"—which is now to be combined with a plebiscite on a new "constitution" handcrafted by Yeltsin's coterie. Not only will these elections be thoroughly rigged but, as one provincial official put it, they will be "elections under the barrels of machine guns."

As we noted last issue, Yeltsin's storming of the Russian White House was the opening shot of "a bonapartist regime aimed at brutally suppressing any kind of resistance to 'free market' immiseration." In the aftermath, Yeltsin decreed an end to government bread subsidies, jacking up the price severalfold. The new state budget mandates the closure of 30 percent of all industrial enterprises, which will mean millions of layoffs. One of Russia's new *biznez* elite crowed: "I would be happy if Yeltsin became a dictator like Pinochet for a year or two to make Russia safe and to give the economy a chance to grow."

The hypocritical cynicism with which Clinton and other imperialist leaders embraced Yeltsin's bloody bonapartist coup as a step toward "democracy" was breathtaking even to a section of the American public. One caller to CNN's *Late Edition* (3 October), who described himself as a conservative and a Republican, pointedly asked how the Congress would feel if Clinton ordered it dissolved and surrounded it with troops!

Today even the rad-lib *Nation* (25 October) observes that "Capitalism is reentering Russia dripping with blood." But two years ago, when Yeltsin carried out his pro-imperialist countercoup in the face of a hungled putsch by recalcitrant Gorbachevites, all manner of liberals and fake-leftists joined the imperialists in hailing it as a "democratic revolution." Uniquely, we Trotskyists of the International Communist League (ICL) raised the call: "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin/Bush Counterrevolution!" We wrote that Soviet workers should have mobilized in defense of the social foundations of the degenerated workers state and torn down the Yeltsin barricades of counterrevolution.

In contrast, the Rabochaya Demokratiya (Workers Democracy) group, affiliated to the British Militant tendency and the U.S. Labor Militant, literally clambered to join the assorted capitalist-restorationist scum atop Yeltsin's barricades. Now (at an October 6 Labor Militant forum at New York City's Hunter College), they try to hide their earlier support to the Yeltsinite "democrats" by arguing that under capitalism there can be no real democracy and that Yeltsin is out to establish a capitalist dictatorship. But only a few months ago, at a Militant summer school in Britain, spokesman Elizabeth Clarke still maintained that the main task in August 1991 was to defend the "tiny beginnings of democracy" by siding with Yeltsin.

Likewise, the Cliffite "state capitalist" International Socialist Organization (ISO) today concedes that the capitalist "market has brought mass unemployment and massive price increases" (*Socialist Worker*, October 1993). But when Yeltsin was the "democratic" hero of the day, the ISO hailed the "Russian Revolution 1991" and cheered that "Communism Has Collapsed." They blithely denied that the "introduction of the market" would "be a fundamental leap backward or counter-revolution" (*Socialist Worker* leaflet, 2 September 1991).

Somewhat to the left of these outfits, the centrist Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) claimed to oppose Yeltsin in August 1991, even while arguing that Soviet workers should have heeded his call for "strikes against the coup" (*Fighting Worker*, September 1991). At the time, they noted that Yeltsin's victory had "put the restoration of capitalism on the agenda as never before," yet two years later they still continue to argue—on the basis of a Labourite fetish with nationalized industry—that Yeltsin's Russia remains a degenerated workers state! Try to explain that to the Russian workers who watched in horror as Yeltsin's tanks rumbled down the streets of Moscow and who now face wholesale factory closures and mass unemployment.

As we wrote almost a year ago, "The period of open counterrevolution ushered in by Boris Yeltsin's pro-imperialist countercoup in August 1991 has, in the absence of mass working-class resistance, culminated in the creation of a bourgeois state, however fragile and reversible" ("How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled," *WV* No. 564, 27 November 1992). We also warned that the new capitalist rulers would have to move toward naked bonapartist dictatorship to enforce "free market" immiseration on the Soviet masses. That is the import of Yeltsin's coup. But while the bloody butcher is firmly in the saddle for now, there is nothing yet approaching a stable capitalist class.

Numerous accounts make it clear that the army high command hesitated until the last minute in deploying troops for the storming of the "White House," for fear of igniting a civil war which would have split the military and the state apparatus down the middle. Even within Yeltsin's own camp there has been splintering, as evidenced by the resignation last week of his longtime aide and deputy prime minister Sergei Shakhrai. Meanwhile the Russian population is horror-struck at the bloodbath which was unleashed on the streets of their capital. The London *Financial Times* (5 October) noted: "Many ordinary people, by their testimony on the streets, find Mr Yeltsin threatening—both because he has smashed the countervailing power and because he ploughs on with reforms that they cannot understand and from which they do not benefit."

But the workers can look to nothing which even approximates a proletarian leadership. Despite its claimed membership of 600,000, the Communist Party-Russian Federation (KP-RF)—the largest of the remnants of the decomposed Stalinist bureaucracy—was nowhere to be seen in the two weeks leading up to Yeltsin's Bloody Monday. KP-RF leader Gennadi Zyuganov denounces the ban on his organization by proclaiming himself a "true centrist"! Similarly, when the newspaper *Rabochaya Tribuna* (Workers Tribune)—which is published jointly by the former official FNPR "trade union" federation and the corporatist union of industrial managers—was banned, a spokesman protested: "This newspaper has done its best to keep workers off the streets" (*Financial Times*, 6 October).

What the Soviet workers need is a Bolshevik party committed to the struggle to sweep away Yeltsin and all the would-be exploiters through socialist revolution. End the ban on all newspapers and organizations! Free all anti-Yeltsin political prisoners! Stop the racist dragnet against non-Russian minorities! Down with would-be czar Boris, tool of the Western banks! ■

Young Spartacus

May I Show You This Article?

The Anti-Sex Code at Antioch College

Campus "Sexual Assault Peer Educators" enact "date rape" at Brown University. Note telltale evidence of demon drink (beer bottles) on table.

Peterson/Saba

The bourgeoisie's "family values" campaign has landed radical feminists in bed with the Moral Majority at Antioch College in Ohio. Whipping up hysteria around the "issue" of date rape, Antioch administrators are kicking in bedroom doors of students who have gone to college precisely to get away from parental snooping. With feminists cheering them on, the administration has implemented an outrageous *in loco parentis* anti-sex policy thinly veiled as simple concern about sexual violence. In Antioch's would-be new sex utopia, all Little Red Riding Hoods will be protected from the big bad wolves in the forest.

Sexual offenses as defined in Antioch's new "Sexual Offense Policy" include: "Insistent and/or persistent sexual harassment...emotional, verbal or mental intimidation or abuse found to be sexually threatening or offensive... unwelcome and irrelevant comments, references, gestures or other forms of personal attention which are inappropriate and which may be perceived as persistent sexual overtones or denigration." So if someone *thinks* they might have been harassed or raped, then by definition they *have* been. Beware, all those looking for a good time on Saturday nights: This anti-sex witchhunt has a whole inquisition structure ready to go. You could get suspended for a minimum of three months simply for having asked someone out on a date!

These regulations set up an absurd maze of verbal "rules of engagement." Karen Hall, Antioch "advocate" for the policy, lectured an audience: "Each step of the way, you have to ask. If you want to take her blouse off, you have to ask. If you want to touch her breast, you have to ask. If you want to move your hand down to her genitals, you have to ask. If you want to put your finger inside her, you have to ask" (*New York Times*, 25 September). So if you engage in fully consensual sex but don't talk much, your college career could go up in smoke. Which reminds us—the guidelines say even verbal consent is impossible under the influence of alcohol or drugs. So say two people decide to get really stoned and screw each others' brains out—they could *both* be expelled as rapists!

In the eyes of American racists, one of the worst "crimes" a black man can commit is sleeping with a white woman. Antioch's policy is not only sexist and anti-sex, it reads like it comes out of the Jim Crow South, where "reckless eyeballing"—a black man even so much as looking at a white woman—could get a black man lynched. In Katie Roiphe's book, *The Morning After: Sex, Fear, and Feminism on Campus* (Little, Brown and Company, 1993), the author tells how a female student at George Washington University fabricated a story of having been raped by two black men just to emphasize the seriousness of rape. How about the seriousness of the lynch mob that could have ensued?!

These guidelines are inspired by anti-sex feminists like Andrea Dworkin, who insists that heterosexual sex is defiling, degrading and dehumanizing to women, and Catharine MacKinnon, the grande dame of the anti-pornography movement (supported by right-wing racists like Jesse Helms), who states: "Politically, I call it rape whenever a woman has sex and feels violated." Campuses are painted as hotbeds of sexual assault, with blue lights and newly installed emergency phones, distribution of whistles, lists of men accused of date rape, graffiti on bathroom walls like "Sex is Rape," "Sex is Death," "No such thing as safe sex." At Harvard University, *any* sexual contact between students and professors (or graduate TAs) has been formally banned, with enforcement based on a spy system: all "illicit liaisons" must be reported on pain of sanctions (*Playboy*, November 1993).

Author Katie Roiphe rightly criticizes feminists who see heterosexual sex as the central mechanism of the subjugation of women, yet her own liberal feminism blinds her to the source of women's oppression: the patriarchal family under capitalism. Women are still forced to stay out of the workforce to raise children, still forced into domestic slavery, and this, not heterosexual sex, is what provides the *material* basis for women's oppression. The date rape hysteria echoes the continuing hysteria over "child abuse" which targets day care: Sorry moms, but you'd better quit your jobs, run home and keep your kids locked up too. And behind the furor over date rape is a drive to scare women back into the sexually segregated conformist social mores of the '50s.

The underlying assumption here dates back to the Victorian era—that women don't like or want sex, that sex is dirty, violent, something that only men want and are constantly forcing upon women one way or another; in short, that good girls save themselves for marriage and bad girls get raped. Antioch's "PC" sex canon sends the message that sex and men are things that women need to fear and avoid at all costs; that sex and men can provide no ecstatic pleasure but only danger, misery and victimization. Certainly, rape and sexual assault are violent, brutal crimes committed against women. But this policy has nothing to do with such violence. Rather it is a puritanical onslaught on a basic facet of human interaction—namely sex.

Believe it or not, some women really do like to screw, and in general kids just want to have some fun. Government, parents and "loco parentis" prying college officials: get out and stay out of our bedrooms! ■

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"Take Back the Night" Posse

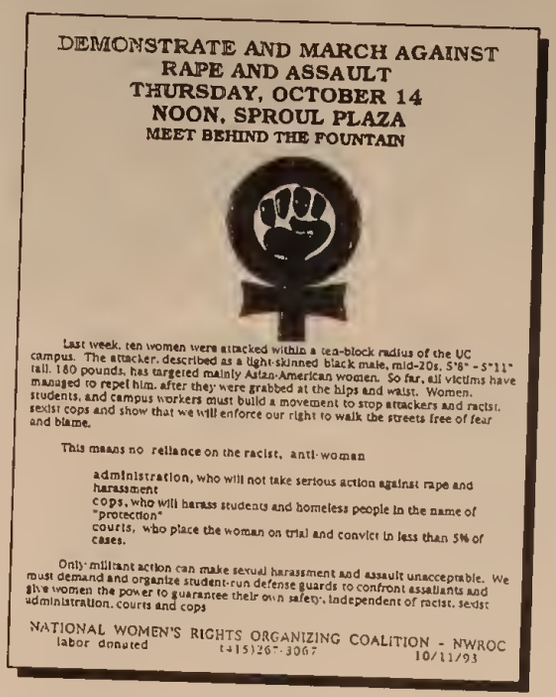
RWL Racist Vigilantism

BERKELEY—Black students at the University of California at Berkeley suffer endless harassment, from the racist cops and the administration to mace-spraying shopkeepers. Last week—a special police-sponsored "Campus Safety Week"—black Cal students were threatened again when posters appeared around campus describing a "light-skinned black male, mid-20s, 5'8"-5'11" tall, 180 pounds" who is being sought for allegedly attacking several women around campus.

Was this an "APB" issued by the campus cops? A call for a posse organized by local racists? No, it's the latest "movement" of the National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition (NWROC), front group of the misnamed Revolutionary Workers League. On October 14, NWROC held an "anti-rape" pep rally for a racist manhunt on campus and took to the streets in "Take Back the Night" feminist vigilante style.

Move over, thugs in blue uniforms—these law-and-order "socialists" are mobilizing "militant action" to do the job for you! NWROC's "description" of the alleged attacker—taken straight out of the police blotter—is so broad and non-descript that every black male on the Berkeley campus must fear for his life to leave his dormitory!

The RWL's quest to collar a black man accused of rape conforms to a despicable tradition of American racism. The Confederacy-loving epic movie *Birth of a Nation* depicts as heroic the Ku Klux Klan's birth "in defense of white womanhood" against "black rapists"; the black Scottsboro Boys in the 1930s fought for their lives against a racist Southern lynch mob that accused them of raping two white women; 14-year-old Emmett Till was lynched in 1955 for the "crime" of "reckless eyeballing" a white woman; and convicted black rapist Willie Horton epitomized George Bush's racist 1988 election campaign aimed at beefing up the forces of state repression.



DEMONSTRATE AND MARCH AGAINST
RAPE AND ASSAULT
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 14
NOON, SPROUL PLAZA
MEET BEHIND THE FOUNTAIN

Last week, ten women were attacked within a ten-block radius of the UC campus. The attacker, described as a light-skinned black male, mid-20s, 5'8" - 5'11" tall, 160 pounds, has targeted mainly Asian-American women. So far, all victims have managed to repel him, after they were grabbed at the hips and waist. Women students, and campus workers must build a movement to stop attackers and racist, sexist cops and show that we will enforce our right to walk the streets free of fear and blame.

This means no reliance on the racist, anti-woman

administration, who will not take serious action against rape and harassment
cops, who will harass students and homeless people in the name of "protection"
courts, who place the woman on trial and convict in less than 5% of cases.

Only militant action can make sexual harassment and assault unacceptable. We must demand and organize student-run defense guards to confront assailants and give women the power to guarantee their own safety, independent of racist, sexist administration, courts and cops

NATIONAL WOMEN'S RIGHTS ORGANIZING COALITION - NWROC
labor donated (415)267-3067 10/11/93

RWL's NWROC issued this leaflet calling for a racist manhunt on the Berkeley campus.

The RWL's crusade occurs in a context of escalating police attacks on blacks at UC Berkeley. Black teenagers who used to enjoy coming to this area on weekends have found Telegraph Avenue sealed off by armed cops manning barricades to keep them out. The cops were supported by the campus newspaper, which railed against teenage "rat packs" (!) from "Richmond and Oakland" (*Daily Californian*, 1 October). Some years ago a black fraternity dance was viciously raided by campus cops, who just staged a repeat performance last month and attacked Latino students in MEChA at a party on campus.

Although NWROC postures as the most sexually liberated, most defiantly pro-gay radicals around, NWROC's campaign to ensure women's "safety" just puts a "radical" veneer on racist vigilantism and the anti-sex and anti-crime hysteria sweeping the campuses. For instance, NWROC has issued a questionnaire on sexual assault and harassment at UC Berkeley with a gamut of questions like, "Would you consider it rape if she let him pay for the date?"—which harken back to the movies of the '50s that preached "safe dating." The survey also asks students to rate the safety and rape services on campus—which are run by the cops!

The RWL's penchant for attaching themselves as the "militant" tail to whatever is moving in society has in the past led them to bloc with reactionary forces like the anti-woman anti-Communists of Polish Solidarność. Now with their plunge into the anti-crime hysteria on campuses, the RWL/NWROC is playing with dangerous calls for vigilantism that serve as an extralegal prop for the racist authorities and to egg on a lynch mob.

This is an offshoot of the wave of bourgeois hysteria that has swept California in the wake of last year's L.A. upheaval over the acquittal of the racist cops who brutally beat Rodney King. In Beverly Hills, "armed response" signs have replaced those for liberal causes, and in the Berkeley "Copwatch" coalition you find rad-libs and reformists defending "non-brutal" cops and declaring, "We are not anti-police" (see "BT and the Cops," *WV* No. 583, 10 September). So now the RWL joins the equally misnamed "Bolshevik Tendency" in pandering to "law and order" racism.

As we wrote in "Rape and Bourgeois Justice" (*Young Spartacus* No. 29, February 1975): "Within the confines of capitalist society and through the 'justice' of the bourgeois state, the search for an equitable administration of justice for the crime of rape is caught in a maze with no exit. Each proposed solution, from legal reform to direct vigilante retribution, runs into flat contradictions arising out of the intersection of sex, race and class in this capitalist society."

Capitalist society—its forced poverty, rigid family structure, hypocritical straitjacket morality—breeds the poisonous frustrations that explode in violence. Socialist revolution alone can create the economic basis to replace the patriarchal family, liberate women and do away with the inequalities and pathology of capitalism in its death agony. The Spartacus Youth Clubs seek to build a revolutionary workers party that defends the interests of *all* the oppressed in fighting for a workers state where men and women of all races will stand in full equality. ■

Feds, Fascists and Gun Control

Oakland, CA
13 October 1993

Dear Editors:

There has been considerable discussion in the Berkeley-Oakland Spartacus Youth Club over the article "Feds Set Up Fascist in Idaho" (*WV* No. 579, 2 July). Some of us at first didn't understand why we should even care about an incident where fascist nuts are set up and attacked by the state. During the discussion, however, it became clear that this was yet another case of state murder in the course of an attack on the right to bear arms. While the SYC fully affirms the line of the article, some youth comrades think that the article was unclear in its tone and presentation, and did not sufficiently highlight the necessary conclusions from the brutal events that took place in the isolated mountains of Idaho.

The article stated that the bourgeoisie seeks "to keep its fascist dogs of war on a short leash." We should be explicit that the state is not going all-out to bust up gangs of fascist killers. The tragic deaths of five leftists in Greensboro, North Carolina at the hands of the FBI-"infiltrated" KKK in 1979 illustrate quite clearly that the state will even aid the fascists to go after their real enemies—communists and the labor movement. Why then did the state set up Randy Weaver? Not because the BATF [Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms] butchers of Waco were in any way concerned about his Hitlerite proclivities, but because his two sawed-off shotguns violated the sacrosanctity of the state's monopoly on firearms. When the BATF shot Weaver's 13-year-old son in the back, there was return fire which killed one of the BATF marshals. Under fire from the bourgeois state, Weaver defied the authority of the BATF. This is the "crime" for which Weaver is being prosecuted, and for which his wife and child have paid their death sentences.

The point that the feds were after Weaver solely because he exercised his right to bear arms was not driven home in the way we would have liked. When the state can blow away people or organizations with impunity for exercising their right to bear arms, we communists have cause for alarm. We know that the big guns of the bourgeoisie are trained on the exploited and oppressed working class, especially blacks and other minorities. As we seek to organize the multiracial proletariat for the disarming of the bourgeoisie, it is of strategic importance that we defend unconditionally the legal right to bear arms. Seeking complicity from the public for its perennial "gun control" campaign to disarm the population, the bourgeoisie (spearheaded by the liberals) has directed its initial attacks on the fringes of society. From the Branch Davidians to the fascist survivalists in Idaho, the bourgeoisie is gunning for "extremists" who are "hostile to law enforcement."

For our opposition to state murder, the centrist Revolutionary Workers League baits the SL for "defending fascists and right-wing cults." The RWL doesn't see the state as the main enemy, so they can forgive the massacre of the Weaver family as a justifiable act "against fascism." The program implicit in such a line of reasoning is a "militant" twist on the liberal call for the state to "ban the Klan," in this case calling on the state to "blow away the Klan." The RWL, which to date has not gone into print on the Waco holocaust, certainly has a touching, if not blind, faith in Big Brother Bill to watch out for them. Do these self-proclaimed "Leninists" really believe that the bourgeois state is here to defend them from Nazis and armed religious sects?

The Democrats are notorious for putting on a "humanitarian" façade while carrying out brutal oppression. Clinton/Reno slaughtered 86 men, women and children in Waco under the cynical pretext of "stopping child abuse." Clinton sends more troops to Somalia to "feed" bullets and bombs to starving Africans. Now, a mother, her 13-year-old son and his dog are dead in the name of keeping Idaho safe for democracy.

We can afford no illusions that the state gunned down Weaver's family because it was "concerned" with the cultivation of fascist ideology in the Idaho mountains. It was yet another instance of the state's attack on the Second Amendment, which supposedly guarantees our right to bear arms. As Frederick Douglass put it, when agitating for blacks to join the Union Army to crush the racist Confederate army of slaveholders:

> "Remember that the musket...is better than all mere parchment guarantees of liberty. In your hands the musket means liberty; and should your constitutional right at the close of this war be denied...your brethren are safe while you have a Constitution which proclaims your right to keep and bear arms."

But the only rights the working class, especially the black working class, has are those it is able to defend by mobilizing its social power against attacks from the bourgeois state. If we are unable to defend our right to bear arms, our brethren—the working class, blacks, and the specially oppressed—are far from "safe" in this wretched decaying society.

Comradely,
Berkeley-Oakland SYC

Somalia...

(continued from page 1)

(9 October) gleefully reported that after the UN distributed wanted posters advertising a $10,000 reward for the capture of Aidid, Somalis responded in kind: "Within days, rough photocopied handouts offered $1 million to anyone who handed over the United Nations special envoy in Somalia, Adm. Jonathan Howe, referred to in posters and known throughout Mogadishu as Animal Howe."

Howe once called the Somali operation a "blueprint" for the New World Order. But the stunning recrudescence of "Vietnam syndrome" left the administration's foreign policy of "multilateralism" in tatters. Speaking at the United Nations September 27, Clinton declared, "If the American people are to say yes to U.N. peacekeeping, the United Nations must know when to say no." He reportedly told the UN chief "that he had a political problem, that there is a perception on Capitol Hill from watching CNN that every Somali wants the Americans to leave, and that he had to do something" (*New York Times*, 29 September). But Clinton's "Boutros made me do it" defense just made him look ridiculous.

In late September, after Somalis shot down another Black Hawk and jubilantly displayed the crew's charred remains, Congress overwhelmingly passed a resolution threatening to cut off funds if Clinton didn't cut back the Somalia operation. This time the administration made a show of strength, quadrupling the number of U.S. military personnel in the arena to over 20,000, but simultaneously declared that they would not undertake offensive operations and announced a March 31 exit date. Meanwhile, Aidid (suddenly transformed from "warlord" into "general" in the media) has become a folk hero in Somalia, and is cleverly exploiting the rift by sponsoring mass rallies demanding "Boutros-Ghali down! UNOSOM down!"

The Spartacist League declared from the beginning that the U.S./UN intervention was a new colonial occupation of black Africa by Western imperialists, and has initiated and participated in protests in many cities calling for "U.S./UN Butchers Out of Somalia!" We pointed out, "Who could expect 'humanitarianism' from the bloodyminded would-be masters of the world who reveled in the wanton slaughter of more than 100,000 Iraqi soldiers and civilians in the one-sided Persian Gulf 'war'?" (*WV* No. 567, 15 January). The fig leaf of "humanitarian" famine aid fell away, and using the new imperialist code word of "saving failed states," Somalia was seen as a test case for a post-Cold War strategy for U.S. world hegemony. Now they're scrambling for damage control.

Black Man's Burden

The repulsive racism inherent in the assumption of the "white man's burden" to bring "commerce, Christianity, and civilization" (as King Leopold II of Belgium used to say) to the "benighted black tribesmen" of Africa has been glaringly evident from day one of the U.S./UN occupation of Somalia. The current scandal in Canada over the racist atrocities committed by Canadian "peacekeepers" is a prime example. Last month, a military Board of Inquiry report quoted an officer saying that he had come to Somalia "to shoot me a nigger."

This is hardly surprising in light of revelations last spring that the Canadian forces in Somalia were rife with genuine Klan-type fascists, including a Corporal Matt McKay, who belonged to a neo-Nazi group in Winnipeg and sported swastika tatoos. In addition the army tolerated "The Rebels," an "informal" group within the 2 Commando unit which uses a U.S. Confederate flag as its emblem. Four Canadian soldiers are currently facing charges of murder and torture after beating a Somali man to death in Belet Huen, where the Canadian troops are stationed.

From the port of Kismayu, where the Belgian UN troops are stationed, have come hair-raising tales of atrocities: killing hundreds of unarmed Somalis, throwing children into the Juba River to drown, soldiers screaming "white power!" and hurling racist epithets at Somalis, as well as manhandling and raping Somali women, including hospital patients. One witness to the Belgians' barbarity noted, "I don't think their behaviour was unique to the Belgians, although their history in Belgian Congo is not in their favor" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 25 July).

The Belgian colony in the Congo was notorious for its officials' brutality and bloodthirstiness toward the indigenous peoples. In order to squeeze the most out of his share of "this magnificent African cake," Belgium's King Leopold II imposed forced labor. Over the next 50 years, the Congolese population was reduced by at least 8 million. In 1902, the British, whose rubber trade was suffering due to Leopold's sharp business practices, launched an investigation which caused an international outcry against the horrors of the "Congo Free State," shocking the world with descriptions of "village after village burnt and looted, the men taken off as slaves, the women and children hacked to death."

The Belgians were hardly unique. In 1901, during the Boer War for control of South Africa, British general Kitchener burned out farms and imprisoned more than 150,000 Afrikaner and Afrikaans-speaking coloured women and children in concentration camps; thousands died of starvation and exposure. A couple years earlier, Kitchener slaughtered thousands of Sudanese in retaking Khartoum. In the 1920s, the French writer André Gide traveled to the French Congo on an official mission and reported back a devastating picture of "this frightful regime, this shameless exploitation" (Thomas Pakenham, *The Scramble for Africa* [1991]).

This was the brutal reality of colonial rule throughout the continent. Native peoples were divided by arbitrarily drawn boundaries, as with Somalia, which was carved up between the British, French and Italians. Internally, the colonial authorities played one tribe off against another in the tradition of "divide and rule." And when they decided, in the face of the post-WW II colonial independence movement, to end direct colonial rule, they placed their neocolonial satraps at the head of the new artificial states. When faced with a serious challenge, the UN was brought in for cover—as in the Belgian Congo (now Zaïre), where UN "peacekeepers" were used to oust radical independence leader Lumumba (who was then assassinated by the CIA).

Somali Debacle Revives "Vietnam Syndrome"

The "American century," proclaimed by victorious U.S. imperialism at the end of World War II, was buried in the swamps of Vietnam. A couple of years ago, as U.S. war planes and missiles devastated Iraq, the American ruling class triumphantly declared that the "Vietnam syndrome" had at long last been overcome. But now the "New World Order," announced by Bush at the onset of the Gulf War, has been trashed in the streets of Mogadishu. "It's Vietnam all over again," exclaimed right-wing Democratic Senator Ernest Hollings of South Carolina. In the wake of the Somali debacle, Washington got the jitters about making Haiti "safe for democracy." And even *New York Times* columnist Anna Quindlen, the voice of yuppie feminism, saw that obviously "We won't be sending American troops to Bosnia any time soon after this, that's for certain."

While Nazi Germany and Hirohito's Japan were formidable imperialist powers, Saddam Hussein's Iraq was a poor Third World country whose military force was vitally dependent on Soviet support. However, in 1991 the disinte-

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(Signed) Jan Norden, (Editor)

When Is a Warlord Not a Warlord?

When he's a U.S. ally.

The shifting fortunes of U.S./UN intervention in Somalia have starkly exposed the media manipulation of labels and imagery in the service of imperialist foreign policy. When Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein attacked Kuwait in 1990, suddenly this one-time American ally became a "new Hitler." Ever since the Somali would-be strongman Mohamed Farah Aidid was put on Washington's hit list last June, the press has routinely referred to him as a "warlord," conjuring up images of degenerate criminals beyond the pale of "international law" who should be mercilessly crushed. When Aidid proposed a truce last month, the *New York Times* (12 September) reported that "Somali Warlord Is Said to Want Peace Talks." But after the U.S. debacle in Mogadishu, the *Times* (10 October) headlined, "A Truce Is Offered by Somali General to U.N.-U.S. Forces."

Of course Aidid is a warlord, just like the score of other clan-based leaders of armed bands and militias in Somalia. In China during the 1920s and '30s there were a host of such warlords, many of them allied with one or another imperialist power, others with the Kuomintang. Aidid was a main protagonist in the all-sided butchery of the 1991-92 battle for Mogadishu. Now that he has regained respectability, Aidid is sometimes referred to as a "clan leader." Actually, he and his rival for control of Mogadishu, Mahdi, are both part of the Hawiye clan, but belong to different sub-clans (Mahdi is an Abgal, while Aidid belongs to the Averghedir [or Habr Gedir], and his real power base is the Aer sub-sub-clan). In any case, this former chief of police of Mogadishu is not a traditional elder; the spiritual leader of the Aers was blown away in July when the U.S. attacked a meeting of Averghedir elders.

Der Spiegel

Mark Peters

Somalia's Farah Aidid (above) and Angola's CIA-backed Jonas Savimbi.

But the use of such loaded terminology as "warlord" is highly politicized. Thus the American imperialists never call the various thugs they have supported in Africa "warlords"—a prime example being Savimbi in Angola. Aidid's case was complicated by the fact that he was originally Washington's ally (in fact, Aidid's son is an American soldier who went in as a Somali interpreter with the original U.S. troops). The conscious rhetorical manipulation was recently noted by the *Washington Post* (7 October), which reported that "When the American-led mission began last December, U.S. diplomats and senior officers banned their troops from calling him 'warlord.' They honored him instead as a 'faction leader' and escorted him in ceremonial motorcades around the Somali capital."

The media, like the troops, are just following orders. Who's respectable and who isn't is a matter of high policy. Today it's "Mr. Aidid." (Of course, the *Times* once referred to "Mr. Hitler.") For our part, we recognize that Aidid is no anti-imperialist (he has always been friendly with his former patron, Italy, and is now offering to become Washington's man again), but we're glad to see Aidid's fighters giving a hard time to the Yankee imperialists, the main enemy of mankind. ■

Haiti...

(continued from page 1)

in Congress and in the American population against foreign military adventures.

The imperialist intervention in Haiti is being touted by the administration as a blow for "democracy" against Haitian strongman General Raoul Cédras and the other military rulers who two years ago carried out a coup against the populist priest Aristide. But the last time the U.S. went into Haiti, it ravaged the country and massacred thousands during the military occupation of 1915-34. As with the slaughter of hundreds of Somalis in the name of "humanitarian aid," the racist U.S. overseers are using "human rights" rhetoric to cloak a policy which means increased oppression and immiseration for the Haitian masses.

It is not clear at this point if Washington will be able to enforce the July 3 Governor's Island agreement to reinstall Aristide by October 30. That accord, brokered by the Clinton administration under the auspices of the UN, sought to avoid a settling of accounts by the Haitian masses with the uniformed killers. The deal stipulated that Cédras would resign in mid-October as head of the armed forces, along with the sinister Port-au-Prince police chief Colonel Joseph Michel François. The UN called off its oil embargo and began putting together a 1,300-member intervention force to "retrain" the police and "professionalize" the army.

As his part of the bargain, Aristide early this month declared an amnesty "for political infractions committed during the period from 29 September 1991 to 3 July 1993." However, Cédras is now refusing to step down until a "general amnesty" is approved by the parliament.

Since they threw out Aristide, the military butchers have engulfed Haiti in a bloodbath which has left some 3,500 dead. And following the July accord, Colonel François (a graduate of special training at Ft. Benning in Georgia) greatly increased the numbers of civilian paramilitary "attachés," distributing machetes and guns to these thugs on a vast scale. Yet the U.S. continues to wrench Haitian refugees by the hundreds from their boats and force them back into the vortex of repression. (Cuban refugees, in contrast, are welcomed with open arms.)

Prominent Aristide supporters have been greeted with a wave of murderous violence. In early September, five people were killed and 31 wounded when Evans Paul, elected mayor of the capital before the coup, tried to reclaim his office. Then Antoine Izméry, a prominent Aristide supporter, was hauled out of church by attachés and—as nearby police looked on—forced to his knees in the street and coldly executed by a bullet to the head. (A millionaire food importer, Izméry bankrolled Aristide's 1990 election.) Last week, Aristide's newly appointed justice minister and his two aides were gunned down in the street.

The military was the essential prop underneath the 30-year dictatorship of "Papa Doc" and "Baby Doc" Duvalier. As the Duvalier regime was tottering, the Haitian masses struck out against agents of the dictatorship in a wave of retribution, called "*déchoukage*" (Creole for "uprooting"). But it will take nothing less than a social revolution to root out the inhuman brutality and vast corruption that permeates Haitian society. Aristide, this proponent of "liberation theology," far from seeking to mobilize the Haitian masses against their hated oppressors, is now cooperating with Washington in pushing a policy of "*reconciliation*" *with the Duvalierist butchers.*

In August, at the behest of the State Department, Aristide named as prime minister Robert Malval, a wealthy publisher from an aristocratic family. The previous month Malval organized a "Haiti/Government/Business Conference" in Miami, where some 200 Haitian and U.S. businessmen, World Bank officials, and Democratic Party luminaries heard Aristide call for "political stability," "economic growth" and "reconciliation."

In the days after Malval was sworn in (at the Haitian embassy in Washington), the new prime minister made clear what the Aristide government meant by "reconciliation." At the investiture of his cabinet, Malval called for "all exiles without exception to return to the country" (*Haïti Progrès*, 8 September). And in the following days, Malval dotted the i's and crossed the t's: "If the Duvalierists want to create a legal political party, it would be a good thing for the country to encourage them" (*Haiti: Resistance & Democracy Bulletin*, 1 October).

In the atmosphere of U.S.-sponsored "reconciliation," the most notorious Tontons Macoutes butchers have been flocking back to Haiti. Prosper Avril, the bloody dictator ousted by a mass upsurge in 1988, returned to Port-au-Prince the very afternoon of Malval's investiture. The notorious torturer Frank Romain has been making frequent trips from his exile in the Dominican Republic. And *New York Newsday* (17 September) reports: "There have been rumors that former dictator Jean-Claude (Baby Doc) Duvalier might return to live in Haiti after seven years of exile in the south of France. Malval said that Duvalier could return, but that if he did, criminal charges might be filed against him."

The Duvalierists are clearly mobilizing in the expectation of sharing—or openly taking—power. On September 22, the recently formed Duvalierist FRAPH (Front for Haitian Advancement and Progress) demonstrated to celebrate the anniversary of the beginning of François Duvalier's reign of terror. At the demonstration, white doves were released as a symbol of "reconciliation," while a FRAPH leader burned a red flag. Holding up a U.S. flag, he screamed, "Here is the flag we like!" A week later, the FRAPH organized a demonstration on the anniversary of the military coup that threw out Aristide. And on October 7, the "attachés" used mass terror to impose a "general strike" against the return of Aristide which shut down Port-au-Prince and much of the countryside.

Aristide's support for U.S./UN military intervention in Haiti has thrown some of his supporters into turmoil. *Haïti Progrès* (14 and 28 July) speaks of "capitulation." Referring to Aristide's July letter to UN secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali formally requesting that a "multi-national force of about a thousand men" be sent to Haiti, it concludes: "President Aristide has thus crossed the line and given in to the strong pressures of Clinton." Yet these leftists reverentially tailed Aristide as he accepted Washington's forced return of Haitian refugees, as he refused to oppose the U.S. blockade of Cuba, supported the imperialist embargo against Haiti and made it clear he would be the flunky of Bush and Clinton. *Haïti Progrès* remains tied to the class-collaborationist strategy of pressuring Aristide, helping to demobilize and sap the masses' will to fight.

Haiti has long been the most destitute country in the Western hemisphere, which has led to the diaspora of hundreds of thousands of Haitians to be found today in North American cities from Montreal to Miami. The Haitian emigrant workers can be a vital bridge to the powerful American working class. Yet to make this link requires not the nationalism of Aristide's leftist supporters, which has reached an abrupt dead end, but a revolutionary internationalist perspective, of building a Leninist-Trotskyist party as a section of a reforged Fourth International. ■

AFP

Haiti Progrès

Ousted Haitian president Aristide does Clinton's bidding, even though imperialist commander in chief locked up Haitian refugees in U.S. concentration camp at Guantánamo naval base.

grating Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy headed by Gorbachev abandoned its Iraqi client to the predations of the Pentagon. The easy U.S. victory in the Gulf War was also conditioned by Washington's limited aim of retaking the oil sheikdom of Kuwait. Had the U.S. army occupied Iraq and installed a puppet regime in Baghdad, this could have provoked a fierce national liberation struggle and large numbers of GIs returning home in body bags.

Six months after the Gulf War, Boris Yeltsin—Washington's man in Moscow—seized power from the enfeebled Kremlin oligarchy as the Soviet degenerated workers state broke up into hostile nationalisms. The triumphalism of the American ruling class knew no bounds, envisioning a "one-superpower world" built on the "death of communism." However, this triumphalist mood palled as the counterrevolutionary breakup of Yugoslavia ignited a series of fratricidal nationalist/communalist wars in the Balkans—first between Serbia and Croatia, then among the Serb, Croat and Muslim inhabitants of Bosnia. UN resolutions, threats of NATO military interventions and imperialist economic sanctions against Serbia had little effect on the fighting on the ground. The siege of Sarajevo and the tens of thousands of refugees fleeing the killing fields of Bosnia became grim symbols of the new world disorder.

While Washington politicos and the American media engaged in anti-Serbian warmongering, U.S. imperialism edged up to the Balkan cauldron but refused to jump in. The Pentagon brass knew that they couldn't replay the Gulf War scenario in Bosnia. The Balkan conflagration made a mockery of the American rulers' global pretensions. So lame-duck president Bush, backed by Clinton, decided to demonstrate that the U.S. military could still play cops of the world by going into Somalia, a wretchedly backward East African country racked for years by clan warfare.

If Pentagon generals had little stomach for fighting the Serbian forces in Bosnia, U.S. rulers assumed they could easily overawe and overpower African clan warriors. The *New York Times* (13 June) remarked caustically last spring: "Does it mean that peacekeepers will be prepared to take decisive military action only when the adversary is a hapless, ill-trained rabble, like General Aidid's militia, and that Washington and its allies will continue to shrink from more difficult challenges, like quelling the fighting in Bosnia?" But Aidid's militia turned out to be pretty tough customers in their own right. "We just didn't expect to meet the kind of resistance that we did," lamented a UN military official. Washington did not foresee the deep hatred of the Somali masses for what was so clearly a new Western colonial occupation.

The strong and spontaneous "let's get out of Somalia, now" mood in this country is not simply a response to the two dozen American deaths there. What we are seeing is a popular reaction to the domestic costs of imperialist militarism (albeit contaminated in this case with racist and chauvinist disdain for black Africans). Even before the recent debacle in Somalia, *Newsweek* (23 August) observed that "most Americans, after four decades of the cold war, are more than ready to lay down the burdens of global leadership." The failed military operation in the Horn of Africa provided an opening for an outpouring of discontent over the sorry state of American capitalist society.

Popular pressure could force the U.S. to withdraw from a marginal country like Somalia. The whole operation was only intended as a display of "superpower" showmanship, and Clinton has promised to get out in six months. But it would be naive liberal idealism to think that Washington's foreign and military policies are guided by public opinion polls, even when these cannot be effectively manipulated.

The U.S. military must strive to act as cops of the world because the Wall Street banks and Fortune 500 corporations *exploit the working people of the world.* Since the late 1970s, American multinationals have increasingly shifted their manufacturing operations to low-wage Third World countries, especially in Latin America and East Asia. And the collapse of Soviet power has brought to the fore the intensifying conflicts between U.S. imperialism, the German Fourth Reich and Japan Inc.

Only if the capitalist bloodsuckers who run this country are overthrown by the working class, allied with the black and Hispanic poor, can the drive toward a new world war be halted and America's productive resources be used to provide a decent life for working people here and also for the impoverished toilers of Africa, Asia and Latin America. ■

NYC Elections...

(continued from page 12)

the interests of the property party. NYC is the linchpin of world capitalist finance and generates enormous amounts of income tax, yet it is in perennial financial crisis. Today even the most basic defense of minorities and working people requires challenging capitalist property rights. We need a workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed in a revolutionary struggle for power.

Campaigning for Cop Power and Race War

The mayor's man, Harlem ward boss Congressman Charles Rangel, said Giuliani's only got one thing going for him—he's white. Clinton broached the taboo subject without mentioning the "R" word while columnists noted that black mayor Dinkins is in danger of losing to a crazed Reaganite in a city where registered Democrats outnumber Republicans five to one. Giuliani hit back with campaign ads calling his opponents racists, saying he's just talking about being "tough on crime," the danger of the "squeegee pests" cleaning windshields on the Bowery, the "threatening" homeless beggars, and every other codeword you can think of. Giuliani is running as the Great White Hope of Canarsie, the backlash candidate of white ethnic resentment, the "NIMBY" (not-in-my-back-yard) candidate of arrogant yuppies, the candidate of racist cop power.

Giuliani is the quintessential G-man. As a top Justice Department official in the early '80s under Reagan and Meese he "personally oversaw the repatriation of Haitian exiles back into the waiting arms of the Tontons Macoutes" when the Duvaliers were still in power, and had even "traveled to Haiti and come back saying 'repression simply does not exist now'" (*Nation*, 21 June). In '89 he signed on racist bigot Jackie Mason (who called Dinkins "a fancy *schvartze* with a mustache") to push the "three C's" of his campaign: crack, crime and corruption. This time around, it's uglier than ever and the slogan is "cops, cops, cops."

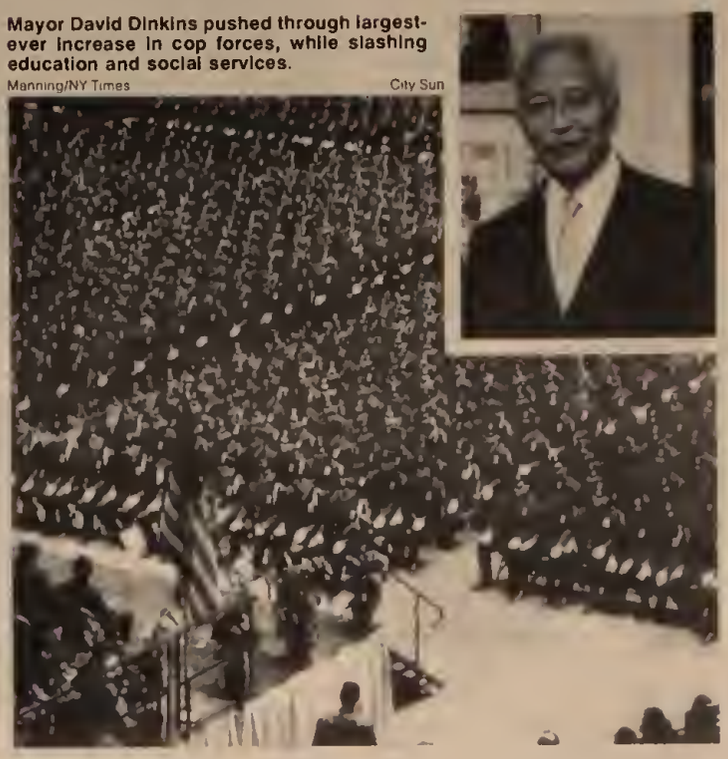
On October 8 during a protest against a police "tag and tow" operation against double-parked cars in heavily Dominican Washington Heights, a cop was killed by a 30-pound bucket of spackle tossed from a rooftop. Giuliani went ballistic, vituperating against "urban terrorists" and denouncing those who double park as "drug dealers." The head of the Housing PBA threatened to "level" and "firebomb" the neighborhood. These are the streets that exploded in anger in July 1992, when José García was shot down at pointblank range by a notoriously racist cop. García was one of some three dozen Hispanic men and many blacks who have been shot down by the NYPD in the last three years.

The centerpiece of Giuliani's campaign for cop power is "Crown Heights." It has been over two years since the explosion of rage after a young black child was run down and killed by a reckless driver in a Hasidic motorcade careening through this predominantly black Caribbean section of Brooklyn. That same night, a gang of black youth criminally stabbed another member of the Luhavitcher Hasidic sect, Yankel Rosenbaum, who died after suffering gross medical neglect at Kings County Hospital. Since then, Zionist leaders and right-wing politicians in New York have waged a relentless campaign for *race war*. Angling for enough Jewish votes to add to his "white ethnics" from the outer boroughs, Giuliani is pushing hard to portray Dinkins as an anti-Semite.

Last fall, when the black youth accused of Rosenbaum's murder was acquitted in a jury trial, Hasidim took to the streets, egged on by Senator of Sleaze Al D'Amato and Giuliani. As this gang spoke from the podium of a Crown Heights rally, "Wanted for Murder" posters picturing Dinkins were distributed. The Zionists' deadly provocations included a march on the mayor's home with a coffin fitted for Dinkins! For the Zionists and law-and-order politicians, it wasn't enough that *hundreds* of black youth were arrested and many, including black reporters, were beaten. They wanted blacks in Crown Heights to be treated like Palestinians in the Occupied Territories: shot down in the streets.

Mayor David Dinkins pushed through largest-ever increase in cop forces, while slashing education and social services.

Manning/NY Times City Sun



A lot of black nationalists and so-called "leftists" have fed into the racists' deadly game. From Sonny Carson's anti-Korean boycotts to FBI fink Al Sharpton's march on a Crown Heights synagogue, they set black youth against Jews and Asians, in a bloody confrontation that black people can only lose in this deeply racist country. As we said in "Death in Crown Heights" (*WV* No. 533, 30 August 1991):

> "This intercommunal war in Crown Heights is dead wrong, deadly dangerous and must be stopped. The Jewish community is *not* the enemy of black people, despite the slanderous poison spread for years by anti-Semitic black demagogues like Louis Farrakhan, and most recently CUNY professor Leonard Jeffries (and despite that walking incitement to anti-Semitism, loudmouth racist ex-mayor Ed Koch)."

After eight years of in-your-face racism from Mayor Koch, Dinkins was elected in good part because he was perceived as bringing some civility to NYC politics. "After Koch, people don't want mayors practicing primal scream therapy at them," one observer commented (*Newsday*, 7 October). Dinkins was put in a bind when Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan scheduled a rally at Yankee Stadium for October 31, just three days before the elections. This would have required the pro-Israel mayor to spend the rest of his campaign repeatedly denouncing Farrakhan's anti-Semitic remarks, risking losing substantial numbers of black votes. Farrakhan conveniently canceled.

This year the Republicans are making a big play for the Hispanic vote, seen as a key "swing" constituency. In 1989, when Dinkins beat out Giuliani by 2 percentage points, Hispanic voters went for the black Democrat by almost two to one. Trying to turn this around, Giuliani signed on Herman Badillo as his running mate for comptroller. (Badillo was paying back for getting nixed by black Democrats in 1985.) He's also buying Hispanic support from the gang of conservative Catholics organized by Cardinal O'Connor to drive out the reform schools chancellor Fernandez and his "Rainbow" curriculum. Scandalously, some of Giuliani's Hispanic supporters are former members of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (including Ninfa Segarra and Willie Nieves, who was formerly Dinkins' Hispanic affairs coordinator). But many Hispanics are closely tied into the Democratic machine via city jobs, and of course state Democratic Party vice president Dennis Rivera's Local 1199 hospital workers union.

Selling Sacrifice

Four years ago "Democratic Socialist" Dinkins was endorsed by the *New York Times*, as the candidate who could "sell sacrifice" to the poor. And he did. Welfare rolls in NYC have climbed to almost 1.1 million, over a quarter of a million more than four years ago. The population of the city shelters continues to grow, as almost 400,000 jobs have been wiped out in the city. The combined police forces of NYC are now over 37,000, and under Democratic governor Cuomo the prison population of New York state has *doubled* in the last ten years. Unemployment for youth is the worst since records were kept, and the only "growth industry" in New York is prisons.

Meanwhile, the Dinkins administration has bulldozed shantytowns like "The Hill," an encampment at the foot of Manhattan Bridge that had been home to over 50 homeless for a decade. The city has gone to federal court to try and get *begging* declared outside the First Amendment, so the NYPD can legally roust the poor. And as Emergency Assistance Units became crowded with homeless families unable to get into an overcrowded shelter system, City Hall simply closed them down, telling the homeless to double up in someone's apartment.

As "fiscal constraints" lead to the slashing of city services, an orchestrated campaign has "discovered" that helping the poor is bad for them. In a grotesque piece redolent of fascism in *New York Magazine* (20 September), Pete Hamill lays out his final solution to the homeless problem, based on "tough love": "Police would move through the streets. They would pick up the homeless.... The basic principle is quarantine." Homeless would be imprisoned for a year at closed military bases, staffed with "tough military veterans," where "security would be very tight, to prevent the entry of contraband liquor and drugs.... Those who protested violently against the quarantine conditions would be charged with crimes of violence." In (unconscious?) imitation of the slogan over the entrance to Nazi concentration camps, "Arbeit Macht Frei" (Work Makes You Free), Hamill says "All must acquire an understanding of how essential work is to a human life."

"Liberal" Hamill wants to lock up the homeless for a year, Giuliani wants to throw them out of the shelters onto the streets after a 90-day limit. This would get rid of *half* of the 24,000 homeless who use the city shelters each night. Like newly elected Los Angeles mayor Richard Riordan, Giuliani wants to privatize everything from the JFK airport to the city hospital system, and even turn over some schools to private contractors. Denouncing New York as "a model of the old USSR" (*Newsday*, 16 August), Giuliani says that under him the city will be "closer to the U.S.A.," starting with his threat to wipe out 35,000 city jobs.

The labor bureaucracy is the backbone of the Democratic Party machine in New York, but the heavily black and Hispanic city workers, who turned out to elect Dinkins four years ago, aren't so quick to buy the lie that a vote for Dinkins will save jobs. In 1990, less than a year after he was installed in office by the popular front of union tops, black misleaders and bankers, Dinkins presided over thousands of city layoffs and massive cuts in social services. Having sold sacrifice to the masses, Dinkins' support is still solid on Wall Street. Again this year, financier Felix Rohatyn is in Dinkins' corner.

Along with the top capitalists, reformist leftists are up to their necks as usual in the pop front, chief among them the Communist Party and their social-democratic split, the Committees of Correspondence. The CP crows mindlessly about "the great victory of 1989" while bragging that "a section of real estate and financial figures" like Rohatyn have backed Dinkins. Sam Marcy's Workers World Party, using the same "fight the right" rhetoric, calls in effect for a vote for Dinkins, saying "a vote against the Republican candidate is a vote against racism" (*Workers World*, 7 October). *This is the classic logic of the "popular front," and it has paved the way for Giuliani.*

Liberal black Democrat Dinkins was put in office because the ruling class feared that the black ghettos and Hispanic barrios could explode. Dinkins' 1989 campaign was virtually run out of the offices of Rivera's 1199 union hall. Today his administration is manifestly bankrupt and his minority and labor support has been ground down and demoralized. Those are the conditions in which an open right-wing, racist, anti-labor zealot has been able to thrive.

The New York City elections come in the context of national political trends, in which not only the Republicans but yuppie Democrats run for office by ostentatiously aiming their pitch to the white middle class. As the *Washington Post* (17 October) recently noted, after more than a decade in which the major American cities had black mayors, they are now being replaced by more "pro-business, anti-crime" right-wing whites (Tom Bradley replaced by Riordan in L.A., Harold Washington replaced by Richard Daley, Jr. in Chicago, Wilson Goode replaced by Ed Rendell in Philadelphia). The White House was so concerned that they brought in Bill and Hillary Clinton to stump for Dinkins. But the Democrats have nothing to offer, except that Dinkins isn't Giuliani.

From the unions to the ghettos and barrios, New Yorkers are angry and looking for a way out. But it won't be through the Democrats, one of the partner parties of decaying American capitalism. Four years ago, *Workers Vanguard* warned that "a black Democrat in City Hall will not, and cannot, reverse the tide of racist terror and union-busting." What we need is a workers party to mobilize the power of the working class in alliance with all the oppressed to tear down this whole racist capitalist system and construct an egalitarian socialist society. ■

London...

(continued from page 12)

Following this victory, the vindictive cops arrested 23 of the anti-racist youth. Earlier, on September 10, nine Bengali youth were arrested as cops attacked a vigil outside the Tower Hamlets hospital where 17-year-old Quaddus Ali lies in a coma after a murderous assault by racist thugs. And in the aftermath of October 16, the police are threatening even more arrests on the basis of videotape IDs of demonstrators. The Spartacist League/Britain and Partisan Defence Committee demand that all charges against all the anti-fascist fighters be dropped immediately!

The day before the October 16 march, the area had been placed under a virtual state of siege. Police invoked the Public Order Act to overrule the march route past BNP headquarters announced weeks earlier by the ANL and YRE protest organizers. On Saturday, thousands of cops lined the march route and side streets, blocking off all streets within a half mile of the BNP headquarters, where a handful of fascists sat cowering behind steel doors. As ANL organizers "negotiated" over allowing a token delegation through the police blockade, angry protesters tore down a brick wall to arm themselves against the cop onslaught. Demonstrators chanted, "Police protect the fascists!"

In the weeks leading up to the march, the Spartacists fought against suicidal illusions in the bourgeois state being pushed by the reformist ANL/YRE organizers. A September 26 SL/B leaflet raised the call: "The Trade Unions, Minorities and the Left Must Mobilise by the Thousands: Drive the Fascists Off the Streets!" Raising the slogan "Remember Cable Street!" the leaflet evoked the memory of a 1936 mobilization by hundreds of thousands of workers, many of them Jewish, which stopped an attempted fascist march through the East End.

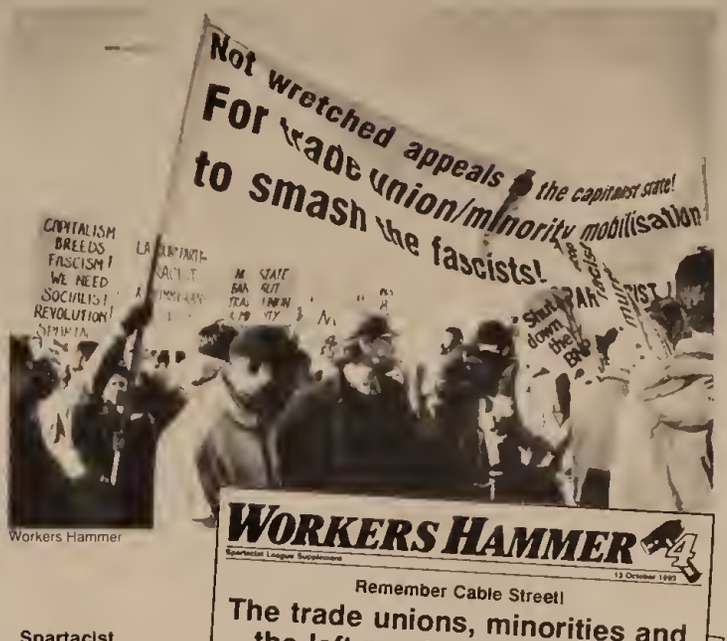
SL/B supporters fought for this perspective, including at a September 28 meeting called by the YRE and the local Tower Hamlets Trades Council. On October 16, the Spartacist League and supporters marched behind the banner, "Not Wretched Appeals to the Capitalist State! For Trade Union/Minority Mobilisations to Smash the Fascists!"

Mass Outrage Over Fascist Terror

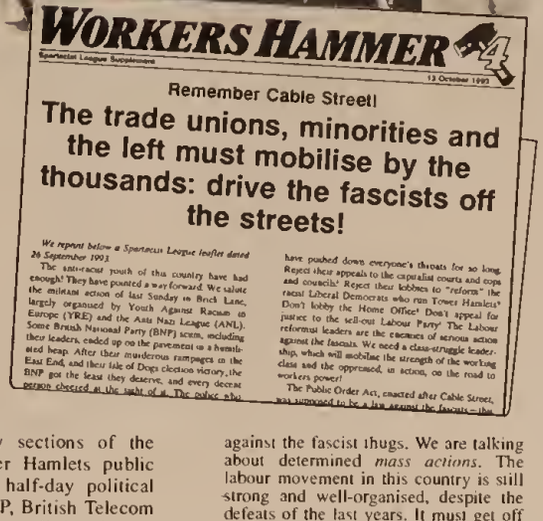
The huge outpouring on October 16 reflected widespread outrage throughout the country over the deadly rise in fascist terror, including the murder of black student Stephen Lawrence in April. When the BNP scored an electoral victory in winning a seat to the local Tower Hamlets council only days after the near-murder by racist thugs of Bangladeshi youth Ali on September 8, Asian youth took to the streets under the slogan, "Self-defence is no offence!"

The sentiment for powerful labor-centered mobilizations to stop the racist terrorists was revealed in a number of symbolic actions by sections of the working class. Tower Hamlets public employees staged a half-day political strike against the BNP, British Telecom phoneworkers voted to pull the plug on the BNP headquarters in nearby Bexley and a number of other unions endorsed anti-fascist demonstrations, including a September 26 protest that brought out some 2,000 people in Brick Lane. The Spartacist leaflet for that demonstration, later reprinted in a special *Workers Hammer* supplement of which 9,000 copies were distributed to the October 16 march, spelled out what's needed:

> "Now is the time to drive the fascists *off the streets, out of the minority areas*! Avenge Quaddus Ali and every victim of racist terror! We want to see serious, lasting victories in the fight against fascism. Weld the militancy of the youth to the power of the *organised working class*, black, white and Asian, and deal a decisive blow against the BNP!... *"The BNP can be stopped in its tracks* We are not talking about weak-kneed protests, and we are not talking about courageous street fights pitting a few tens or hundreds of leftists and youth against the fascist thugs. We are talking about determined *mass actions*. The labour movement in this country is still strong and well-organised, despite the defeats of the last years. It must get off its knees and start to struggle, *as a class*! Defend and steward anti-fascist meetings and marches with disciplined trade union defence guards: it is time the *fascists* went in fear!"



Workers Hammer


WORKERS HAMMER

Spartacist League Supplement

13 October 1993

Remember Cable Street!

The trade unions, minorities and the left must mobilise by the thousands: drive the fascists off the streets!

We reprint below a Spartacist League leaflet dated 26 September 1993

The anti-racist youth of this country have had enough! They have pointed a way forward. We salute the militant action of last Sunday in Brick Lane, largely organised by Youth Against Racism in Europe (YRE) and the Anti Nazi League (ANL). Some British National Party (BNP) scum, including their leaders, ended up on the pavement in a humiliated heap. After their murderous rampages in the East End, and their Isle of Dogs election victory, the BNP got the least they deserve, and every decent person cheered at the sight of it. The police who have pushed down everyone's throats for so long. Reject their appeals to the capitalist courts and cops and councils! Reject their lobbies to "reform" the racist Liberal Democrats who run Tower Hamlets! Don't lobby the Home Office! Don't appeal for justice to the sell-out Labour Party! The Labour reformist leaders are the enemies of serious action against the fascists. We need a class-struggle leadership, which will mobilise the strength of the working class and the oppressed, in action, on the road to workers power!

The Public Order Act, enacted after Cable Street, was supposed to be a law against the fascists – the

Spartacist League/Britain contingent at October 16 anti-fascist mobilization. SL/B leaflet called for fighting strategy to stop BNP racist terrorists.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Yet while there was a sprinkling of public employee banners at the October 16 march, the trade unions did not mobilize for a display of social power which would have taught the BNP fascists a lesson and made the cops think twice before attacking the demonstrators. The Labour Party and Trades Union Congress (TUC) tops instead threw their efforts into a deliberately diversionary "Anti-Racist Alliance" rally—which attracted barely 3,000 people—miles from the BNP's terror nest. And the reformist YRE and ANL organizers had neither a perspective nor a strategy for mobilizing the heavy battalions of the working class, *because they refuse to take up a sharp fight against the pro-capitalist bureaucrats who hold back and strangle the labor movement.*

For months, the ANL has been pouring all its energies into vapid pleas to the Bexley council Conservatives—who appeal to the same racist constituency as the fascists—to shut down the BNP headquarters. Under immense pressure from thousands of young people who want to clean out the fascists, the ANL and YRE leaders talked out of both sides of their mouths, calling for militant action against the BNP while pleading with or petitioning the capitalist state. On the one hand, the chief political force behind the YRE, the *Militant* (8 October) of Peter Taaffe, declared: "Militant Labour does not depend on or want the state to ban the BNP." Yet a week later, the *Militant* wrote, "we do campaign for local authorities to refuse to allow their premises for meetings and to use local planning regulations to close down the BNP bunkers." In similar fashion, Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which dominates the ANL, stated: "We cannot rely on the state to stop the Nazis" (*Socialist Worker*, 9 October). But in the same issue they declared, "If our pressure succeeds in getting Bexley Tory Council to close down their headquarters it will be an enormous victory."

Denouncing the October 16 cop onslaught which left her bloodied, ANL chief steward Julie Waterson said: "Today has shown the police in their true colours protecting the BNP" (London *Sunday Times*, 17 October). But only three weeks earlier, when the cops took 57 BNPers into custody on September 26 to prevent a repeat of the bashing they received a week before, ANL spokesman Claire Dissington crowed: "We welcomed the police action, but it should really have come sooner. We wanted them to stop the BNP selling their newspaper in the area long ago" (London *Independent*, 27 September).

And now, as the bourgeois media seeks to whip up a witchhunt against the anti-fascist demonstrators, ANL honcho Paul Holborow joins in the violence-baiting smears: "Those involved in skirmishes were not representative of the 98 per cent of the demonstrators that went along with the publically stated aim of a peaceful demonstration" (London *Guardian*, 18 October). This is the real tradition of the ANL. Faced with a similar witchhunt following a militant anti-fascist demonstration in Lewisham in 1977, the Cliffites formed the ANL as a popular-frontist vehicle to curry favor with Anglican vicars and Labourite politicians. When the fascist National Front marched through the East End in 1978, the ANL organized an "anti-racist" Carnival *ten miles away*, deliberately preventing thousands of anti-fascist militants from confronting and defeating the NF.

Despite their current veneer of on-again, off-again militancy, both the SWP and Militant are *reformist* organizations. As the September 26 SL/B leaflet noted:

> "At the end of the day they want popularity with left Labour MPs and celebrities: they don't want a consistent, hard fight for the interests of the working class. They don't believe that the workers can win state power. Their real maximum goal is to get Labour into government on a more left-wing sounding programme."

Until recently, Militant had been buried deep inside the Labour Party for *decades*. Militant argues that a "left-wing" government of the dyed-in-the-wool pro-capitalist Labour Party, if armed with "emergency powers," will bring socialism. For all their occasional anti-Labour rhetoric, Militant and the SWP *always* call for a vote to the Labour traitors—even when the Labour Party is up to its neck in strikebreaking. *And both groups argue that the cops should be part of the labor movement!* Two years ago, Militant offered to turn over names of protesters against Thatcher's hated poll tax who defended themselves against mounted police charges.

Tens of thousands of young people throughout West Europe are today becoming radicalized in response to the upsurge of fascist terror fueled by growing interimperialist rivalry and the triumph of counterrevolution in East Europe and the former Soviet Union. They are looking for a revolutionary answer to the ravages of capitalism. As our comrades of the SL/B declared:

> "The labour movement needs a revolutionary leadership which fights as hard and as long for working-class victory as Thatcher fought for her despicable, parasitic capitalist class. The workers, the women, the black, Asian, Jewish and gay targets of BNP terror need a *workers government*, so that all people can have a decent and secure life, in a society free of exploitation and racism." ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Cops' Candidate Giuliani vs. Bankers' Friend Dinkins

NYC Elections: Police Terror and Racism

Sotomayor/NY Times

Is there anything in American politics that is not about race? Certainly not the New York City mayoral election.

The New York City election campaign really opened a year ago, on 16 September 1992, when 10,000 armed thugs broke through police barricades and swarmed onto the steps of City Hall, screaming threats at NYC's first black mayor, David Dinkins. The police did nothing, because the racist goons *were* the police. And on the podium, whipping the NYPD into a frenzy, was the cops' mayoral candidate, Rudolph Giuliani. The sinister former federal prosecutor is widely, and rightfully, feared by the minority and working people of New York, who know that if he is elected November 2 it's a green light to the killers in blue.

Countering Giuliani's accusation that he is "soft on crime," liberal Democrat Dinkins brags that as mayor he has brought about the largest increase in the police force in NYC history, adding over 6,000 cops. Carrying out the dictates of the bankers who back him, he has implemented thousands of layoffs of city workers. In 1989, Dinkins promised Wall Street that blacks, Hispanics and the unions would "take it from me," and for four years he has dished it out. Today, union leaders and black clergy are again peddling the lesser-evil politics that has kept the masses tied to the "people's party" of American capitalism.

But it is the capitalist system that produces double-digit unemployment with no jobs for youth, that breeds racist terror and relies on the army of cops to protect

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Halasy/NY Post

Rudolph Giuliani whips up armed racist cop mob that besieged City Hall in September 1992.

Tens of Thousands March to Stop BNP Fascists

London Cops Protect Fascists Against Anti-Racist Protesters

Workers Hammer

London, October 16—Riot police attack anti-racist militants.

OCTOBER 18—More than 50,000 people marched through southeast London two days ago in the largest anti-fascist demonstration in Britain in two decades. As protesters attempted to follow the march route to the fascist British National Party (BNP) headquarters, hundreds of riot cops blocked their way, wading into the crowds with batons flailing and following up with charges by police on horseback. Dozens of marchers were taken to hospitals with blood streaming from their heads. But for two hours, outraged anti-fascist militants stood their ground against the racist thugs in blue, forcing the cops to pull back several times under a hail of sticks, rocks, bricks and paving stones. Police dragged off 31 of the anti-fascist protesters.

Just four weeks earlier, on September 19, hundreds of anti-racist protesters succeeded in breaking through a police cordon in the East End's Brick Lane to land some solid blows against a handful of the BNP scum. The BNP's race-hate "newspapers" and a huge Union Jack were ripped out of their hands and burned. The fascists were pelted with rotten fruit, eggs and bottles, leaving several of the would-be Hitlers sprawled on the pavement. This militant rout of the fascists, largely organized by the Anti Nazi League (ANL) and Youth Against Racism in Europe (YRE), marked the first time in 15 years that the BNP thugs had not been able to stage weekly race-hate provocations there.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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5 November 1993

For International Labor Action, Not Protectionist Poison!

Espartaco Photo

Mexican workers fight "multinational" companies. May Day 1991: Combative auto workers march in Mexico City.

WV Photo

Latino workers have sparked militant labor struggle in U.S. Above, construction workers protest police repression in San Diego last January.

No to NAFTA!

Wall Street's Takeover of Mexico

Congress is preparing to vote on November 17 on the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which has broad ruling-class support from the Wall Street banks to the Detroit auto bosses. The pact is an attempt by the U.S. rulers to carry out a giant neocolonial takeover of the Mexican economy and impose Washington's "New World Order" throughout the Americas, while vastly *increasing* capitalist exploitation of the workers of Canada, Mexico and the U.S. A *Los Angeles Times* editorial crows: "Herald a Glorious Market—From Yukon to Yucatan."

But despite the bourgeois propaganda about "free trade," this "glorious market" represents a profoundly protectionist measure aimed at enhancing the power of U.S. imperialism against its German and Japanese trade rivals through the creation of a "Fortress North America." In the auto industry, the largest single area of U.S. investment in Mexico, NAFTA will impose heavy tariffs against vehicles without "North American content" (read Japanese and German). It is a step toward *trade war* and the further redivision of the world by the imperialist powers, ultimately through the means they have always employed—shooting wars.

Seeking to garner Congressional votes for the pact, Clinton pushes unalloyed anti-immigrant and anti-Asian racism, vituperating against Japan "as the most severe threat to American jobs," and warning of "a flood of illegal immigrants" if the trade pact is defeated.

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French Government Reeling

Air France Strikers Ignite Class Struggle

"The government is not afraid of the Air France strikers, what it fears is that everybody may take to the streets and say 'Enough!'"
—striking Air France worker

"This is not a strike but a revolt"
—French minister of transport Bernard Bosson

Financial Times

Air France strikers battle cops on airport runway in Paris.

For nearly two weeks, a strike of Air France ground crews against threatened layoffs and wage cuts threw Paris airports into chaos. The struggle electrified the French working class as the bourgeoisie reacted in fear of labor militancy. When on October 25 the new right-wing French government of Edouard Balladur backed down, spokesmen for the interests of capital throughout the world responded with dismay. The *New York Times* (26 October) lectured that "Mr. Balladur has no stomach for conflict at a time when he judges France to be ripe for a social explosion of the sort that rocked the country a quarter-century ago."

The stage was set when the management of the national airline announced a "restructuring" plan entailing 4,000 layoffs to gear up for intensified competition after the 1 January 1997 deregulation of the European airline industry. Starting with a "day of action" by workers in the public sector on October 12, the mechanics and freight workers of Air France decided not to return to work the next morning, beginning a militant strike that crippled air traffic throughout

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Hands Off NAMBLA!

Stop the Witchhunt of Peter Melzer!

The morality vigilantes are at it again. Their latest target is Peter Melzer, a tenured teacher of physics at the Bronx High School of Science, who is a member of the Steering Committee of NAMBLA (North American Man/Boy Love Association). For this alone, school district officials have removed Melzer from the school and reassigned him to a desk job at the Board of Education while pushing for his outright dismissal. Also under investigation is a school librarian who is a NAMBLA member.

Peter Melzer has been a teacher for 31 years without a single complaint lodged against him, and his association with NAMBLA has been known to school officials since 1984. But he became the object of unwanted notoriety in March of this year, when NBC-TV's New York affiliate ran a sensationalist series entitled "The NAMBLA Tapes," a contrived "exposé" of NAMBLA and several of its individual members (see "WNBC's Anti-Gay Witchhunt: Defend NAMBLA!" *WV* No. 571, 12 March). In this inflammatory piece of so-called "investigative reportage," NBC-TV's yuppie "crimebuster" John Miller foamed at the mouth over the supposed infiltration of the New York City educational system by "pedophiles." Like a page out of the McCarthy witchhunt of the 1950s, Melzer and other individual members of the organization were accosted at home and at their workplaces by scandal-mongering "news teams," threatened with violence and loss of their livelihoods for their supposed "advocacy" of child molestation.

Although he has not been accused of any crime, Melzer continues to be pilloried by the tabloid press as well as the reactionary New York City School Board. This same board virulently opposed condom distribution and AIDS education in NYC schools, and arranged the palace coup in which former Schools Chancellor Joseph Fernandez was deposed earlier this year for championing the "Children of the Rainbow" curriculum, which promoted tolerance of gays and lesbians. Calling his views "repugnant," the *New York Times* (9 October) reluctantly defends Melzer from dismissal on First Amendment grounds, while a hateful piece in *U.S. News & World Report* decries "creeping tolerance" and calls for kicking Melzer out of school.

The vendetta against Melzer comes amid the current hysteria which willfully equates all child sexuality with abuse and coercion. "Child abuse" is now used to justify everything from the persecution of Woody Allen to the Waco holocaust, while covering up this society's truly perverse attacks on children, from the lack of basic immunization to throwing their mothers off welfare to putting teenagers on death row. The portrayal of NAMBLA as child molesters has nothing to do with the protection of children; rather it is part of a generalized campaign against sex aimed at the "moral rearmament" of the American people which would bolster the *bourgeoisie's* authority. The guiding principle for sexual relations between *all* people ought to be one of effective consent. While mutual agreement and understanding can often be a murky question in this repressive society, the *a priori* presumption that sex between younger and older people is a crime means that the racist, anti-woman, pro-death penalty U.S. courts and cops become the arbiter of morality. *Government out of the bedrooms!*

The move for Melzer's dismissal has gained support in a broad range of quarters, including the Parents' Association of the Bronx High School of Science and Ramon C. Cortines, the newly chosen Schools Chancellor. In answer to his inquisitors, Melzer has courageously pointed out that "It is an insult to our youth that a teacher can be barred from the classroom for what he believes or for whom he privately associates with" (*New York Times*, 22 September).

Melzer has been left to twist in the wind with the complicit silence of mainstream gay rights organizations who seek "respectability" by conciliating the state and conventional morality. As Schools Chancellor Cortines denounces Melzer's "advocacy and promotion of illegal activities," the leadership of Melzer's union, the United Federation of Teachers (UFT), has contemptibly joined the witchhunt. "Pedophiles do not belong in a classroom with kids," said a UFT spokesman (*New York Times*, 3 October). Maybe if the UFT's Sandra Feldman and other pro-capitalist morality cops defended their members and advocated and promoted the "illegal" activity of striking against the hated Taylor Law, NYC teachers would get a decent contract and NYC schoolchildren could finally get something approaching an education rather than 12 years of pre-prison hell.

On November 1, the PDC sent a protest letter to the Board of Education and Mayor Dinkins demanding the reinstatement of Peter Melzer. *Hands off NAMBLA!*

TROTSKY

LENIN

U.S. Imperialism's Ravaging of Latin America

The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is a plan by Wall Street banks and American multinationals to intensify their exploitation of Mexico and solidify Washington's Latin American neocolonial empire in the context of growing economic rivalry with the German Fourth Reich and Japan Inc. The founding conference of the Trotskyist Fourth International in 1938 pointed out that Latin America was that region of the world where the "democratic" pretensions of the United States were most clearly exposed as a cover for bloody imperialist subjugation.

In order to achieve the "closed door" in Latin America—closed, that is, to all rivals and open only to the United States—"democratic" Yankee imperialism has been propped up in the Latin American countries by the most autocratic "native" military dictatorships which have, in turn, served to prop up the imperialist structure and to guarantee an undisturbed flow of superprofits to the Northern colossus. The most active and willing supporter of military dictatorships in the Latin American countries is American imperialism, the bulk of whose billions of dollars invested abroad is confined to the Western Hemisphere. The real character of "democratic" American capitalism is best revealed by the tyrannical dictatorships in the Latin American countries with which its fortunes and policies are inextricably bound up and without which its days of imperialist sway in the Western Hemisphere are numbered....

Under Roosevelt, the policy of the iron fist in Latin America is sheathed in the velvet glove of demagogic pretensions of friendship and "democracy." The "good neighbor" policy is nothing but the attempt to unify the Western Hemisphere under the hegemony of Washington, as a solid bloc wielded by the latter in its drive to close the door of the two American continents to all the foreign imperialist powers except itself. This policy is materially supplemented by the favorable trade agreements which the United States seeks to conclude with the Latin American countries in the hope of systematically edging its rivals out of the market. The decisive role which foreign trade plays in the economic life of the United States impels the latter toward ever more determined efforts to exclude all competitors from the Latin American market, by a combination of cheap production, diplomacy, chicanery and, when need be, of force....

At the same time, the policy of American imperialism will necessarily increase the revolutionary resistance of the Latin American peoples whom it must exploit with growing intensity.

—"Thesis of the World Role of American Imperialism" (September 1938)

Free Greyhound Striker Roger Cawthra

Less than a year after successfully appealing his conviction on charges stemming from his picket line militancy during the 1990 Greyhound strike, on October 5 Roger Cawthra began a 15-month sentence for federal firearms violations. This union militant has been hounded by the government at the federal and state levels for more than three years!

The federal firearms charges arose in 1991, as Cawthra awaited trial in Connecticut on charges of firing a shot at a Greyhound bus driven by scab driver Carl Francis. In that trial Cawthra was railroaded into a six and a quarter year sentence on Francis' word alone. Not

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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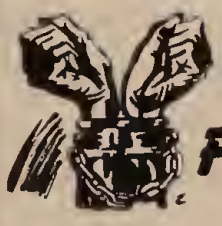

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On the Yeltsin Coup: A Correction to Our View

The article "Yeltsin's Coup Serves Washington" in *WV* No. 585 (8 October) states:

> "For almost two weeks there had been a stand-off between the competing bourgeois-restorationist factions. Those who gathered before the White House were politically supporting one wing of the capitalist-restorationists. But with the fight taken to the streets, had there been a significant split in the state apparatus, opening up a clear power vacuum, there would have been an opportunity for a proletarian mobilization *independent of both camps* seeking to sweep away all the capitalist forces. But the unrest did not reach that point, and the working class saw no one fighting for *its* interests." [emphasis in original]

While condemning Yeltsin's American-backed, bonapartist coup, the article failed to draw the conclusion that it was necessary to call on the working class to actively resist it. Rather such resistance was made dependent on a *prior* split in the state apparatus (i.e., army and police). In reality, a working-class mobilization would most likely have been a necessary catalyst for such a split. In the course of a discussion within the International Communist League, it was decided that the failure to raise this call represented an abstentionist blunting of our line. Moreover, in insisting that a working-class mobilization be "independent of both camps," the paragraph *did not distinguish* between political opposition to the contending restorationist factions and the possibility of a military bloc with the Rutskoi/Khasbulatov forces, which *at that moment* were viewed by Yeltsin and his imperialist sponsors as an obstacle to the consolidation of a strong counterrevolutionary regime.

The defense of parliament, which was an *impediment* to the consolidation of power in Yeltsin's hands, against its dissolution in the service of imperialism, was posed from September 21 on. With the fight taken to the streets on October 3-4, the fragility of the weak capitalist state was underlined, but the working class saw neither side as fighting for its interests. A massive outpouring of the working class would have shattered the existing political alignments, for both wings feared the spectre of civil war. Absent was a revolutionary vanguard, rooted in the proletariat, which could credibly have fought to *independently* mobilize the working class and its allies, engaging in a *military bloc* with the Rutskoi/Khashulatov forces in opposition to Yeltsin's move to complete his August 1991 power grab and seal his victory in blood.

A military bloc with the Rutskoi/Khasbulatov forces in this confrontation would not entail an iota of political support nor would it preclude the possibility of quickly sweeping away these momentary allies against Yeltsin on the road to establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of soviets. A military bloc, like other common actions, *does not* mean folding together into a common political program, however critical. It is crucial to preserve one's own political program and organizational independence while acting together with another political, or in this case military, formation in a concrete and particular action.

France...

(continued from page 1)

France. Air France lost over $10 million a day, while foreign carriers threatened to sue the Paris airport authorities to recover the costs of postponing and diverting their own flights to France.

But it was not just these monetary losses that caused the government to buckle. It was fear of the strike spreading, especially to other public sector workers facing layoffs and cutbacks. Just a few days before the Air France walkout, 35,000 railway workers demonstrated in Paris. And during the strike, 10,000 teachers marched through the French capital in an anti-government protest.

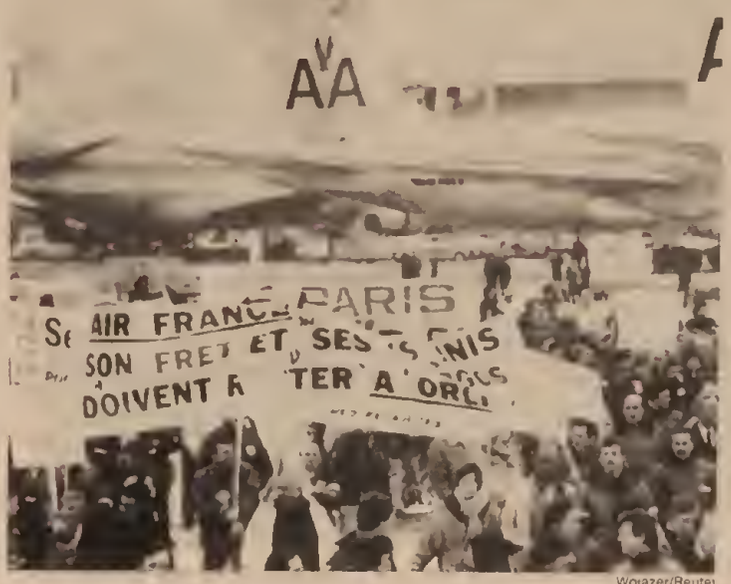
Unemployment in France is now approaching 12 percent, the *highest level since World War II*. Paris sociologist Olivier Duhamel, after conducting a survey which showed 70 percent of the population to be in favor of the strike, observed: "Everyone is afraid of unemployment and salary cuts so they have taken a kind of vicarious pleasure in the Air France protests."

Sensing it was sitting on a social volcano, the Mitterrand/Balladur government moved to end the Air France strike as quickly as possible. Within a few days, the airline's "socialist" boss Bernard Attali was shoved out and his ill-fated "restructuring" plan scrapped. But instead of following up this victory, the reformist union leaderships are *squandering* the advantage won from the government.

Pressured by the airport workers for a common struggle, they had to call for a "day of action" on October 26. Several thousand workers participated, including Air France flight personnel and employees of Air Inter (the nationalized domestic French airline), as well as workers from the state-owned railways, the Chausson auto and bus manufacturer and the SFP nationalized television production company.

October 26 could have been the *springboard* for other and even bigger class battles. But the cowardly reformist union "leaders" did everything they could to limit the mobilization, taking workers for a ride around the airports. For the labor traitors it was just a matter of a "show of force," rather than *using* this power against the bourgeoisie.

The Air France strike has once again shown that the working class does not lack the will to fight. What is needed is a revolutionary leadership—a class-struggle leadership in the unions and a communist vanguard party. Although the Air France strikers were able to force the government to abandon the Attali plan, without a revolutionary leadership they could not go over to the offensive. In the coming months Air France management will surely seek to pull the union tops into negotiations to continue the "restructuring" in a less confrontational way. Everyone knows the struggle is not over.



Wojazer/Reuter

Strikers demonstrate at Orly airport last week in Paris.

Relieved that the strike is over, the French bourgeoisie is also fearful of the Balladur regime's show of weakness. *Le Monde* (26 October) warned:

> "When a government retreats under the pressure of a strike, it breaks a dam, inviting the workers of other public enterprises confronted with restructuring plans that imply layoffs and wage freezes (as in the railroads) to follow the path of those who won against the government ... By trying to avoid the spreading of the Roissy and Orly [Paris airports] conflict, the government may have only postponed the threat of contagion."

The threat of contagion is by no means limited to France. Almost all workers in the public sector and industry are under fire throughout Europe. After the French government's retreat, the Italian bourgeoisie saw the Air France strikers' victory as a powerful boost to Italian workers, who for months have been mobilizing against savage "austerity" plans. And as the Air France strike was winding down, 2,000 TAP-Air Portugal strikers, fighting against thousands of layoffs and a wage freeze, were occupying the runways of the Lisbon airport. Some of their signs read: "TAP/Air France, same fight!"

Spectre of May '68 Haunts French Bourgeoisie

Just as U.S. Rangers getting killed in Somalia evokes in the American ruling class unhappy memories of its humiliating defeat in Vietnam, so the Air France strike evokes the haunting spirit of May '68 in France. The Minister of Transportation, Bosson, justifying the withdrawal of Attali's plan, explained that "It was a movement unheard of since May 68" (*Libération*, 27 October). And the lame-duck social-democratic president François Mitterrand declared in a press conference that "it is not May '68. But this risk still exists indeed."

Twenty-five years ago, that worker/student revolt, which spread spontaneously across the country, brought France to the brink of revolution and led to the toppling of Charles de Gaulle's semi-bonapartist regime. Only the outright betrayal by the then-powerful pro-Moscow Stalinist Communist Party saved bourgeois rule in France, preventing the working class from moving to take power in a key country at the center of NATO Europe. Even so, May 1968 had powerful reverberations around the world, especially in West Europe. The following year came Italy's "hot autumn" as workers seized their factories and battled police and company goons.

Today conditions from the Baltic to the Mediterranean are ripe for new May '68s and "hot autumns." Everywhere, in the wake of the collapse of the deformed workers states in the East the ruling classes are waging the same attacks against their working classes, dismantling of the "welfare state" concessions granted after World War II, imposing wage freezes and wage cuts, job cuts and layoffs; and widespread privatizations in the public sector.

In Bonn, Rome and London, capitalists are following the French situation closely. In their countries too, the attacks on the workers have met active resistance: coal and metal worker strikes in the Ruhr, factory occupations in southern Italy. A powerful social explosion in France would send big shock waves beyond national borders.

The combative mood of the European proletariat in response to the rulers' attacks on jobs and living standards occurs in the context of broader social turmoil. To weaken and divide the working class, the European bourgeoisies—aided and abetted by open fascists—have launched a massive campaign of anti-immigrant racism. The firebombing of hostels housing asylum-seekers goes hand in hand with government moves to expel "illegal" immigrants—like French interior minister Pasqua's "zero immigration" plan.

In response, a new generation of young radicals has come to the fore in militant protests against the fascists and against "respectable," official racist proposals. It is necessary to weld together the raw social power of the proletariat, so dramatically shown in the Air France strike, and the militancy of youth and minorities fueling recent struggles against racism like the October 16 march of 50,000 in London against the fascist British National Party.

The Air France strike marks the end of Balladur's brief "honeymoon," ushering in a new period of political and social crises. The fascists, building themselves up to serve as future shock troops for capital against the workers and their allies, will try to use palpable social instability to their advantage. This menace shows even more clearly how urgent it is for the working class to throw all its social power into the battle and offer the only progressive solution to the crisis: the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of its own class power. ■

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Young Spartacus

Stop the Fascists Through Labor/Black Mobilization!

Indianapolis, Columbus
Fake Lefts March Into Cop Corrals

Sabau/Columbus Dispatch

October 23: Anti-fascists penned in by cops during KKK rally at Columbus, Ohio Statehouse.

Across the country, in broad daylight Ku Klux Klan rallies and cowardly midnight firebombings, racist fascist thugs are stepping up their campaigns of violence and bigotry. Their growth is directly fueled by the rot of American capitalism which makes all workers fear for their economic security and sets up blacks and immigrants as easy scapegoats for the fascist demagogues. Moreover, the fascists are emboldened by a Democratic White House that *revels* in racism at home and abroad. The slaughter of Somali women and children, the incarceration of black Haitians in Guantánamo, the Waco holocaust and the assembly line of "legal lynching" on death row in prisons across America are a big green light to the fascists in "Bubba" Clinton's America.

The escalation of fascist attacks across the U.S. is only a pale reflection of what's happening in Europe, where the destruction of the Soviet Union and surging unemployment have fueled an ominous growth of fascist groups and bloody nationalist pogroms. Although relatively small in numbers now, the fascists are the mortal enemies of all working people and must be crushed in the egg before they grow. When the capitalists feel their rule is being threatened by the working class—as in Germany and Italy in the 1920s and '30s—the bourgeoisie will finance the fascist killers and assist their rise to power in order to smash the workers organizations. It happened in Germany with Hitler and we better not let it happen again or here.

Here's a sampling of recent fascist activity around the U.S.:

• In Los Angeles, a white supremacist purporting to be the leader of a terrorist group called "Fourth Reich Skinheads" attempted to firebomb a Jewish synagogue and schemed to foment "race war" by bombing black churches and plotting the murder of Rodney King, the most famous survivor of LAPD racist police brutality.

• Emboldened by California governor Wilson's anti-immigrant attacks, the "Aryan Liberation Front" boasts of a spate of terror bombings of Asian and black civil rights organizations' offices and the home of an Asian city councilman in the state capital. The president of the Sacramento NAACP chapter spoke for the besieged minorities in this city: "If I didn't know better, I would think I was living in 1963 in the city of Birmingham, Alabama" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 6 October).

• In Vidor, Texas, the Ku Klux Klan has driven out every black family that attempted to move into a public housing complex, despite a federal court order for desegregation. While slick David ("Klan in a suit") Duke appeals to "mainstream" white racism, in Vidor it's the old-style hoods-and-sheets terror that has filled the KKK's ranks with new vermin: "Citizens estimate that there are now several hundred active members in town" (*Boston Globe*, 19 September).

• Across the Midwest, Texas-based Thomas Robb's Knights of the Ku Klux Klan is on a recruitment drive, assisted by state governments and police forces which showcased the hooded terrorists on the state house steps in Indianapolis, Indiana on October 16 and Columbus, Ohio on October 23. Hundreds of anti-fascists were "permitted" to "protest" in chain-link holding pens surrounded by phalanxes of riot cops.

• In Pennsylvania, the Ku Klux Klan has staged rallies across the state, including Harrisburg, the state capital. In Lancaster, an abortion clinic was destroyed in a firebombing last month. In New Hope, a tiny petty-bourgeois enclave outside Philadelphia, the "USA Nationalist Party" has announced "Gay Bash '93" and called on Klan and skinhead thugs to goose-step through New Hope on November 6.

Enough! These racist terrorists can and must be stopped! Every time the fascists have attempted to openly rally, large integrated crowds of anti-fascists have come out to express their defiant opposition to these race-haters. But desire to confront the fascists is not enough. What's necessary is a strategy to win—and that means a political program to organize massive mobilizations of the working class, drawing in the black community, youth and *all* the fascists' intended victims behind the power of the labor movement to *stop* these race-haters in their tracks whenever they raise their heads in the urban centers.

Spartacist Canada

Anti-Klan unionists, minorities and youth turned out to stop the fascists in downtown Vancouver last January.

It's the State, Stupid.

In Indianapolis and Columbus, anti-fascist protesters were given a crystal clear lesson in the role of the state. The government and its cops, courts and troops are not neutral "peacekeepers" but the "special bodies of armed men" with a monopoly of armed force to protect capitalist rule—and that includes protecting their fascist dogs of war from anti-Klan protesters. In both cities, the liberals and the city fathers staged "unity" diversions aimed at getting the fascists' many intended victims to ignore the threat on their doorsteps. Then, with the legal assistance of the ACLU, fascist thugs in their white hoods and sheets stumped for genocide on the state house steps while anti-fascist protesters were individually searched and funneled one-by-one through metal detectors into large cages surrounded by an army of cops who controlled the only entrances and exits from these traps.

Supporters of the Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth Clubs and the Labor Black Struggle League urged anti-Klan demonstrators not to shuffle like cattle into these cop corrals. In Columbus, police maced anti-Klan protesters who tried to break down the chain-link fence that separated them from the fascists. One anti-racist was overcome by the fumes, fell to the ground and is lucky he wasn't trampled to death as others scrambled to get away.

Scandalously, some ostensible socialists, including the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and the Progressive Labor Party (PL), willingly marched their own supporters into these traps. Members of the RWL's front group, the National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition (NWROC), excused this suicidal idiocy by saying, "We do this every weekend," and argued that it was necessary to "confront the Klan." Inside this pen and under the thumb of the cops, however, the RWL/NWROC supporters couldn't do more than impotently holler at the KKK scum on the other side of the barricades...while rubbing shoulders with skinheads and Klan sympathizers standing right next to them!

That the cops controlled everyone inside the pens was shown when a KKK sympathizer unfurled a Confederate flag inside the pen in Indianapolis! Youths who seized and burned the flag were ejected from the area, while the cops protected the racists who continued their provocations among anti-racist protesters.

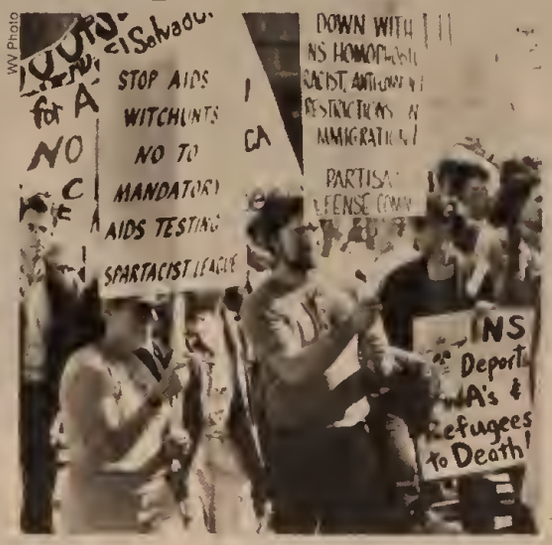
In Indianapolis and Columbus, the RWL/NWROC showed themselves to be nothing other than a bunch of radical liberals who occasionally masquerade as centrists i.e., nominally, and rarely calling themselves "revolutionary" while in

Blood Bank Bigotry

Red Cross Anti-Gay Blacklist

LOS ANGELES—Welcome to college in Clinton's America: if you're gay, the Red Cross doesn't want your blood and will blacklist you; if you complain about it, the campus cops will drag you away. On September 23, Kevin Fullen, president of the Pasadena City College Gay and Lesbian Student Union (GLSU), went to donate blood in a Red Cross campus blood drive. Fullen told our reporter that he was asked a list of questions, including: "Have you had sex with another man since 1977?" When he answered in the affirmative, he was told that he would not be allowed to give blood, and that his name would be entered into a Red Cross national database with the warning tag: "deferred as possibly transmissionible of disease or associated illness."

"This means I couldn't even give blood to my own brother," Fullen told us. Fullen immediately told students waiting to give blood about the Red Cross's outrageous anti-gay blacklist and lodged a protest against this bigotry with the Dean of Students. But administration officials told Fullen to keep his mouth shut and ordered him to leave the area! The next day, Fullen posted flyers on campus that read "Red Cross Discriminates." He was immediately harassed by campus cops whom Fullen argued with about his right to protest. Fullen was manhandled by the campus cops, then grabbed and charged with "using profanity and disturbing the peace." Realizing that the absurd charges wouldn't stick, administration officials made the cops release Fullen...but threatened to *expel* Fullen if he continued his protest! We demand: Hands off Kevin Fullen! Down with the blood bank blacklist!



Spartacist contingent at SF protest against government exclusion of immigrants with AIDS, June 1990.

The Red Cross national database of "deferred donors" is a sinister threat to gays and many others. Admitting to IV drug usage, or sex with a prostitute will also land you on this list that perniciously equates "gay" with "HIV carrier." The Red Cross itself says publicly that there is a National Donor Deferral Registry which contains a list of "individuals who have been deferred for medical reasons." But these snoops have determined that sexual preference is cause for "medical" exclusion. This is not a matter of protecting the safety of the blood supply—which, in the midst of the AIDS crisis should be anonymously screened—but rather an expression of the reactionary social attitudes which are deeply rooted in the bourgeois order. Such a list would inevitably end up in the hands of the state and be used to persecute the victims of this horrific disease. From the beginning of the AIDS epidemic, which has disproportionately decimated minorities and gays, the government's chief response to the disease has been hysteria and repression. Both the Republican and Democratic parties have used the AIDS crisis to whip up vicious anti-gay bigotry.

The blood bank bigotry and the attack on Fullen by Pasadena City College and the campus cops are not only an assault on the rights of all gay students but all minorities. An injury to one is an injury to all! As fee hikes and budget cuts make college increasingly the privilege of the rich and white, campus cops and administrators have stepped up attacks against the few black, Latino and immigrant students left on campus. Last spring, the UCLA administration called in the notoriously brutal racists of the LAPD to beat and arrest integrated demonstrations of students fighting for a Chicano studies program. Recently at Cal State Fullerton, students celebrating Mexican Independence Day were gassed and clubbed by campus cops. The role of capitalist college administrations and their cops is to smash any sort of student militancy and keep the campuses safe for the racist rulers of this country. In the case of Pasadena City College, the administration plays the role of enforcing the anti-gay bigotry of the bourgeoisie.

The PCC Gay and Lesbian Student Union has refused to protest this blatant discrimination by the Red Cross, claiming that the issue is "too political." This narrow and dangerous view reflects the misplaced faith that many gay organizations have that gays and lesbians will somehow be protected now that Clinton and the Democrats are in the White House. This, despite Clinton giving the finger to his gay supporters over the anti-gay ban in the military! Capitalism, which needs to maintain the patriarchal family, will never end discrimination against and persecution of homosexuals. It will take a socialist revolution to replace the social institution of the family and its stultifying reinforcement of prescribed sex roles, as well as to provide free, quality health care for all.

Alongside the Spartacist League, the Spartacus Youth Clubs seek to mobilize the power of the integrated labor movement to fight for full democratic rights for homosexuals. We demand: Billions for AIDS research! Down with the Red Cross anti-gay blacklist! Cops off campus! ■

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deeds serving up the most abject reformism. Paper will take whatever is printed on it, and so in NWROC's leaflet distributed in Indianapolis we read: "No reliance on the cops, courts, Democrats or Republicans to stop the fascist marches!" But in practice the RWL/NWROC willingly put themselves and their followers under the control of an overwhelming police force to "confront" the fascists. The RWL needs to "confront" some basic Marxism. Leon Trotsky wrote in a March 1934 letter to his French comrades:

> "In this period it is very important to distinguish between the fascists and the state. The state is not yet ready to subordinate itself to the fascists; it wants to 'arbitrate.'...Our strategic task is to increase these hesitations and apprehensions on the part of the 'arbiter,' its army and its police. How? By showing that we are stronger than the fascists, that is, by giving them a good beating in full view of this arbiter without, as long as we are not absolutely forced to, directly taking on the state itself. That is the whole point."

Another telling indication of RWL/NWROC's fundamentally reformist appetite is their new slogan, "Rebuild a Mass, Militant, Integrated Civil Rights Movement!" But the whole strategy of the liberal civil rights movement was to appeal to the federal government. And while the civil rights leadership preached loyalty to the Democratic Party and called for federal intervention in the South, the feds spied on Martin Luther King and set up more militant fighters like Malcolm X and the Black Panthers for extermination through the government's deadly COINTELPRO (counterintelligence program). When the civil rights movement came North it smashed up against the bedrock of racial oppression that is *integral* to the American capitalist system. Then or now, no civil rights bill can achieve black equality. What's needed is an integrated, revolutionary fight for black liberation through socialist revolution!

A Dangerous Nationalist Diversion

Several blocks away from the anti-fascist holding pen in Indianapolis, some 300 people attended a diversion organized by the Black Panther Militia (BPM). Their press release stated explicitly, "The Black Panther Militia is not going downtown to do military combat with the Klan." (The BPM was founded by black Milwaukee city councilman McGee, who seeks to build a local black power base in the Democratic Party through anti-white demagogy.) A featured speaker at the BPM rally was Khallid Muhammad, a national assistant to the sinister Louis Farrakhan (who said Hitler was a "great man" and invited Klan leader Tom Metzger to a Nation of Islam rally).

Pumped up by an afternoon of nationalist rhetoric at the BPM's diversion, some black youth made their way over to the state house pen to give the open Klan supporters in the crowd their just deserts. But after the cops escorted the KKKers safely away, white press photographers and even some anti-racists were attacked by black youth. The degeneration of this anti-racist protest into indiscriminate racial attacks was set up by the cops and abetted by the nationalists' anti-white rhetoric—*and* by the criminal idiocy of fake-left groups like the RWL which chose to "demonstrate" alongside out-and-out racists.

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

The "get whitey" rhetoric of black nationalist preachers and politicos has a certain appeal to youth who are fed up with the betrayals of black Democratic Party mayors and liberals who preach accommodation to the status quo. But there is no "separate" road to black liberation. Today's advocates of "black empowerment" like Farrakhan and the BPM who push "buy black" consumerism echo the defeatism of the historic *right wing* of the black movement, like Booker T. Washington who advocated complete segregation of the races. In a racist society, separate will always mean *unequal*. To fight the enforced poverty and oppression of the mass of the black population in this country, it is necessary to mobilize the integrated working class in defense of the ghetto masses and to wrest power from the hands of the racist capitalist rulers.

The Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee have organized labor/black mobilizations that have successfully *stopped* the fascists. The conditions for our success in these actions were: no illusions in the state, an intransigent fight for the political independence of the working class, and confidence in its ability to fight on behalf of all the oppressed and in its own self-defense. But various fake-socialist groups who talk of "confronting" the fascists despair of the working class' capacity to struggle, so they look to substitute their own small forces...or appeal (directly or indirectly) to the state to regulate the racist guard dogs of capital.

From Chicago in 1982, where we mobilized steel workers, black youth and Holocaust survivors to stop the Nazis from threatening the Gay Pride parade, to mass mobilizations in Washington, D.C., Detroit, Philadelphia, San Francisco and Atlanta, and in Vancouver last year, our strategy of mobilizing the organized working class has given a taste of the power that must be brought to hear to stop the fascist scum. To defeat the fascists once and for all means building a revolutionary party to overthrow the decrepit rule of the capitalist class which spawns the fascists, and bring the working people who create the wealth of this country to power ■

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Nazi Terror in Germany, Anti-Immigrant Frenzy in California

AP

Der Spiegel

Left: Nazi skinheads firebomb hostel for asylum-seekers in Rostock, east Germany, August 1992. Right: Border police round up desperate Mexicans seeking jobs in the U.S.

For a Workers Fight Against Anti-Immigrant Racism!

We publish below an edited and abridged version of a talk given by SL/U.S. Central Committee member Joseph Seymour at the University of California at Berkeley on September 24. We have omitted the concluding section on West Europe which was the subject of our article, "Racist Anti-Immigrant Frenzy in 'Fortress Europe'" (WV No. 580, 16 July).

Last spring the German parliament abolished the right of asylum, which had been written into the West German constitution after World War II. The following day Nazis celebrated this victory by firebombing the home of a Turkish family in the industrial city of Solingen, in western Germany, burning to death five Turkish women and children. About the same time, the new, more right-wing government in France announced a policy of "zero immigration." In order to achieve this, they would abolish the right, established by the French Revolution, that every child born in France was entitled to become a French citizen. And they have recently decreed that so-called "illegal aliens" can be held in jail for up to three months without trial. In the week following the election, French cops shot and killed, in three separate incidents, two North Africans and a youth from Zaire.

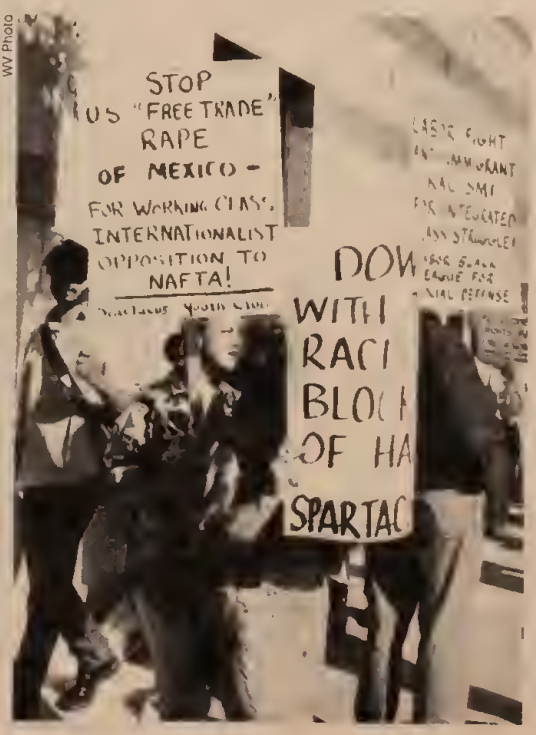
Last month, Pete Wilson, the Republican governor of California—the most populous state in the union—proposed that the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which was adopted after the Civil War and gave citizenship rights to anyone born in the United States, be abolished. At the same time, the two Democratic Senators from California, Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer, proposed that the National Guard be used to beef up the policing of the Mexican border. Feinstein had earlier proposed that the Army be used for that purpose.

At the same time, the Border Patrol routinely shakes down, beats, tortures and occasionally kills Mexicans who are trying to come into this country to work. A recent report by the American Civil Liberties Union states: "Immigrants awaiting administrative hearings"—that is people who are not accused or suspected of breaking any laws—"are being detained in conditions that would be unacceptable at prisons for criminal offenders."

The rising tide of anti-immigrant racism in the so-called "free societies" of the West is not a series of random coincidences. Nor is it some spontaneous, irrational outpouring of bigotry. It expresses the current state of world capitalism. First, both North America and West Europe are in a deep depression and there is no recovery in sight. So that a central purpose of capitalist politics and propaganda is to divert the blame from the people who are really responsible, that is, the people who own and control this country: "It's the black welfare mothers—it's illegal Mexican immigrants—they're ruining our schools. They're eating up our tax dollars. They're responsible for crime and drug addiction." Or, "It's the Japanese capitalists. They're bankrupting our country, they're buying it cheap." It's anybody but the people who are really responsible. That's one factor.

Secondly, during the Cold War, the conflict with the Soviet Union to some degree forced the American and the West European governments to live up to their democratic pretensions a little more. But with capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the destruction of the Soviet Union, Western imperialism is throwing off its liberal mask. You can see this very clearly in the case of Germany. With the capitalist reunification of Germany, you have this orgy of German nationalism, whose most extreme expression, but by far not the only expression, is the Nazi skinheads. Since the German banks bought out East Germany in 1990, creating a new, powerful Fourth Reich, there have been *7,500* separate violent attacks on foreigners in Germany—30 racist murders last year alone.

WV Photo



San Francisco, May 28: Spartacist League and Labor/Black League organized protest against anti-immigrant campaign by Republican governor Pete Wilson and Democratic Senators Boxer and Feinstein.

Wilson and Clinton: Hard Cop/Soft Cop Act

Early this year there was an exchange on immigration in the letters pages of the *Atlantic Monthly* (January 1993), a very respectable, politically middle-of-the-road literary magazine. Yet one of the letters, which is presented as an entirely legitimate statement of opinion, reads like Nazi propaganda.

> "In just a few decades Los Angeles has changed from a mainly white 'Iowa by the Sea' to what David Rieff calls the capital of the Third World.... In more and more areas of the country it is the white English-speaker who feels like an alien in his own land.
>
> "Why is it wrong for the heirs of the Anglo-European tradition to look upon these changes with dismay? Is it not natural, normal, and healthy to wish that one's people and one's culture should flourish? It is the wordless acquiescence by whites in the steady occupation of their country by aliens—who insist on remaining aliens—that is unnatural and unhealthy."

But in a way even more sinister is the letter from a liberal, who is also opposing immigration, especially by Hispanics, but arguing on behalf of black people. What he's saying is that it is the black poor who are the main victims, because they have to compete for jobs, their wages are reduced: "American blacks and recent Latino immigrants are not divided by long-standing historic grievances. They are not Greeks and Turks, or Serbs and Croats. Unrestricted immigration—a federal, not a local, policy, determined by white men in Washington—has forced them into a competition both wish could be avoided." So here you have somebody who claims to be a champion of the black poor, and some other guy who sounds like a highbrow spokesman for the Aryan Brotherhood, and they have the same line!—"Stop, limit, reverse the flow of, especially Hispanic and Asian, immigrants." There is a real danger here of a populist American nativism.

Last month, when Wilson came out for abolishing the 14th Amendment in

order to deprive the children of so-called "illegal immigrants" of public schools, welfare, public health, etc., he made front-page news. This proposal was so outrageous, and so outlandish, that it made the "more moderate" proponents of an anti-immigrant program look good by comparison. Clinton says: I'm not in favor of changing the Constitution. We don't have to change the Constitution, it's not necessary. All we have to do is have more police forces on the Mexican border, and crack down harder on "illegal immigrants." So what you see here—and this is basically very characteristic of the Republicans and Democrats in general—is your typical hard cop/soft cop routine.

Clinton is right that you don't have to repeal the 14th Amendment, or change any law at all to do exactly what Wilson wants to do. Look at the 14th Amendment itself: it was passed after the Civil War in order to give democratic rights to the blacks who had been slaves and were now freed. But what happened? Just a few years later, with the abandonment of Reconstruction with the Compromise of 1877, the racist white rulers of the South, with the acquiescence of the Northern rulers, established a totalitarian police state, depriving blacks of the most elementary democratic rights. Any black who was considered "uppity" was lynched. They didn't abolish the 14th Amendment—they just ignored it.

Wilson wants to deprive the children of "illegal" Latino immigrants of public schools. That's already happening! It's already happening for black children. All you have to do is just cut the budget for public schools, and give tax breaks and

AP

Clinton health plan will deprive "illegal immigrants" of social benefits. "Health" card would serve as national ID recalling South African pass laws.

subsidies for middle-class whites for private schools, like this voucher program (see "California Public Schools Under Attack," *WV* No. 586, 22 October). Legal principles don't mean anything unless they're enforced. And in many cases, in order to realize them you have to have supporting measures, especially financial measures.

The gulf between the *formal* protestations of democratic rights and the *realities* of capitalist society is nowhere clearer than in the case of immigration. Writing during World War I, the great Russian revolutionary and Marxist V.I. Lenin made a study of world capitalism, titled *Imperialism*. He pointed out that the economic and political privileges of the advanced capitalist countries of North America and West Europe rested on the exploitation of millions of colonial slaves, in Africa, in Asia, in Latin America. Most of these slaves were exploited in the colonies, or today neo-colonies. But sometimes the capitalists find it in their interests to import some of these slaves, and then expel them when they are no longer needed.

In 1930, at the outbreak of the Great Depression, there were three million foreign workers in France, mainly Southern

Edward Laning

Chinese workers brought to U.S. as virtual slave labor built western section of transcontinental railroad after Civil War.

and East Europeans, about 30 percent of the labor force. In the next few years, half a million were expelled. In the same period, 400,000 Mexicans were deported from the American Southwest. Many of these, incidentally, had citizenship papers, but it didn't matter—they were still deported.

There's a recurring pattern in capitalist countries, which is especially clear in the United States, when there's a need for labor, when the economy is expanding, the capitalists attract and recruit workers from poor countries; but when the economy slows down, they deliberately incite anti-immigrant hysteria in order to cut off the flow of immigrants and expel those that are already there.

This is very clear from a tragic and important chapter in the history of California. When gold was discovered in California in 1848, there was an immediate big demand for labor. At that time there were no railroads connecting California with the more populous eastern part of the country, making overland travel very expensive. So the mine owners and the other capitalists dependent upon them imported laborers from China, who were practically slave labor. It was mainly Chinese immigrants who built the western branch of the transcontinental railroad after the Civil War, while it was mainly Irish immigrants who built the eastern branch.

But once the railroad was built, and transportation costs were cheapened, there was a big flood of white Europeans into California. You had the beginnings of a workers movement. And the local capitalists, many of them fabulously wealthy from the gold strikes, diverted that workers movement against the Chinese: "It's coolie wages that are keeping your wages down." So that in the 1870s and '80s you had a series of violent anti-Chinese riots in this state. And they didn't pass a law saying it's all right to burn, beat and kill Chinese. They just did it. The police, the sheriffs just turned a blind eye to the rampaging racist mobs. And in 1882 they passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, cutting off further immigrants. They no longer needed the Chinese, who at one point had been absolutely critical to the economic development of American capitalism, especially in California.

From the Bracero Program to Simpson-Mazzoli

About six to eight years ago, this campus was convulsed with student protests, building occupations, strikes. The main demand of the students was for the University of California to divest its financial holdings in companies doing business with South Africa. Liberals and radicals viewed South Africa as the ultimate totalitarian, racist police state—nothing could be worse than South Africa.

Yet for 20 years the economy of the state of California rested to a considerable extent on a labor program very similar to that of South Africa. Until recently, blacks were not considered citizens of South Africa, that was declared a "white man's country." They were considered citizens of the tribal "bantustans." But they worked in South Africa and if they caused any trouble they could be sent back to the bantustans.

Well, the U.S. had a very similar program. It was called the Mexican Labor Program, more popularly known as the bracero program. It was introduced in 1942 and, significantly, under a government that is held up as the ultimate liberal administration, that of Franklin Roosevelt. It was *not* a right-wing Republican program. It was originally sold as a temporary wartime measure due to the acute labor shortage during World War II, but it lasted for 20 years.

Up to half a million Mexican workers worked in American agriculture. But these were not immigrants, and they had no right to become immigrants. They were considered permanent Mexican citizens and they could be sent back by their employer any time they wanted. Just as in South Africa, these were mainly men who were separated for long periods of time from their wives and families.

In 1964 the bracero program was formally, legally abolished, mainly under pressure of the trade unions. But in a sense, it was never abolished, and it still exists. Because what happened is that the contract Mexican laborers, without rights, became so-called illegal immigrants, also without rights. I used the term "so-called illegal immigrants," because the image one has of an "illegal immigrant" is someone who has successfully eluded the border patrol, who evaded the various INS raids. But that's false. "Illegal" immigrants are here in this country because the government authorities allow them to be. If they didn't, they would be rounded up and kicked out. Remember, the U.S. deported 400,000 Mexicans in the 1930s with a far smaller and less well-equipped police force than it has now.

There's a basic principle of bourgeois law, which says that if you knowingly benefit from a crime, that is a crime. But a big *exception* to this principle has been immigration law. Until 1986, employers could knowingly hire "illegal immigrants" and that was not a crime—which meant that they had virtually slave labor. Because all they had to do if these workers demanded higher wages, better conditions, threatened to form a union, is to say, "I'm going to call the INS, and you're going to be jailed or deported. Nothing's going to happen to *me*."

Now, that was supposed to end in 1986. Congress passed the Simpson-Mazzoli Act, which was supposed to liberalize and control immigration, and have sanctions against employers. Yet since 1986, you still have a big influx of "illegal immigrants." They're not on welfare. They come here to work, they get jobs. Somebody's hiring them. The answer is that the employer sanctions are a joke. Because all the employers have to do is look at some document—green card, Social Security card—and there's a big industry of forging documents.

There's a well-known left-liberal West Coast journalist named Robert Scheer, who recently wrote a column which pointed out that the employer sanctions against hiring "illegal" immigrants are totally ineffective. But what he proposes is the same thing Wilson is proposing. That is, Scheer is calling for "some sort of tamper-proof national identity card" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 18 July). This is the same program they had in South Africa—the "pass laws." Except when the South African government wanted to put a more liberal face on apartheid a few years ago, they did away with it. So here you have a well-known, radical journalist who is proposing a program that is so oppressively and flagrantly racist that the South African government had to abandon it when they wanted to look good!

At the time of the Simpson-Mazzoli Act, a prominent Western Senator proposed to reinstate the bracero program. That is, he proposed to bring in 350,000 Mexican workers to work in agriculture, but they wouldn't be immigrants; they would have no possibility of getting citizenship. That Senator was our old friend Pete Wilson. You see, Pete Wilson is not a racist in the sense he wants a "white

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J.B. Diederich

Haitian refugees jailed in Miami's Krome Avenue concentration camp while U.S. welcomes Cuban *gusanos*.

Black Townships Pay Bloody Price for ANC "Power Sharing"

Reuters

WV Photo

South African army continues occupation of black townships as U.S. imperialist chieftain Bill Clinton welcomes Mandela and De Klerk into New World Order.

South Africa: Mandela/De Klerk's Neo-Apartheid Fraud

For a Bolshevik Workers Party!

On October 15, the Nobel Peace Prize Committee bestowed its annual award on South African president F.W. De Klerk and African National Congress president Nelson Mandela. They are credited with "peacefully" bringing about the demise of apartheid. But even with the prospect of the ANC in office, the system of white supremacy remains, and in the huge black townships on the upland veld near Johannesburg and the teeming squatters' camps around the ports of Cape Town and Durban there is anything but peace. Since De Klerk released Mandela from prison in February 1990, more than 10,000 people, overwhelmingly blacks, have been killed. The death toll is escalating; since July, when the first all-race South African elections were set for next April 27, more than 1,300 have been murdered. While Mandela "negotiates" with the apartheid masters, the bodies pile up. And the fingerprints of the not so "hidden hand" of the apartheid state and its agents are all over this carnage.

The assassination in April of Chris Hani, general secretary of the Communist Party and former leader of the ANC's armed force, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK—Spear of the Nation), laid bare the realities of "power sharing" under the revamped apartheid system. The murder sparked an unprecedented outpouring of grief and anger from the impoverished black masses, who saw in "Comrade Chris" a champion of the downtrodden "wretched of the earth." Four million refused to go to work in the largest "stayaway" strike in South Africa's history, and hundreds of thousands participated in the largest-ever funeral marches. Last week, the fascist killer who shot Hani and the Conservative Party politician who supplied the assassin with addresses and the murder weapon (stolen, with government complicity, from an air force arsenal) were found guilty and sentenced to hang. (However, all executions have been stayed as the government negotiates with the ANC, which opposes the death penalty.) But the apartheid courts carefully skirted the wider conspiracy behind the assassination of Hani.

The brutal massacres that have punctuated the last three years of endless talks and "talks about talks" are painted by the ANC and liberal media as the actions of a diehard rightist fringe, intended to derail negotiations. In reality, these bloodbaths are orchestrated by the government to show an iron fist to intimidate the black population and draw hard limits to "democracy" in a "post-apartheid" state. The South African rulers are also intent on continuing and intensifying tribal rivalry among blacks, which has been a keystone of apartheid. The effects of these poisonous communal/tribal conflicts have been seen in the repeated clashes between immigrants (largely Zulu) housed in hostels on the Witwatersrand and the (largely Xhosa) township populations, as well as in the bloody "taxi wars" of rival groups of black entrepreneurs.

On September 7, the 26-party Negotiations Forum established a "transitional executive council" (TEC) to produce a new constitution, oversee the elections and "share power" until then with the government. The ANC, which used to proclaim "one person, one vote" majority rule as its goal, has now agreed to a requirement of a three-quarters majority in the "TEC" to override action by the De Klerk government, and to a five-year "Transitional Government of National Unity" in which all parties will be guaranteed cabinet seats and decisions are to be by "consensus"—giving white parties effective veto power. Grotesquely, the MK is to be incorporated into the notorious South African Defence Force.

The violent chaos marking the birth of the "new South Africa" stems from the efforts of both De Klerk *and* Mandela to square the mass aspirations for freedom and equality with the continued rule of apartheid capitalism, which *requires* the subjugation and superexploitation of cheap black labor. For the oppressed blacks of South Africa, the very concept of "power sharing" with one of the most bloodthirsty racist states in the world is an utter fraud. This is a by-product of the collapse of Stalinist-ruled degenerated and deformed workers states in the Soviet Union and East Europe, whose shock waves have been felt around the world. In the Near East, the PLO has signed a peace of the oppressor, agreeing to police Palestinians in the Occupied Territories for its new Zionist masters under a "Pax Americana" sealed in Washington. In South Africa, the ANC will police the black townships for the owners of the Witwatersrand mines, the Jo'burg banks and their masters in Washington, Frankfurt and the City of London.

Work in Progress

Assassination of SACP leader Chris Hani provoked massive protests.

Nelson Mandela is expected to preside over neo-apartheid capitalist rule in a New World Order. Just how far these petty-bourgeois black nationalists will go to accommodate the white racists is seen in recent revelations of secret talks between Mandela and leaders of the ultraright Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF). The Volksfront includes the parliamentary Conservative Party (whose former MP Clive Derby-Lewis and his wife masterminded the Hani assassination); the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB, Afrikaner Resistance Movement) of Eugene Terreblanche; "retired" military officers like General Constand Viljoen and disaffected members of the security forces.

The meetings were confirmed in a September 24 joint statement between the ANC and AVF, which said that the demand for an Afrikaner *volkstaat* was put on the table "for frank and forthright discussions." The Afrikaner ultrarightists want an autonomous "homeland" that includes much of the former Boer Republics, centering on Pretoria. (The hypothetical maps with their multiple tentacles look eerily like a swastika.) When the ANC ranks reacted in outrage to revelations of the discussions, the leadership backed away, saying reports were "overblown" (London *Independent*, 25 September). Simultaneously the AVF declared it was breaking off the talks. Shortly after, the Conservative Party together with Zulu leader Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha and three bantustan puppet parties announced a grotesquely named "Freedom Alliance," demanding that the country be split into autonomous regions. Now De Klerk, playing to the right, is talking of replacing the April elections with a referendum on "power sharing."

Meanwhile, the ANC, having jettisoned its "Freedom Charter" plank for nationalizing industry in preparation for becoming partners in neo-apartheid exploitation, is now busily setting up business ventures to cash in. A publishing deal between Thebe Investment Corporation and Macmillan anticipates lucrative contracts to supply millions of new textbooks for South African class-

rooms. Thebe's managing director was formerly head of the ANC finance department, while Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu are trustees of Batha-Batho Trust, Thebe's sole shareholder. This is just one of the new joint ventures, which include Digital Equipment Corp. and a consortium awarded a cellular telephone license, as well as the "Miss South Africa" contest. The ANC initially called for nationalization of cellular telephones, but dropped the demand when the government assured them there would be more "black participation."

As ANC-government talks drag on, "Negotiation has become the country's biggest growth industry," says the London *Independent* (10 July). "At present 278 negotiations forums have been established nationwide, dealing with everything from housing and education to local government and sports." The NEF (National Economic Forum) is supposed to foster "cooperation" between captains of industry and their labor lieutenants. At the NEF plenary in July, the head of the COSATU union federation, Jay Naidoo, "had the managing directors of the country's most powerful conglomerates chuckling in the aisles when he addressed them as 'comrades' and urged them to join him in a new revolutionary cry, 'Viva NEF!'"

But however "moderate" Mandela's promises to the financiers and industrialists, whatever the constitutional guarantees for maintaining the privileged position of the white minority, the entry of the ANC into the government will throw South Africa into intense and many-sided political turmoil. It will create enormous expectations among the black masses, leading to struggles for economic and social equality on all fronts. At the same time, right-wing whites could resort to terrorism and even insurrection. And the strong Zulu tribalist movement in Natal could make an attempt at secession. In short, a coalition government between the ANC and white ruling parties promises to usher in the most convulsive period in modern South African history.

Workers Party Debate

Even *before* the formation of such a government, Mandela's abject collaboration with the Randlords is producing increasing dissidence in the black workers movement. Many of the "foot soldiers" and lower-level leaders in the anti-apartheid struggle are wondering what their role will be in the "new" South Africa. With mass action replaced by influence peddling, there is mushrooming unrest in the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the working class. "Is Holding Hands with the Bosses the Way Forward for the Workers?" asked an angry paper by a leader of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), slamming COSATU's across-the-board capitulation. Things have gotten so acrimonious that COSATU assistant general secretary Sam Shilowa said (half-) jokingly at a press conference, "I must leave now; I've got to get to the World Trade Centre to sell out the workers." Reflecting this tension, COSATU has called for a general strike on November 15 against a draft constitutional clause protecting bosses' "right" to lock out workers.

As union officials and activists see the ANC taps on the road to joining De Klerk & Co. in the South African ruling elite, they are beginning to question the "tripartite alliance," a nationalist popular front of the ANC, the SACP and COSATU. Combined with calls to break the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance, there is now heated debate about a workers party. In part this reflects a radicalization among union militants and lower-level officials seeking to organize to defend the working class against an anticipated ANC-De Klerk government. At the same time, some top union leaders have in mind a pretty tame labor party as a means of increasing their economic bargaining clout. At the July conference of the National Union of Metalworkers (NUMSA), the biggest union in South Africa, a resolution was passed calling to:

> "Look at new forms of organisation that will unify the working class organisations and parties, that will take forward a programme to implement socialism. This could take the form of a Working Class Party."

The demand for a workers party is also reportedly being mirrored by elements in the TGWU and the South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (SACCAWU). And after a special conference of the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action, WOSA leader Neville Alexander announced a campaign for an "independent Mass Workers' Party" to "halt and reverse the wholesale compromise of the interests of the working class by the negotiators at the World Trade Centre." WOSA is loosely associated with Ernest Mandel's pseudo-Trotskyist "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec). The call for a workers party received prominent attention in the liberal Johannesburg papers, and is now being debated in the labor and left press in South Africa.

NUMSA is a powerhouse of South African organized labor. Its leader Moses Mayekiso was jailed in the 1980s as one of the "Alexandra Five," who led anti-apartheid struggles in the Witwatersrand township. Mayekiso, who was associated with the earlier "workerist" current in the black unions, has since become a central committee member of the Communist Party. When NUMSA auto workers occupied the Mercedes-Benz plant in Port Elizabeth in 1990, the company had to petition the ANC to get the SACP leadership (including Mayekiso) to come to the plant to strangle the strike. Last year, NUMSA fought a three-week national strike against the steel and engineering companies, which was defeated with mass firings and a concerted union-busting campaign by subsidiaries of the giant Anglo American conglomerate.

An article by Mayekiso, "Nationalisation, Socialism and the Alliance," in the *South Africa Labour Bulletin* (July/August 1993) documents the explosive NUMSA conference. In addition to the call for a workers party, the conference reiterated its 1991 call for a "conference on socialism," in particular to analyze events in East Europe. The leftist thrust of the resolutions reflected something of a revolt among the delegates. Only after a three-hour debate were the words "without compensation" added to the resolution restating NUMSA's longtime demand for nationalization of major industries. Excerpts from the minutes show rebellious delegates from Wits Central-West and Wits East ranged against the other regions, but in the end they carried the vote with 455 in favor of "without compensation" against 312 in favor of simply "nationalisation."

The financial press screamed bloody murder. The bourgeoisie has been trumpeting the supposed "death of communism" so much that they were shocked to find it alive and living on the veld: "What a message to be sending in the 1990s," editorialized *Finance Week*. "When one of the most powerful trade unions in SA effectively comes out in favour of the far-left socialism which destroyed the economies of Eastern Europe, it must be a negative for the economy."

Who are the union rebels demanding nationalization without compensation and a workers party? Mayekiso noted that a significant majority of the delegates were Communist Party and ANC members. In the discussion on a "working-class party," he stressed: "The delegates, who were mainly supporters of the SACP, felt that the SACP should play a leading role in this process together with left sections of the ANC as well as other left forces like WOSA and many independent socialists and social democrats." The conference also voted to end the alliance with the ANC, but only *after* the April elections. "Once an Interim Government of National Unity is established and the ANC is part of it, we should not have a formal alliance with the ANC." This resolution was clearly aimed at undercutting mass sentiment in the ranks to break the alliance *now*.

In part, Mayekiso and other former "workerist" leaders who joined in forming COSATU see breaking the "tripartite alliance" as a road to merging with rival unions in the NACTU federation which grew out of the Black Consciousness Movement of the 1970s. At the same time, they don't want to oppose the ANC entering the government of apartheid capitalism. Indeed, the NUMSA congress which raised the possibility of a "working-class party" *also* called for a vote for the ANC (as have other unions, including the National Union of Mineworkers). Mayekiso is able to claim that the workers party resolution "is not a call for movement by the left forces from the ANC," but rather was "looking at the possibilities of strengthening the left as a class force within the multiclass ANC."

Other unionists and leftists wish to break the alliance with the pro-bourgeois ANC now. Thus Commercial Workers education officer Salim Vally (who is also "labour co-ordinator" of WOSA) wrote in the union newspaper objecting to proposals for an electoral pact with the ANC, saying, "COSATU must not adopt a programme of acting as managers of a reformed capitalism" (*SACCAWU News*, March 1993). In the same issue, Vally has an article on Allende's Chile noting that the "key problem" was "how to smash the state apparatus of the capitalists," that the "fatal mistake" of Allende's Unidad Popular (UP) "was to believe that socialism could be brought about through parliament," and he ends with a warning against a "government of national unity" in South Africa.

It is important that this vital question is being debated in the South African workers movement. But it is necessary

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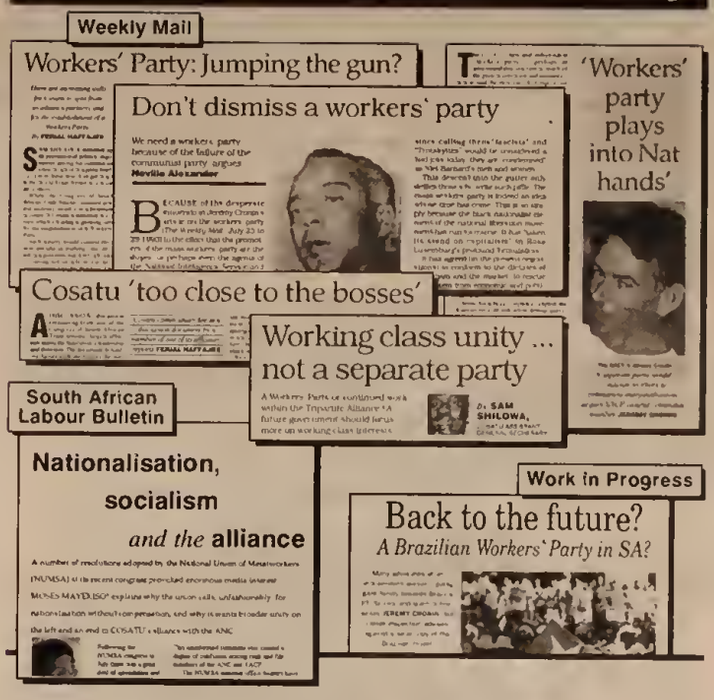
Debate on Workers Party



South African labor, left and bourgeois press heatedly discuss a workers party.

Jiyane/Dynamic Images

Apartheid government has tried to provoke tribal war, instigating attacks by reactionary Inkatha movement (left) that pit Zulus against predominantly Xhosa ANC supporters. Union-based workers militias made up of members of all tribal and ethnic groups are needed to stop tomenters of bloody communalist war.

Sygma

White South African fascists mobilize against ANC participation in "power sharing" regime.

South Africa...

(continued from page 9)

to draw the conclusion, as the Spartacist tendency warned at the time, that it was the very nature of the UP as a popular-front coalition (and not just Allende's "mistakes") that bound the workers to the capitalist state, as the ANC/SACP/COSATU nationalist popular front does in South Africa today. In order to systematically oppose class collaboration, it is necessary to build a *revolutionary* workers party in South Africa which can lead the black African, coloured (mixed-race) and Indian toilers in overthrowing the rule of the Randlords.

Bolshevism vs. Nationalist Popular Frontism

South African unions are seething with turmoil. Long-simmering disputes have also broken out in the militant Wits branch of SACCAWU, which was ordered suspended by the pro-ANC/SACP national leadership. The Food and Allied Workers Union (FAWU) did not return Chris Dlamini, the union's founding president, to office. But as first vice president of COSATU, Dlamini is running on the ANC slate in the April elections, as are Jay Naidoo, NUMSA's Mayekiso and Marcel Golding of the NUM. Spokesmen for this budding labor bureaucracy see their positions threatened by any talk of a break with the would-be bourgeois-nationalist ANC.

Following the NUMSA conference, Jeremy Cronin, the post-Stalinist SACP's chief ideologue of reformism, took a page out of Stalin's book of anti-Trotskyist slander by trying to smear anyone who calls for a workers party as doing the work of the apartheid regime's National Intelligence Service and De Klerk's Nationalist Party by draining away the ANC's mass support ("'Workers' Party Plays into Nat Hands," *Weekly Mail*, 23 July). This outraged many militant black trade unionists. Cronin also argued that a split by COSATU would push the ANC to the right: "To walk away from the most important strategic challenge of our time: the battle for the life and soul of the ANC" would aid those intent on "hijacking the ANC from its basic national democratic perspectives, while marginalising 'the radicals on the left'."

Cronin accused the advocates of a workers party of "economism," only fighting "defensive wage and retrenchment battles on behalf of a relative elite within the working class." Elite! Black auto workers and machinists in South Africa hardly constitute a privileged labor aristocracy. If their wages and benefits are above average, this reflects their *strategic economic power* making them the most combative and class-conscious section of the black proletariat. Cronin's attack on NUMSA's alleged "elitism" is the classic language of popular-frontists denouncing workers struggles that threaten to break the stranglehold of class collaboration. You can't miss the echoes of Salvador Allende denouncing Chilean copper miners in June 1973 as an "elite" manipulated by the CIA. And we know the bloody outcome, as the defeat of the copper strikers by the Unidad Popular government led a few months later to the victory of Pinochet's bloody coup.

Cronin argues that "the workers' party idea prepares workers for permanent opposition, permanent defence, permanent marginalisation." While he is opposing the workers party campaign from the right, there is a certain validity in this criticism insofar as Mayekiso and his co-thinkers envisage a union-based reformist party defending the interest of the organized working class within an illusory bourgeois-democratic system in South Africa. As if one could recreate the British Labour Party of 1907 in the land of apartheid capitalism! While talking of socialism and working-class independence from the bourgeoisie, they *divorce this from the crucial question of the struggle for political power*. And working-class power in South Africa need not be a distant prospect. The whole political and social order is undergoing the most profound crisis in decades with the possibility of many-sided civil wars.

There is much talk among South African unionists about a party on the model of the Brazilian Workers Party (PT). WOSA, in particular, is pushing this as the prototype for "a mass democratic workers party," and at its national conference last April featured a speaker from the PT. But conditions in the two countries are fundamentally different. The PT was born at the beginning of the last decade when the Brazilian military dictatorship undertook a tightly controlled political liberalization. While Brazil has undergone repeated periods of great turmoil, the state structure has remained intact, allowing the Workers Party to function as an opportunist social-democratic parliamentarist party (while expelling all sorts of leftist currents). In 1989 PT leader Lula came close to being elected president of Brazil, in alliance with one of the leading bourgeois parties and after assuring Wall Street financiers that he was no threat to their investments.

South African Labour Bulletin

July 1993 conference of National Union of Metalworkers (South Africa's largest union) passed resolution calling for "working class party."

In South Africa, in contrast, the very existence of the state is at issue. In certain respects conditions in South Africa resemble not Brazil but rather tsarist Russia in the two decades before the October 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. Like the apartheid system, the absolutist monarchy had become a reactionary anachronism generating mass discontent and opposition among all sections of Russian society. But WOSA, Mayekiso and others who write of a workers party as the embodiment of "unity of the left" mirror the Russian *Mensheviks*, including their conception of a revolution in stages (first "democracy," later for socialism) that was later taken over by Stalin. While urging the bourgeois liberals to take power from the tsar, they also put on a "left" face by talking of working-class "independence" from a nascent bourgeois regime.

Thus the Mensheviks' 1905 conference advocated that the social-democratic movement must maintain its positions, "not allowing itself to become merged in bourgeois democracy. It follows that the party should not aim to seize power or share it within a Provisional Government, but should remain a party of the extreme revolutionary opposition" (quoted in *The Mensheviks in the Russian Revolution* [1976]). At the same time, leading Menshevik Julius Martov stressed that "the tactical resolutions of the Menshevik conference... recognized the necessity not to break with the bourgeois opposition until power had passed into its hands" (*Geschichte der russischen Sozialdemokratie* [1918]). Likewise, in South Africa today neo-Mensheviks want to break with the ANC *after* the April 1994 elections.

Lenin emphasized that Menshevism was essentially a continuation of "economism" in that it *abdicated* to the liberals the struggle for political power against the tsarist autocracy. Martov and his co-thinkers believed that the Russian liberal bourgeoisie would institute a regime of parliamentary democracy modeled on West Europe and North America. Central to Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution was that the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy would necessarily and directly open the way for the seizure of power by the working class. If the working class failed to take power, Russia would experience *not* an era of bourgeois democracy but some form of bloody bonapartism, nationalist wars, imperialist overlordship, etc.

It is utterly utopian to believe that the ANC's "power sharing" deal will lead to liberal democracy in South Africa complete with a labor-based, social-democratic party. The economic gulf between the impoverished black African toilers and the privileged white caste is far too vast to be mediated by parliamentary horse trading. The increasingly bloody conflict between the Zulu-based Inkatha movement and the ANC, which draws much of its support from the Xhosas, could escalate into full-scale tribal warfare, spilling over from the black townships into the factories and mines.

A reformist, economistic workers party acting as a pressure on the ANC can in no way change the fundamental conditions in South Africa. It is necessary to break from the nationalist popular front "tripartite alliance" in order to undertake a revolutionary struggle for workers power. *This* must be the program of a class-struggle workers party in South Africa today, the fight for the Trotskyist program of *permanent revolution*.

For a South African Trotskyist Party!

South Africa is an extreme and special case of the general situation in the backward capitalist, colonial and ex-colonial countries in the imperialist epoch. As Trotsky stated in his theory of permanent revolution, and as was demonstrated by the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, to carry out even the most basic democratic revolutionary tasks, it is necessary for the proletariat to take power, and in doing so it must simultaneously undertake socialist measures.

The distinctive character of the South African revolution lies in the particular importance of the national question, and in the considerable weight of the proletariat. Some ostensible Trotskyists use the importance of democratic tasks to put forward a stagist program, counterposing the ANC's former program to its current sellouts. Thus a WOSA leader states (*Socialist Action*, May 1993) that WOSA's "central strategic demand is for a Constituent Assembly on the basis of one-person, one-vote" (but then he concedes that WOSA's campaign had a hard time distinguishing itself from the ANC-government plan). And the programmatic content of WOSA's new campaign for a "mass democratic workers party" does not go beyond the framework of bourgeois democracy. WOSA talks vaguely of "clear class demands (Workers' Charter, etc.)," yet the "Workers Charter" put forward by COSATU leaders is a series of trade-union demands (eight-hour day, unrestricted right to strike, etc.) to better workers' conditions *under capitalism*.

In his speech on the national political situation to WOSA's April conference, Neville Alexander stated flatly that "the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system in South Africa is not on the immediate agenda. We must accept, for the present, that the power elites will find a compromise...." This is not just a conjunctural evaluation of immediate prospects, but the underpinning to justify a bourgeois-democratic program. Thus Alexander summed up WOSA's "alternative strategy" as "we want to ensure that the black workers, the urban and the rural poor, will be the main actors in the democratisation of South Africa." In effect, this is calling for the workers to put the ANC in power, the same program as the SACP's Cronin with a slightly more leftist twist. As we wrote in our article, "South Africa: Razor's Edge" (*WV* No. 376, 5 April 1985), "The black proletariat is still being used as cattle to haul the ideological cart of nationalism." In contrast, we have insisted that *those who labor must rule*.

Another pseudo-Trotskyist group, the "Marxist Workers' Tendency of the ANC," associated with the British Labour Militant of Peter Taaffe, is even *opposed* to the call for a workers party in South Africa today, although they are embarrassed to say so outright. Instead they argue that "Workers must struggle to lead the ANC" and that the struggle "will determine whether it becomes necessary in future for Cosatu to support the launch of an independent workers' party" (*Congress Militant*, September 1993). These "deep entrists" in a petty-bourgeois nationalist formation are so far removed from a proletarian program that they call for "universal conscription" and the integration of the MK into the apartheid army! And their paper has an orientation to the black police and prison guards "union," portraying them as "workers" who are demanding their "labour rights" and "a democratic police force and better conditions and wages for the police." But cops are not workers, there is no such thing as a "democratic" capitalist police force, and "better conditions" only means they can more effectively enforce neo-apartheid "law and order." Such an orientation is quite another thing from defending black cops victimized for protesting racism, as has recently occurred in the Port Elizabeth region.

The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) stands for workers revolution through smashing apartheid slavery. While calling for a constituent assembly born of revolutionary struggle, we polemicized against WOSA's "constituent assembly fetishism" and posed the struggle for workers councils (soviets). We emphasize that the workers party needed today is not a South African version of British Labourism (or its Brazilian variant, pushed by the USec and other fake-Trotskyists) but a Bolshevik-Leninist party forged on the program of permanent revolution. This is the answer to the anger of the thousands of militant black unionists in the factories and the frustrated youths in the townships who defiantly waved the red flag of the SACP only to find themselves now sold out on the altar of "power sharing."

All struggles in South Africa today are dominated by the question of power, and while the masters of apartheid capitalism may permit some black front men to act as their agents, they are not about to share power with their class enemy and the source of their fabulous wealth—the workers. The question of questions is which class shall rule. Break from the "tripartite alliance"! For a Bolshevik workers party to fight for socialist revolution! ■

Haiti...

(continued from page 16)

foreign relief agencies to survive.

Meanwhile, the kill-crazed officers and their paramilitary "attachés" continue their bloodbath, assassinating suspected opponents and indiscriminately gunning down people in the streets. Some 3,500 people have been slaughtered since the military coup and several hundred thousand have fled their homes. Yet Clinton continues to force Haitian refugees back to Port-au-Prince, where they are turned over to the bloody military. Counterrevolutionary Cuban refugees, on the other hand, are welcomed into the U.S. with open arms.

The imperialist embargo comes after Clinton pulled back the USS *Harlan County*, which was transporting a couple hundred U.S. and Canadian "peacekeeping" troops, when a few dozen armed supporters of the military regime rioted on the docks of Port-au-Prince. The military intervention in Haiti under the auspices of the UN was supposed to oversee the resignation of army chief Cédras and Port-au-Prince police chief Joseph Michel François and restore Aristide to office. But Cédras and François refused to step down, demanding that parliament broaden Aristide's declared amnesty for "political infractions" into a general amnesty.

Clinton administration officials responded to this humiliation by declaring they had "not ruled out" military intervention in Haiti, and a contingent of 600 Marines was sent to the Guantánamo naval base. These bellicose moves underscore the fact that American military action in the region constitutes a deadly threat to Cuba, from which the Guantánamo base was stolen. The U.S. intervened in Cuba in 1898 to head off the nearly successful war for independence from Spain. And from the moment the Castro regime expropriated the capitalists, foreign and domestic, in 1960, Washington has tried everything from invasion to endless assassination attempts to "roll back" this revolution in the U.S.' "backyard."

But Washington quickly put the threats of military intervention in Haiti on hold as the battering of U.S. Rangers in Mogadishu provoked a sharp outbreak of "Vietnam syndrome." The Democratic chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Sam Nunn, cried that troops to Haiti "are being sent into harm's way." Republican Senate minority leader Robert Dole put forward a bill (later watered down) barring the president from sending troops to Haiti without a formal certification to Congress that U.S. "security" was threatened.

The starvation blockade of Haiti in the name of "humanitarian" aid typifies imperialism's cynical cover for its inhuman cruelty in the New World Order. Currently, the U.S./UN is using the "food weapon" against Haiti, Somalia, Serbia and Iraq. In three years of UN sanctions against Iraq, over 300,000 people have reportedly died as a result of medical and other shortages—in addition to the tens of thousands massacred by the U.S. in the Persian Gulf War—and some 4,000 children under the age of five continue to die each month. The barbaric imperialist system must be swept away through international proletarian revolution!

Imperialism and Its Henchmen

As part of last July's Governor's Island agreement, Aristide called on the UN to send troops to Haiti to "professionalize" the army. When the U.S. occupied Haiti between 1915 and 1934, the Marines formed the army which drowned the country in blood, and has

Charles/NY Times

Ousted president Aristide at the UN joins call for imperialist blockade of Haiti.

ruled Haiti ever since. The same occurred elsewhere as U.S. bayonets set up armies of professional killers forged in slaughtering the population, bringing to power such grisly dictators as Anastasio Somoza (Nicaragua), Rafael Trujillo (Dominican Republic) and Fulgencio Batista (Cuba). The Pentagon knows the Haitian army inside out, from the political leanings of every officer to their drug connections. After all, three-quarters of them were reportedly trained in the U.S., including Cédras and François. If Washington really wanted to get rid of its used-up puppets, it wouldn't have to send a single troop ship. Recall the CIA-engineered assassinations of Trujillo in 1961 and South Vietnam's Ngo Dinh Diem in 1963.

Behind the public arm-wrestling between Washington and Port-au-Prince, U.S. rulers have been sharply divided over who to back in Haiti. Despite the official pro-Aristide line, powerful forces favor full support to the Haitian butchers. The *New York Times* (October 8) reported that "senior Pentagon officials have said they are unwilling to endanger American lives for a leader they consider highly erratic and unreliable." A CIA spokesman provocatively briefed Congressmen, labeling Aristide a "murderer" and a "psychopath." This same CIA "expert" wrote a report after the Haitian military coup praising the Cédras regime as "the most promising group of Haitian leaders" since Duvalier was deposed in 1986. Administration officials countered by leaking reports that Haitian military and political leaders have been on the CIA payroll for years.

Certainly, the imperialists' guard dogs sometimes slip their leash and bring down the wrath of their masters, as in the case of Panamanian strongman Manuel Noriega. And should the U.S. intervene militarily against their former flunkeys, as in Panama we would militarily side with those resisting the incomparably greater force for evil, American imperialism—i.e., the "democratic" butchers of Vietnam and Iraq, the "humanitarian" colonial occupiers of Somalia.

Far more likely, however, is that U.S. intervention would be directed against a popular uprising against the junta. Look at the Dominican Republic next door. Following the ouster of the elected civilian president Juan Bosch in 1963, Bosch courted support from the Democratic administration in Washington. But the U.S. was loath to cross its Dominican generals. When a group of younger military officers rose up in April 1965 to bring back Bosch, it sparked an explosion of revolutionary struggle. Leftist-led masses based in the poor barrios of the capital joined the rebellion, seizing arms and taking control of the city through neighborhood committees and similar military-political bodies which were potential forms of workers power. Within hours, Washington had dispatched warships and 23,000 Marines and paratroops to smash the Santo Domingo Commune. They were aided by the reformist misleaders who tied the insurrectionary masses to the bourgeois politician Bosch, and ultimately gave up in exchange for the promise of elections.

In Haiti today, Washington is pushing for a government of "national reconciliation" to include the Duvalierist murderers as a guarantee of "stability." As the U.S./UN embargo went into effect, Cédras and François announced they would resign if at least four key ministries, including defense and interior, were given to "a big Macoute." U.S. ambassador William Swing and UN envoy Dante Caputo promptly handed a prepared speech to Prime Minister Robert Malval announcing an expanded government (he balked and sent a copy to Aristide). The rich businessman Malval, who was hand-picked by Washington, is playing a pivotal role as a bridge between the pro-Aristide forces and the Duvalierists.

The Aristide presidency has from the start been based on the illusion of "democratizing" the blood-drenched Haitian army. Aristide insists that he only wants to purge a "few hundred" of the 7,000 soldiers (and who is going to disarm the vicious "attachés"?). Yet Aristide himself appointed Cédras army chief as a supposed "democrat" because he had headed the Committee for the Security of the Elections which oversaw the December 1990 presidential elections. Under Duvalier, Cédras was an officer in the sinister Leopard "counterinsurgency" battalion. This army of corrupt murderers cannot be "reformed." It must be swept away by social revolution.

The question of what stand to take toward Aristide and U.S. intervention has caused much disorientation among Haitian leftists. A group in Haiti falsely claiming the mantle of Trotskyism, the Organisation des Travailleurs Révolutionnaires (OTR), supporters of Lutte Ouvrière in France, has adopted a posture of "critical" support for Aristide. In the 1990 presidential election, the OTR criticized Aristide for counting on the army and cited the lessons of Allende's Chile—only to call for a vote to the populist priest! While calling for mass struggle under Aristide, the OTR sought to "exert a permanent pressure on the government" (*La Voix des Travailleurs*, 28 February 1991). This perspective of pressure politics can only demobilize the masses and undermine revolutionary struggle.

In fighting for an authentic Trotskyist party in Haiti and the diaspora (Haitian émigrés abroad), we have emphasized:

> "The struggle against the hideous poverty and oppression of the Haitian masses must be seen as part of an international class struggle against imperialism in which Haitian workers in the cities of North America can play a key role. Haitian nationalists are forever lamenting the fact that the Haitian diaspora exists. Comrades, it is very *good* that you have this diaspora! It internationalizes the struggle of Haitian workers, gives them social power and helps forge an international vanguard directly linked to the U.S. proletariat, which has the power to bring imperialism to its knees."
>
> —"Haitian Workers: Fight for Power!" *WV* No. 537, 25 October 1991

Organizing these workers into an international Bolshevik party is part of the task that the International Communist League sets itself in the struggle for worldwide socialist revolution. ■

PDC Notes...

(continued from page 2)

one of the 19 passengers on board witnessed the alleged incident, nor could Greyhound produce any physical evidence that the bus was even shot at. To assure the guilty verdict, trial judge Samuel Freed instructed the jury that they could find Cawthra guilty *even if they had reasonable doubt* that he was at the scene. Freed's jury charge, little more than an instruction to find Cawthra guilty, was so blatantly unconstitutional that an appellate court threw out the conviction last December and ordered a new trial, which is scheduled to begin shortly.

With Cawthra's picket line conviction tossed out, the feds revived the long-dormant charges of interstate transport of firearms and their sale to an unlicensed dealer. The "unlicensed dealer" was the father of the cop to whom Cawthra, himself a licensed dealer, legally sold the guns. While Cawthra is serving 15 months in the slammer, the real crooks, the cop and his pop who set up Cawthra, won't even do one day of jail time.

Roger Cawthra is in jail for being a picket line activist. Like so many others, he's been left to rot by the union tops who betrayed the strike and cost thousands of Greyhound strikers their jobs. It is the duty of all unionists to rally to Roger Cawthra's defense.

On November 2 the PDC wrote the U.S. Attorney in Brooklyn, demanding that the firearms charges be dropped and Cawthra released. We also wrote the Connecticut Superior Court demanding dismissal of the picket line charges. *Stop the vendetta! Free Roger Cawthra!*

Letters and messages of support can be sent to Roger Cawthra, #37022-053, P.O. Box 1000, Loretto, PA 15940.

* * *

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

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Mexican USec Backs Bourgeois Nationalist Cárdenas

MEXICO CITY—On September 19, the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party) held a press conference at its national headquarters together with Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, the presidential candidate of the bourgeois-nationalist Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD). Amid much pomp and circumstance, PRT leader Lucinda Nava announced her party's decision to name Cárdenas as its candidate for the 1994 race. By *endorsing this capitalist politician*, the PRT—touted for years as the model Latin American section of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec)—tramples on the basic Marxist principle of political independence of the working class from its capitalist exploiters. These electoral reformists masquerading as Trotskyists now *openly* repudiate one of Leon Trotsky's cardinal programmatic lessons, of revolutionary opposition to the popular front of class collaboration.

At the press conference, Cárdenas called the occasion one of the "first steps" in forming a "great democratic alliance" to oust the perennial ruling party, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). The left-liberal Mexico City daily *La Jornada* (20 September) reported that the PRT's Nava "explained that joining Cárdenas' candidacy results from the decision to contribute to 'this great national effort,' which must lead to the coming together of the most diverse forces in a common democratic framework, 'independently of ideological differences'." The Mandelite leader's declaration is well to the *right* of the rhetoric used by the classic French and Spanish "People's Fronts" during the 1930s—not to mention Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular. Promising to bring "socialism" through an alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie and "constitutionalist" officers like Augusto Pinochet, the UP paved the way for the bloody Chilean coup of September 1973.

Even before the collapse of Stalinism in East Europe and the USSR led fake-left ideologues worldwide to desperately seek cover as liberal democrats, the rise of the Cárdenas movement was a watershed in the total liquidation into bourgeois politics by the vast majority of the Mexican left. The 1988 campaign of Cárdenas' National Democratic Front prompted leaders of "independent" (i.e., not PRI-affiliated) unions to curb an explosive strike wave and subordinate rebellious workers to Cardenista electoralism. The Mexican Socialist Party, formed by the ex-Communist Party and several left-nationalist groups, had its candidate step down in favor of Cárdenas and later provided the organizational core for Cárdenas' PRD. Numerous other left groups, from Maoists and "anti-parliamentarian" syndicalists to the fake-Trotskyist Militante group (followers of British reformist Ted Grant), also joined the new bourgeois-nationalist party.

In 1988, the Mandelite PRT ran anti-repression activist Rosario Ibarra in a nominally independent presidential campaign, but in the name of opposing vote fraud she foreshadowed the present headlong plunge into the popular front by ending rallies with yells of "Viva Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas!" Ibarra issued a joint statement with the slogan "Together let us win freedom" with Cárdenas and Manuel Clouthier, candidate of the right-ist National Action Party (PAN)—known for its links to the U.S. Republican right wing and its fund-raising for the Nicaraguan *contras* (see "Left Peddles 'Unity' with Cárdenas Popular Front," *WV* No. 457, 15 July 1988). Clouthier later died in a car crash, but today Ibarra nostalgically says that if the rightist leader were alive, "he would join at our side in building this great anti-PRI front."

The son of nationalist president General Lázaro Cárdenas—who in the late 1930s nationalized oil and railroads, built the party which became the PRI and consolidated government control over most labor and peasant organizations—Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas was himself a PRI politician for many years, serving the corrupt and repressive regime as governor of the state of Michoacán. Neither Cárdenas saw fit to protest, much less leave the PRI, when President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz ordered the savage Tlatelolco massacre of hundreds of leftists in October 1968 (see "The 1968 Massacre of Mexican Students," *WV* No. 584, 24 September).

But in response to the wave of workers strikes, peasant unrest and student protests that erupted in 1987-88 in response to the devastating "shock treatment" carried out by the Mexican government on orders from Washington and Wall Street (the so-called "debt crisis"), a number of PRI leaders saw the need to refurbish the discredited regime that had held power for over 60 years. So Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas—together with former Díaz Ordaz advisers Ifigenia Martínez and Porfirio Muñoz Ledo (former PRI head and UN ambassador, now president of the PRD)—led a split from the PRI. While Cárdenas won a solid majority in the capital and other parts of the country, the PRI held on to power thanks largely to the most outrageous vote fraud in the country's history.

Cárdenas' PRD is a second PRI, combining populist and nationalist rhetoric with subservience to U.S. imperialism. But Cárdenas Jr. is a pale reflection of Cárdenas Sr. As in '88, today his platform centers on "democracy," respect for the constitution and a curb on corruption. He wouldn't dream of proposing even the sort of bourgeois nationalizations that won mass support for his father as a symbol of defiance of the Yankee colossus to the North. On the contrary, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas hastens to assure Washington that he is the best option for maintaining capitalist "order." Rather than flatly opposing Wall Street's predatory Free Trade Agreement to rape Mexico, he wants a somewhat less piratical version of the treaty. "With or without NAFTA, Mexico should preserve its good relations with the United States to find mutual advantages," says the PRD standard-bearer (*The News* [Mexico City], 10 October).

Larry Reider

Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas

PRT Comes Apart at the Seams

The 1988 elections touched off a dramatic process of decomposition for the PRT, which once boasted several thousand members. Shortly before the elections, most of the PRT's parliamentary fraction, student leaders and intellectual "stars," led by Adolfo Gilly, bolted to the Cárdenas campaign. Then the party's electoral fiasco—none of its parliamentary candidates were elected—led to loss of its official "registry" and the juicy government subsidy it had lived off for years. Members faced with the novel idea that they should pay dues to finance party work drifted away; the party's newspaper and theoretical journal stopped coming out. Terrified that "isolation" from the Cárdenas movement would mean oblivion, in the fall of 1989 the PRT formally joined the National Patriotic Front, a new lash-up headed by Cárdenas, while insisting that the bloc was for "non-electoral" purposes only.

Desperately seeking a place at the subsidy trough, in state after state the PRT was soon neck-deep in sordid electoral blocs with the PRD, the rightist PAN and even the ultraright clericalist Mexican Democratic Party (PDM). When collaboration with the bourgeois opposition parties didn't pan out, a sector of the PRT leadership began collaborating with the regime's "National Solidarity Program" (PRONASOL)—a pork barrel scheme to buy off opposition with "public works" money. As a *quid pro quo*, in the western state of Colima PRT leaders openly supported the PRI government for *four years*—publishing declarations in the local press praising PRI candidates, welcoming President Carlos Salinas de Gortari shortly after he was "elected" in 1988, calling for "a culture of...frank collaboration with government"—and walked out of the PRT when national leaders finally had to "notice" what they'd been up to.

The climax came in November 1992 when the Mandelites' star "peasant leader," Margarito Montes, head of the General Workers, Peasants and People's Union (UGOCP), after years of openly supporting and receiving funds from PRONASOL, signed the *government's* "Peasant Manifesto." This document laid the basis for a wholesale sell-off of the peasants' *ejidos* (common lands) established in the wake of the Mexican Revolution—a policy spelling starvation for millions of poor peasants. Even so, Montes, the incarnation of the PRT's phony "mass work," was not expelled but simply quit the PRT. The Montes and Colima scandals formed the backdrop to yet another split by a section of the Mandelite leadership around Edgard Sánchez, who formed their own PRT in an effort to regain electoral registration. Needless to say, Sánchez & Co. back the Cárdenas campaign just as fulsomely as the rump PRT, which claims to be defending the party's "historic principles" (what principles?) against the splitters.

Thirty years ago, Mandel's USec professed shock and dismay when its largest section, the LSSP of Sri Lanka (Ceylon), joined the government of the Sinhala chauvinist Bandaranaike. The USec cut its ties with the LSSP and denied all responsibility for the betrayal, although it had been prepared by years of participation in popular-front alliances. Today the tattered and demoralized USec can hardly claim to be taken by surprise by its Mexican section's open embracing of the timidly nationalist bourgeoisie. Yet while the LSSP's control of large parts of the union movement landed it some ministerial portfolios, the pathetic PRT has little left to sell. Its headlong plunge into the mainstream of pop-frontism may be the final act of the USec's Mexican section. ■

Anti-Immigrant Racism...

(continued from page 7)

man's only" country. In fact, I think if Wilson ever saw white Anglo-Saxon youth harvesting lettuce or picking fruit in the Imperial Valley, he would keel over dead in a state of shock. He's a racist like the old Southern slaveowners were racists. They wanted blacks in this country, they wanted plenty of blacks in this country, as long as they were slaves and they could exploit them, and they had no rights. Wilson wants plenty of Mexican workers in this country, as long as his friends in agribusiness can exploit them and they have no rights.

Pete Wilson is basically the political agent of California agribusiness. And California agribusiness is the biggest employer of "illegal immigrant" labor in the country. Is this a contradiction? Why are big agricultural capitalists and their bankers giving money to a politician who is campaigning to stop the flow of immigrants? Because they have to do two things: they want to exploit Mexican and other immigrant workers, but they also want to divert the popular economic discontent away from themselves. So they blame the very people that they're exploiting.

Down with Anti-Japanese Protectionism!

People have a hard time buying the line that the American economy has gone to hell in the last 20 years mainly because there are too many black welfare mothers and too many illegal Mexican immigrants. Most people figure that there must be more powerful forces involved than *that*. And here's where anti-Japanese protectionism comes in: you see a very clear division of labor within the American ruling class. The right wing, mainly concentrated in the Republicans, blame the black and Hispanic and Asian poor. The liberals and the union bureaucracy and the Democrats blame the wealthy capitalists—but *not American wealthy capitalists*. It's the *Japanese* wealthy capitalists, who are supposedly trying to bankrupt this country by flooding it with cheaper and better goods, so that they can then take over the country real cheap.

Last weekend my wife, daughter and I saw the movie *Rising Sun*, which as a crime melodrama is moderately entertaining. Politically, it is quite a sinister movie. The plot centers around the murder of your typical American blonde sex goddess in the L.A. corporate headquarters of a Japanese firm that's trying to take over some high-tech computer outfit. One of the LAPD detectives who's assigned to the case is this hip black played by Wesley Snipes. In one scene Snipes and his partner are being chased by Japanese thugs in the pay of this corporation, and they drive into the L.A. ghetto. Snipes has an instant conference with the brothers in the 'hood, saying, "There's some bad Japanese cats tailing me. Brothers, take care of them." And you have a scene of this L.A. black street gang trashing the Japanese "bad guys" on behalf of the "good guys," the LAPD!

Now, put this in political perspective. Just a few months ago, Clinton and Wilson and the black Democratic then-mayor of L.A., Tom Bradley, brought in massive military force and laid siege to South-Central. They were quite prepared to kill hundreds of black youth if the

Thousands of Mexican Workers Barred

El Paso: Racist Border Blockade

"Operation Blockade" is the latest step in the militarization of the 2,000-mile-long Mexico-U.S. border. This massive mobilization by American immigration police to keep undocumented immigrants from crossing over from Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua to El Paso, Texas was begun on September 20. Border Patrol agents have been stationed every 200 yards, 24 hours a day, along a stretch of 20 miles. Some 200 vehicles are participating in the action, as helicopters constantly buzz the border. While it was initially portrayed as a temporary measure initiated by the local Border Patrol chief, it was paid for by a special appropriation from the Justice Department. And although in the face of angry protests from Mexico they're not calling it a blockade anymore, the operation is continuing and may be expanded to Arizona and California.

There has been an epidemic of virulent anti-immigrant hysteria spread by capitalist politicians of both parties this year, particularly in California where a deep economic depression drags on. While Republican governor Pete Wilson has proposed a whole array of racist measures, California's Democratic Senators Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer call for militarizing the Mexican border, and liberal Democratic state treasurer Kathleen Brown has called for closing it altogether. When federal attorney general Janet Reno visited the San Diego border region in August at the height of the Mexico-bashing, she declared that using troops was one of the "options" being studied. "Operation Blockade" in El Paso is the test case.

This competition in electoral xenophobia is already producing concrete measures. In October, Wilson signed into law reactionary acts making it a crime for non-citizens to request public medical services, prohibiting state and local governments from giving any job aid to undocumented workers, and overruling local "sanctuary" ordinances prohibiting cooperation with the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), the *migra*. And in Washington, Boxer's $24-million amendment to the federal "defense" budget to deploy hundreds of National Guard personnel to aid the INS has been approved in committee. According to the Los Angeles Spanish-language daily *La Opinión* (8 October), President Clinton even claims the El Paso blockade reduced unemployment "in many of those towns in south Texas" below 10 percent (El Paso is in West Texas).

Gutierrez/El Paso Times

U.S. Border Patrol cops block bridge. Mexican and American workers must join hands across the border.

In fact, the racist cordon has not affected either unemployment or the crime rate in El Paso, contrary to the Border Patrol's claims. But it has sharply cut business for downtown merchants, who complained bitterly (along with suburban housewives, whose Mexican maids and gardeners couldn't get across the border). In Ciudad Juárez, there was a rash of protests against the blockade. Early on, hundreds marched through the city demanding, "Let us in! We want to work!" (*El Paso Times*, 23 September). The leftist Committees of Popular Defense (CDP) burned American flags and effigies of Uncle Sam. Catholic bishops denounced the U.S.' anti-Mexican measures. "Operation Dignity," a call by Juárez officials to refuse to shop in El Paso, initially had an impact but soon crumbled in the face of cheaper prices on the American side. Between workers and shoppers, up to 80,000 Juárez residents are affected by the blockade.

At bottom the economic forces are stronger than *migra* repression. Ciudad Juárez, with over 2.5 million people, and El Paso's 600,000 residents are one economic region which is both divided and united by the Río Grande (Río Bravo in Mexico). "Free trade zone" *maquiladora* factories on the Mexican side employ tens of thousands of workers producing for the American market. And many of the workers in the garment sweatshops and agricultural fields on the American side were born (and often live) in Mexico or have family ties across "the wire." So far this year, the INS has arrested over *280,000* undocumented workers in the El Paso region alone, and for every one arrested it's estimated two more get through. The purpose of the INS/Border Patrol blockade and the increased militarization of the border is not to cut off this mass immigration but to *control it* in the interests of capital.

Carlos Marentes of the Border Agricultural Workers Union (UTAF) in El Paso underlined the racist and discriminatory nature of the blockade, pointing out that the Border Patrol didn't check the fields or the factories because that would affect the interests of the bosses who hire undocumented workers to lower their costs (*La Jornada* [Mexico City], 8 October). *Workers Vanguard* has covered the struggles of the UTAF agricultural workers and El Paso garment workers in recent years, pointing out the very real possibility of united cross-border labor struggles. But the AFL-CIO union tops have given no more than lip service to aiding Mexican workers. On the contrary, with their *protectionist* opposition to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), they echo the same theme as Clinton about Mexican workers "stealing American jobs."

Class-conscious workers on both sides of the border must wage an *internationalist* opposition to the capitalists' NAFTA rape of Mexico. The possibilities for joint class struggle are increasing with the rapid industrialization of northern Mexico. This year there was a factory occupation at the Maquiladores Internacionales garment plant (producing Levi's and Britannia jeans) and a successful wage strike at TDK in Chihuahua. And at the Zenith plant in Reynosa, union dissidents carried out a work stoppage against a corrupt company-owned "labor" boss, which continues despite over 400 punitive layoffs. But to seize such opportunities requires the intervention of a workers party based on revolutionary internationalism, rather than the narrow nationalism of the labor reformists on both sides of the border.

One common enemy that workers in both Mexico and the U.S. can immediately unite against is the hated *migra*. "Operation Blockade" is only the latest atrocity. In El Paso the Border Patrol is notorious for abusing students at Bowie High School, beating women at the Paisano apartment complex, randomly seizing people who "look Mexican" on the streets (in this 70 percent Hispanic city), and brutalizing border crossers. A May 1993 report by Americas Watch on "Frontier Injustice" about human rights abuses on the Mexican border documents how Border Patrol shootings and rapes are routinely covered up by INS authorities. The answer to this systematic racist repression is not complaint forms or government monitoring but a common working-class offensive against the capitalists and their governments who live off the products of the workers' toil. Full citizenship rights for immigrant workers! Hands across the border against racist *migra* repression and *maquiladora* superexploitation!

police who had beaten Rodney King had walked and the ghetto had erupted, as it had a year earlier. As it turned out, they didn't have to. But Clinton was obviously so frustrated that he couldn't kill blacks that he wiped out an entirely innocuous integrated religious commune in Waco, Texas, burning to death nearly a hundred men and women.

So here you have the American ruling class, Democrats and Republicans, absolutely willing to kill hundreds of rebellious black youth, and then this big-budget Hollywood movie, with a popular black superstar, presents the Crips and the Bloods as America's front line of defense against the supposedly sinister Japanese takeover! In this country, anti-Japanese protectionism—in fact, any kind of nationalist protectionism—is intimately and directly linked with murderous racism.

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

Last week, in response to the renewed attacks on immigrants by Wilson, Boxer and Feinstein, the Spartacist League and Labor Black League had a demonstration in San Francisco around the slogan, "Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants and All Foreign Workers." If people made it into this country, they should have the rights of citizens.

These days, the terms "citizen" and "citizenship" have a very conformist connotation. You say somebody's a "good citizen," you have the image of someone in the Junior Chamber of Commerce who goes to these conventions where they wear funny hats, and he can cheat on his wife. I remember when I was in grade school—I don't know if they still have it—they had a category on your report card called "citizenship," which basically meant that you behaved yourself and you did what the teacher told you to. I never did. I always flunked "citizenship." I was a bad citizen of the third grade, P.S. 253 in Brooklyn.

But citizenship doesn't mean that. A couple hundred years ago, citizenship was a very revolutionary concept. And it became part of the central political vocabulary of the Western world as a result of the American War of Independence and especially the French Revolution. Before that, people were not citizens of countries but *subjects* of monarchies. If you were born in England or the American colonies, you were a subject of the British king. If you were born in France, you were a subject of the French king, unless your parents were Russians, and then you were a subject of the Russian tsar.

The conception of citizenship, that everybody born in a country has *equal legal rights*, that there were no nobles and commoners, was a product of what we call the bourgeois-democratic revolution against the medieval feudal order. But today it is the capitalists who are attacking the most elementary democratic rights achieved by their revolutionary bourgeois ancestors, while we communists are defending those rights.

In December 1991, when Boris Yeltsin—Washington's man in Moscow—kicked out the lame-duck Soviet president Gorbachev, lowered the red flag on the Kremlin and announced that the Soviet Union no longer existed, the Western capitalist rulers celebrated "the death of communism." But it was *not* communism that died. It was Stalinism that died, the bureaucratic degeneration of the Bolshevik Revolution under the conditions of imperialist encirclement.

We continue to stand for and fight for the liberating principles of the Bolshevik Revolution. And on the subject of this talk, those principles were very clearly stated in the 1918 founding constitution of the Soviet Russian workers state:

> "*Article 20.* Acting on the principle of the solidarity of the toilers of all nations, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic shall grant all political rights enjoyed by Russian citizens to foreigners resident within the territory of the Russian Republic for purposes of employment and belonging to the working class or to the peasantry not employing hired labour. Local soviets [councils] shall be authorized to confer upon such foreigners, without any troublesome formalities, the rights of Russian citizenship."

This is simply a concrete application of the basic Marxist principle that the workers of the world must unite against their oppressors. ■

NAFTA...

(continued from page 1)

Liberal Democratic Senator Bill Bradley pushes NAFTA as the way to ensure that Mexico "is irrevocably tied to the U.S.," arguing that "the biggest threat to American jobs does not come from Mexico but from Europe, Japan and China."

Meanwhile the mainstream opposition to NAFTA runs the gamut from extreme right-wing politicians like Ross Perot to the majority of the Congressional Democrats to the AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy and their hangers-on in the reformist left. Playing on the wholesale destruction of jobs and working conditions in the U.S. and Canada during the Reagan/Bush years and the Clinton "recovery," chauvinist union misleaders and their right-wing allies peddle racist, protectionist poison, blaming unemployment and plant closings not on the North American capitalists but on the Mexican workers. Despite occasional expressions of "concern" for the hideous exploitation of the Mexican proletariat, the protectionist opponents of NAFTA are whipping up a war for "American jobs" and "American profits."

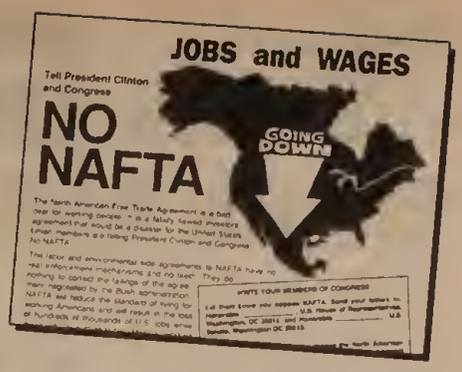
The American imperialist behemoth is the greatest enemy of all workers, including the workers of the U.S. As

Edward Carreon

Ford worker at Cuautitlán, Mexico, site of 1990 strike brutally repressed by government and corporatist CTM bureaucrats.

Marxists we combat the economic nationalism which seeks to pit workers in the U.S. against their class brothers and sisters to the north and south. In a 1991 joint statement of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, the Spartacist League/U.S. and the Trotskyist League of Canada, we said: "There is a burning need for an *internationalist* proletarian opposition which stands with the working class and impoverished peasantry of Mexico against the imperialist assault" (*WV* No. 530, 5 July 1991). We call on the workers of Canada, Mexico and the U.S. to join in common class struggle to smash NAFTA and defeat the rapacious designs of Yankee imperialism and its junior partners and clients in Canada and Mexico.

Donna Binder/Impact Visuals



Left: Flag-waving UAW bureaucrats push protectionist poison at rally of laid-off GM workers. Right: "Progressive" union tops of OCAW push Perot's line that Mexican workers are "stealing American jobs."

"The Gringo Banks Are Drooling"

The 1989 "free trade" agreement with Canada already gives a taste of what NAFTA has in store for the working class. That pact has been so disastrous to Canada's economy that the former ruling Conservative party was decimated in last month's elections. It has led to a wholesale destruction of industrial jobs, particularly in Ontario, where the provincial government of the social-democratic New Democratic Party shoved a "social contract" down the workers' throats. Not surprisingly, the NDP lost virtually all its seats in the federal parliament in the last elections.

Meanwhile, *Business Week* (13 September) exultantly reports: "The gringo banks are drooling: They're ready to swoop into Mexico once NAFTA is approved." Mexico's workers and peasants are reeling under a decade of austerity dictated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Labeled a "model" for developing countries by the IMF and the World Bank, the PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) regimes of Miguel de la Madrid and now Carlos Salinas de Gortari have driven down the Mexican peso and leeched the workers and peasants dry to repay billions in debt to Wall Street. Under the PRI's "Stability Pact" wage controls, the average industrial wage has fallen by *two-thirds* over the past decade, to $2.35 per hour. In the *maquiladoras* near the U.S. border, over half a million workers, mainly young women, slave for far less than that while living in perilous slums.

In a virtual fire sale of 90 percent of state-owned companies, Washington's Mexican lackeys have wiped out 400,000 jobs through "privatization." Mexican journalist Alvaro Cepeda Neri acerbically notes: "The booty of privatization has made multimillionaires of 13 families, while the rest of the population—some 80 million Mexicans—has been subjected to the same gradual impoverishment as though they had suffered through a war" (*New York Times*, 27 October). Shipyards, steel mills, airlines and the phone company have all been put on the auction block. Many heavy industry plants have been closed down. Pemex, the nationalized oil company, has eliminated 130,000 union jobs, sparking huge protests. Mexican workers bitterly joke that NAFTA's Spanish initials, TLC, really stand for *Todos a la Calle* (everyone thrown into the street).

The PRI, which has ruled Mexico for over six decades, uses its hatchet men in the corporatist Confederation of Mexican Labor (CTM) to wield the ax for privatization and austerity. Any attempt to organize independent unions is met with firings and the blacklist. And the government is openly preparing for an assault on the unions following NAFTA's enactment and national elections next August. Far-sighted imperialist spokesmen are worried that a defeat for NAFTA could destabilize Mexico.

Racist Hypocrisy of the Union Tops

Clinton's America is the "land of the plummeting payrolls," as over 1.8 million manufacturing jobs have been eliminated since 1989 alone (*Business Week*, 20 September). A study by the Economic Policy Institute, entitled "The Joyless Recovery: Deteriorating Wages and Job Quality in the 1990s," detailed the continuing mass layoffs and declines in hourly wages. All spring and summer there have been an endless series of job-slashing announcements by scores of major employers. But the AFL-CIO bureaucrats who helped put Clinton into the White House are sworn enemies of class struggle. So they now turn to even more right-wing forces to channel workers' anger into the dead end of protectionist nationalism.

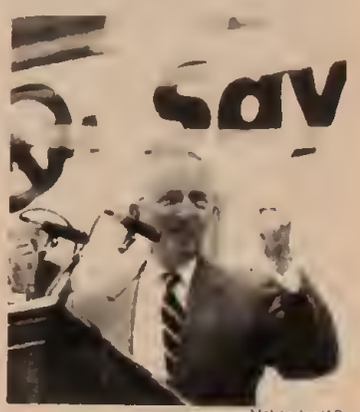
The anti-NAFTA rallies being called by a coalition of protectionist trade-union bureaucrats, Perot supporters and the outright fascist Liberty Lobby are a sea of American flags and jingoist appeals to "Save American Jobs." Seeking to build a base for his right-wing populist nationalism, Perot appeals to widespread disgust with the Wall Street bloodsuckers of the '80s "greed decade." He lectures that "NAFTA is driven by investor greed" and will "do even more harm to the U.S. economy and American workers in the 1990s than leveraged buyouts (LBOs) did in the 1980s"!

Grotesquely parading as a friend of "middle-class Americans" and even Mexican workers, Perot in his book *Save Your Job, Save Our Country* laments how "careers and standards of living are sacrificed and Mexican workers are exploited—all in the name of increasing profits." Perot is a union-hating billionaire who dreams of a corporatist state to resolve the crisis of American capitalism. Yet he is lionized by the labor bureaucrats for his opposition to NAFTA.

After decades of loyal service to the State Department and the CIA, backing U.S.-sponsored dirty wars in Central and South America, the AFL-CIO traitors are also suddenly filled with compassion for the conditions of the Mexican proletariat. Behind this hypocritical veneer of concern lies the union tops' chauvinist rantings about "open floodgates" (Perot's "giant sucking sound") allowing jobs to go south and racist hysteria over immigrants "taking American jobs." But these same pro-capitalist bureaucrats aided the bosses in destroying the jobs of Mexican, U.S. and Canadian workers. When the UAW struck GM's Lordstown plant in 1992, the bureaucrats settled the strike by knifing Mexican auto workers at a sister plant in Ramos Arizpe—as GM pledged that those workers would be laid off before Lordstown workers.

Junior League Jingoists

Fake-left groups like the Communist Party USA echo the bureaucracy's racist "yellow peril" appeals, railing that NAFTA might make it easier for "Japan to use Mexico as an 'export platform' to ship goods to the U.S." (*People's Weekly World*, 28 August). The "progressive" International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union leadership even rants about "poisoned food" coming in from Mexico. And "left-wing" *Labor Notes* leader Diana Kilmury, a Teamsters international vice president from Canada, sounds like the worst reactionary nationalist when she says: "We in the trade union movement must wake up, otherwise we will see the sovereignty of our countries whittled away."



McLendon/AP

Multibillionaire right-wing populist H. Ross Perot joins AFL-CIO in pushing chauvinist opposition to NAFTA.

The stench of racism is so thick in this protectionist propaganda that even the bureaucrats realize they have to clean up their act with their multiracial ranks. When Canadian auto workers met American workers near Niagara Falls for an anti-NAFTA rally on October 2, the bureaucrats cautioned the crowd "not to let anti-Mexican elements into your ranks." Instead they welcomed Jesse Jackson, fig leaf "friend of labor" huckster for the capitalist Democratic Party.

The bureaucrats and reformists alike beg Clinton and the capitalists for a "peoples' NAFTA," as a report to the United Electrical workers convention put it (*UE News*, 23 July). They want U.S. imperialism, which has the blood of millions of workers and peasants around the world on its hands, to protect "worker rights in Mexico"! The social-democratic *In These Times* (6 September) lamented that "Clinton had a chance to refashion NAFTA into an agreement

Spartacist Forums

U.S. Imperialist Butchers: Hands Off the World!

- **U.S./UN Out of Somalia Now!**
- **Down with the Starvation Blockade of Haiti!**
- **Defend Cuba!**

Speaker: Diana Coleman, Spartacist League

Friday, Nov. 12, 7:30 p.m.
UC Berkeley
159 Mulford
For more information (510) 839-0851
BERKELEY

Wednesday, Nov. 17, 6:30 p.m.
San Francisco State University
Student Union B116
For more information: (415) 777-9367
SAN FRANCISCO

Waco...

(continued from page 16)

lies, from the events around the original BATF assault in February to the fabricated charges of "child abuse."

The massacre of the racially integrated religious group was a warning of what this murderous ruling class has in store for all those who defy it. And as they did in the wake of the 1985 bombing of the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia, the vindictive racist rulers now seek to punish those who survived the Waco inferno. Outrageously, eleven members of the Branch Davidians are facing trial on charges including conspiracy to commit murder in the deaths of four government agents who were killed in the February assault. The government is so vengeful that it is prosecuting three who were not even present on the day of the BATF raid!

If there were any justice in this unjust society, Clinton, Reno and their hired guns would be facing trial for mass murder before a jury which included the Waco survivors. We demand: Drop the charges! Freedom for all the jailed Branch Davidians now!

While much of the rest of the left either openly echoed or quietly acquiesced to the government's lying rationales for the Waco holocaust, we of the Spartacist League have sought to tear this heinous crime into the consciousness of the working class. Beginning within hours of the massacre, the SL organized a series of demonstrations of outrage in cities around the country, including one outside the FBI's J. Edgar Hoover Building in Washington, D.C. At the huge gay rights march in the capital later that month, a Spartacist banner confronted the pro-Democratic Party militarism, declaring, "Waco Holocaust—Clinton/Reno/FBI Are Mass Murderers!"

Grotesquely, the government and its media apologists tried to paint the Waco massacre as a "humanitarian" act, just as the bloody neocolonial invasion of Somalia was justified as a food-relief mission. The Branch Davidians' exercise of their Second Amendment right to bear arms was portrayed as "terrorism." The murderous BATF assault on February 28 against the religious commune was turned into an "ambush" by Koresh and his followers against the feds. Government mass *murder* was labeled "mass suicide."

AP photos

Attorney General Janet Reno, who calls for censoring "TV violence," ordered the murderous assault on Waco commune. Millions watched on TV as the feds' gruesome holocaust killed 86 men, women and children.

Even as the government's flood of lies swung public support behind the line that the victims were to blame for their own deaths, we responded with an article headlined "Waco and the White House—First the Massacre, Now the Lies" (*WV* No. 575, 7 May). We exposed the lurid stories of "child abuse" as a "New Age witchhunt," upheld the Branch Davidians' right to armed self-defense, and tore apart the feds' accounts of how Koresh and the Davidians had set the blaze themselves. "But even if someone in the commune started the fire as the tanks of their sworn enemies were smashing through their walls," we wrote, "the responsibility for the deaths of all these people lies squarely on the government." Far from being an unintended tragedy, the feds were determined to exact bloody revenge for their earlier botched assault.

Now the Treasury and Justice departments have finally released the results of their own "investigations" into the Waco holocaust. Despite the fact that they were carried out by "blue ribbon" commissions versed in the art of cover-up (including some who played key roles in amnestying the MOVE massacre), we looked through the well over a thousand pages of these reports. Their conclusions are so blatantly self-serving that even the capitalist media, which has dutifully and consistently parroted the government's line, felt compelled to keep their distance: the *New York Times* (12 October) called it "The Waco Whitewash," while *Time* (11 October) headlined its story "Tripped Up by Lies."

As Gary Richardson, a lawyer for one of the Davidian survivors, said, "Our clients said the Feds were lying all along, and they were." The BATF lied so repeatedly and brazenly—even "rewriting" their original assault plan after the fact to make it fit the events—that director Stephen Higgins and five other top agents were suspended (on full pay, of course) and Higgins was pensioned off only days before the report was released.

The government continues to claim that the four BATF agents who died on February 28 were "ambushed by overwhelming firepower" after Koresh was tipped off by the media. But BATF undercover agent Robert Rodriguez contradicts this ludicrous lie, confessing in the Treasury report that even after his cover had been blown, Koresh wished him "good luck" and allowed him to leave the farmhouse unharmed as the BATF was about to come in with guns blazing. The feds stormed the commune with National Guard helicopters and Special Response Teams armed with submachine guns, grenades and high-tech assault gear—ostensibly in order to serve a "search warrant" for "illegal" weapons. Some "ambush"!

The reports also admit that during the 51-day siege of the Waco commune the government was methodically preparing to drown the Branch Davidians in blood, even as its "negotiators" struck a deal with Koresh that he could peacefully surrender after completing the bible commentary he was writing. Now they have concocted a new excuse for their murderous vendetta, claiming that Koresh "told his followers that soon they would go out into the world, turn their weapons on individual members of the public, and kill those who did not say they were believers." Only the tevered minds of government agents could come up with that. This is the method of Hitler's Nazi propagandist Goebbels: the bigger the lie, the more often it is told, the more people will swallow it.

Reno's ultimate lie in justifying the murder of 86 human beings was that Koresh was guilty of "child abuse." The FBI/Justice Department report now blithely concedes that "there was no direct evidence establishing that any children were being either sexually or physically abused." Noted Texas trial lawyer Jack Zimmerman, who was the lawyer for slain Branch Davidian Steven Schneider, told *WV*: "I was in there two weeks before the fire and saw those kids before they got burned up.... They seemed to be well-fed, clean and healthy and as well adjusted as anybody could be under the circumstances." But this meant nothing to Reno, who made her mark as Dade County (Miami) district attorney by sending people to jail on flimsy "child abuse" frame-ups.

The scenes of the Branch Davidian commune being razed to the ground recalled nothing so much as the Nazis' destruction of the Jewish ghetto in Warsaw. Ironically, Clinton/Reno's holocaust took place 50 years to the day after the start of the 1943 Warsaw Ghetto uprising. Black journalist Walter Williams noted the eerie parallels: "the Nazi news media told Germans about Jews—they were involved in sexual rituals involving children. Like the BATF, Nazi SS men said they were searching for illegal weapons, reported by paid informants, in the Warsaw ghetto. When SS agents stormed the ghetto, Warsaw Jews put up a fierce resistance.... The SS had to call in armored military units for assistance. The BATF/FBI's armored units didn't use bullets and shells. They used O-chlorobenzalmalononitrile, known as CS gas, banned for use in war by the Paris Chemical Weapons Convention" (*Cincinnati Enquirer*, 2 May).

The incineration of the Branch Davidian commune was *a deliberate, calculated, criminal massacre*. A recent article by Alexander Cockburn in the *San Francisco Examiner* (8 October) talked of Clinton/Reno's "catastrophic errors in judgment." Cockburn has done a valuable service in exposing many of the government's myriad lies around Waco. But where liberals argue that this is the result of "errors" that can be corrected through pressure, Marxists understand that murderous repression against workers, the oppressed and all who defy ruling-class dictates is at the *core* of the capitalist state.

As they whitewash this horrendous crime, the government reports offer blueprints for more effective state-organized violence, calling for expanding and placing even more deadly weaponry in the hands of the federal police forces. Their recommendations dovetail with Clinton's proposed "crime bill," which seeks to put more cops on the street and vastly increase the federal government's use of the racist death penalty while disarming the masses with gun control.

David Koresh and his followers wanted to be left alone to live as they chose. As communists committed to the fight for socialist revolution to eradicate this oppressive capitalist system, we intend to make sure that the government bombings and mass murder of MOVE and the Branch Davidians are never forgotten. A future workers government will avenge these massacres. Hands off the surviving Branch Davidians! ■

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that would have strengthened rights and raised incomes for workers."

Prominent social democrat Jonathan Tasini, writing in the *Oakland Tribune* (6 September), claims to stake out a position between "free traders" and the "worst nativist instincts" of the Ross Perot/Lane Kirkland crowd:

> "Rare is the voice with a broader vision, arguing for a just, international development philosophy that replaces the unfettered movement of jobs, capital and goods with democratic, open and sustainable trade policies that guarantee a basic standard of living for every worker in the world."

These reformists believe that U.S. imperialism can be made to change its spots. This is a rehash of the notion of "ultra-imperialism" first propounded by German social democrat Karl Kautsky, that the advanced capitalist powers can be pressured to adopt a more just, harmonious and equitable policy. But capitalism—premised on vicious exploitation and competition for markets and raw materials—can offer no just international development policy. In the meantime, Tasini calls for American workers to admit that they "have lived too well for too long at the expense of others"!

There have been numerous class battles north and south of the Rio Grande/Río Bravo that have cried out for *joint labor action* by Mexican and U.S. workers: auto workers in the modern Hermosillo plant in Sonora, garment workers in El Paso, organizing campaigns of *maquiladora* workers from Tijuana to Matamoros for independent unions. Thousands of Mexican drywall construction workers waged a militant struggle for union representation in Southern California.

When hundreds of militants were fired and one was gunned down during a 1990 strike at the Ford plant in Cuautitlán outside Mexico City, UAW Local 579 at the St. Paul Ford plant called for donations and solidarity telegrams and delegations. But what was needed were *solidarity strikes* to stop production at the auto giant throughout the U.S. and Canada.

In the last decade, the number of Mexican auto workers has skyrocketed to 368,000, many working in some of the most modern and productive plants in the world. Last Christmas, Nissan opened an assembly plant in Aguascalientes, Mexico with 4,500 workers, where 40 percent of the jobs will eventually be performed by robots. Nissan's sister plant in Smyrna, Tennessee was the scene of a disastrous union defeat in 1990, when the UAW tops blew an organizing drive. A coordinated fight to unionize Nissan would be a powerful example to millions of workers on both sides of the border—and in Japan. But it won't be done by the UAW tops, whose protectionist poison is a roadblock to joint class struggle.

The pro-capitalist traitors, whether the corporatist Mexican CTM or the give-back artists in the AFL-CIO and the Canadian Labor Congress, must be ousted in the struggle to forge a class-struggle leadership of the workers movement in all three countries. What is urgently posed is the construction of an international, revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat that will lead the working class in a fight for socialist revolution and a planned economy throughout the Americas. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Haiti: Down with U.S. Starvation Blockade!

AP photos

U.S. warship off the coast of Haiti. Imperialist sanctions on black Haiti victimize the masses.

OCTOBER 31—A flotilla of six U.S. warships, backed up by vessels from Canada, France and Argentina, has set up a naval blockade of Haiti that threatens to plunge the impoverished Caribbean island country into mass starvation. Masquerading as a mission for "democracy," they are enforcing a United Nations-mandated embargo on oil and military supplies that aims to pressure the military regime to permit the return to office of the elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who was ousted in an army coup headed by General Raoul Cédras two years ago. Yet the racist embargo isn't hitting the bloodstained generals and their bourgeois backers, who profited handsomely from the UN sanctions imposed last June by running contraband. Rather it is the long-suffering black population which is taking the brunt.

At the UN on October 28, Aristide called for a "total and complete" imperialist blockade of Haiti to step up pressure on the junta. Speaking to a rally of several thousand Haitians outside, black Democrat Jesse Jackson called for the U.S. to use military force, but with a formal disclaimer of "only as a last resort." Bled dry by decades of U.S.-backed dictators, from "Papa Doc" and "Baby Doc" Duvalier and their "Tontons Macoutes" thugs to Cédras with his "attachés," many Haitians desperately look to Washington to remove its puppets. But racist Yankee imperialism is today the greatest enemy of all mankind, and would only impose the iron heel of another dictatorship on black Haiti. Proclaiming a "New World Order" following the collapse of the Soviet degenerated workers state, Washington is acting as world gendarme. American intervention in Haiti also poses a mortal threat to the Cuban Revolution, which the U.S. has sought to strangle for more than three decades.

The international working class must oppose this imperialist intervention. We say: U.S./UN hands off Haiti! Defend Cuba! Down with the imperialist starvation blockade!

Following their colonial occupation of Somalia in the guise of "humanitarian" relief, the imperialists are now producing mass hunger in Haiti in the name of "democracy." U.S. warships even turned back a boatload of 56 tons of rice, powdered milk and medical supplies sent by the relief organization Food for the Poor on the pretext that they could not search the containers in the hold. A total trade embargo, as demanded by Aristide, would be catastrophic in a country where 850,000 people—*one-eighth of the population*—depend on

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Wide World

BATF stormtrooper.

Waco

Feds Prosecute Survivors of Government Massacre

Clinton/Reno's Vendetta

Millions across the country watched in shock last April 19 as TV cameras captured the government's incineration of 86 people, 22 of them children, in a religious commune outside Waco, Texas. Under direct orders from President Bill Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno, an army of National Guardsmen, FBI and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) agents stormed the Branch Davidians' isolated farm buildings with tanks, armored vehicles and deadly gases and then coldbloodedly let them burn to the ground.

To justify this mass murder, Clinton, Reno and their media mouthpieces grotesquely blamed the victims for their own deaths, demonizing David Koresh and his followers as a gang of heavily armed crazies who immolated themselves. But even the whitewashing reports by the Justice and Treasury departments released in the last month show that the justifications offered by Clinton and Reno for their deadly vendetta were a tissue of

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Daemmrich/Sygma

Waco survivors led away in chains.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 588 | 19 November 1993

"Law and Order" Elections Target Blacks

Down with Clinton's Racist "Anti-Crime" Bill!

As the returns in the bitterly contested NYC mayoral election between black Democratic mayor David Dinkins and Republican Rudolph Giuliani flashed across the TV screens on November 2, one black New Yorker commented that a Giuliani win would be "very bad for us." He added, "White people don't know it, but it will be bad for them, too" (*New York Times*, 3 November). Cop candidate Giuliani's victory, coming after the election earlier this year of right-wing racist Richard Riordan in Los Angeles, exemplifies the "anti-crime" hysteria being whipped up by the racist rulers from coast to coast. And the Democrats, from Wall Street bankers' candidate Dinkins to retired L.A. black mayor ex-top cop Tom Bradley, had nothing to counter but... more cops and more layoffs.

Despite his paper-thin vote margin, the election of Reagan Republican Giuliani as mayor in an overwhelmingly Democratic, heavily multiracial and traditionally liberal city is a sign of the times in racist America. For the first time in two decades, not one of the country's five largest cities will have a black mayor, as white racist candidates march into city halls and state houses. Offering nothing to the dispossessed black masses but police batons and bullets, the ruling class is dispensing with its black plantation overseers. Washington-based British journalist Martin Walker put it bluntly: "the one constant theme in every mayoral election is that crime is *the* issue. 'Crime' these days is the code word for race" (London *Guardian*, 30 October).

Halstead/Time

Clinton and his top cop Janet Reno (right) plug "crime bill" for 50,000 more cops, boot camps for minority youth and speedup on death row.

In the past few weeks, the bipartisan "law and order" campaign has reached a crescendo of hysterical proportions. Washington state voted up a referendum imposing mandatory life sentences on third-time offenders. In Washington, D.C. the black chief of police declared a "crime emergency," while black Democratic mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly called for National Guard troops to patrol the capital city's ghettos. They're not just going after inner-city youth but also the working class: in Pontiac, Michigan an undercover drug sting operation in two truck plants rounded up 23 GM workers. Meanwhile President Clinton's draconian "crime package," initially introduced by the Bush administration, is set to pass with one of the most overwhelming majorities in Congressional history.

In a grotesque display of racist "doublespeak," Clinton used a speech to a black congregation in Memphis on

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Rap, Reno and the Cops

As racist politicians fall over themselves proclaiming that they are "tough on crime" and vote billions more for cops, courts and prisons, the mass media attacks cartoons on MTV and rap music as responsible for every social ill, from children playing with matches to gunfighting in the streets. Rap music, which went from being an underground phenomenon that emerged out of New York City and Los Angeles in the early 1980s, has grown into the wildly popular music of today's youth, especially black and Hispanic youth. Now police, press and preachers want to blame rap and television for violent social problems whose roots lie in the mass unemployment and racism of decaying American capitalism.

During last year's presidential election campaign, Ice-T's song "Cop Killer" was blamed by the police for the L.A. riots! Their latest target is movie star rapper Tupac Shakur, whose mother is former Black Panther Afeni Shakur, one of the New York 21 acquitted in 1971 after nine months of trial on trumped-up charges including "conspiracy to commit murder." "2-Pac's" songs are known for their strongly anti-cop lyrics. Former vice president Dan Quayle publicly questioned why Shakur's music was even released, declaring that "it has no place in our society."

A couple of weeks ago, Tupac was charged in Atlanta for successfully defending himself against two off-duty Southern cops who pulled their guns on him during an argument. Witnesses say Tupac shot back in self-defense and fortunately was not hurt. As he told one magazine interviewer, "Every black man needs to be strapped. We're endangered species, and we can't get anybody to help us." This incident dramatically underlines that *gun control kills blacks*. We say: Hands off Tupac Shakur! Drop the charges!

Tupac's lyrics, expressing a desire for vengeance against police brutality and murders of young blacks, have struck a responsive chord. Even if it's only a fantasy, songs about black power and rebellion against the racist system have a powerful appeal to American youth living both in urban slums and boring suburbs. The phony "war on drugs" has turned America's ghettos and barrios into free-fire zones for the cops. And the recent outpouring of "anti-crime" rhetoric is a call for unleashing more police firepower against minority youth, who are to be left to rot in countless new dungeons under construction.

The not-so-new twist is to simultaneously blame those most oppressed and victimized by capitalism for their own suffering. So to wash their brains, Attorney General Janet Reno is threatening to bring in the government censors. Those "Parental Advisory: Explicit Lyrics" labels weren't enough for the music McCarthyites; they want to blame it and ban it altogether.

"General" Reno is not alone. Her boss Bill Clinton appealed to white racist voters during the presidential campaign by denouncing rapper Sister Souljah's black nationalism at Jesse Jackson's PUSH banquet. (More recently, he joined Jackson in blaming black youth and black families for the violence that is rampant in the devastated inner-city ghettos.) And a few months ago, Rev. Calvin Butts of Harlem's Abyssinian Baptist Church,

continued on page 3

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

HOLIDAY APPEAL FOR CLASS-WAR PRISONERS

The cops and courts seek to ensure that those who fight the poverty and racism endemic to capitalism are "safely" housed in prison hellholes or their graves.

In 1986, the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) revived an International Labor Defense (ILD) tradition of sending monthly stipends to class-war prisoners as an expression of solidarity.

In addition to its regular monthly support, the ILD raised extra funds during the holidays for the prisoners and their families.

Help build our program of monthly stipends to these victims of racist capitalist injustice.

Send your contributions for the Holiday Appeal to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013.

TROTSKY

LENIN

Expel the Imperialists from the Colonies!

A keystone of Leninist internationalism is unconditional support to the right of self-determination of oppressed nations, that is, to freedom of political separation, and in particular the demand for independence of the colonies from their imperialist overlords. In the post-World War II period, the "democratic" imperialists have sought to disguise their continued colonial rule with sham "autonomy" schemes (e.g., "commonwealth" status for Puerto Rico) and outright annexation, using occasional empty referendums to supposedly register the subject peoples' acquiescence to their subjugation. While various reformists lend credence to these colonial schemes, Lenin was adamant that proletarian internationalists stood foursquare for the complete independence of the colonies, while fighting for working-class unity and socialist revolution.

The proletariat must struggle against the enforced retention of oppressed nations within the bounds of the given state, which means that they must fight for the right to self-determination. The proletariat must demand freedom of political separation for the colonies and nations oppressed by "their own" nation. Otherwise, the internationalism of the proletariat would be nothing but empty words; neither confidence nor class solidarity would be possible between the workers of the oppressed and the oppressor nations....

On the other hand, the socialists of the oppressed nations must, in particular, defend and implement the full and unconditional unity, including organisational unity, of the workers of the oppressed nation and those of the oppressor nation. Without this it is impossible to defend the independent policy of the proletariat and their class solidarity with the proletariat of other countries in face of all manner of intrigues, treachery and trickery on the part of the bourgeoisie....

Socialists must not only demand the unconditional and immediate liberation of the colonies without compensation—and this demand in its political expression signifies nothing else than the recognition of the right to self-determination; they must also render determined support to the more revolutionary elements in the bourgeois-democratic movements for national liberation in these countries and assist their uprising—or revolutionary war, in the event of one—*against* the imperialist powers that oppress them.

—V.I. Lenin, "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (January-February 1916)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is November 16

No. 588 **19 November 1993**

no credit

Mumia Abu-Jamal, death row political prisoner, is fighting for his life. Former Black Panther, well-known journalist, "Voice of the Voiceless," MOVE supporter—framed up and sentenced to die for his political beliefs and utter defiance of the racist capitalist order.

22-hour-a-day lockdown, no "contact" visits—under constant harassment for his refusal to bow down and be silent, Jamal continues to fight from behind bars with his biting columns which are published in newspapers across the country and his powerful voice tapes that ring out against racist injustice.

The New World Disorder has meant speedup on death row. Jamal's case is a "Handbook of Constitutional Violations." They are rewriting their laws and ignoring their own precedents to keep Mumia on death row. The state nurtures a vicious vendetta against this fighter for justice and his executioners await. All opponents of the racist death penalty must mobilize now to fight to stop the execution. Join the campaign! SAVE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL!

WV Photo

Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), America's foremost class-war prisoner, 46 years old. Former Black Panther, highly decorated Vietnam vet—victim of racist FBI COINTELPRO frame-up. Geronimo has now served over 23 years for a crime the government knows he did not commit. The racist state fears him as a leader of militant resistance—a fighter for black liberation—and keeps him jailed despite the compelling evidence of his innocence. He is at San Diego, CA.

We send stipends to eleven MOVE members who are in prisons scattered throughout Pennsylvania. Nine of them are serving sentences of 30-100 years.

Carlos Africe, Dallas, PA
Charles "Chuckie" Africa, Pittsburgh, PA
Consuewella Dotson Africe, 41 years old, Muncy, PA
Debbie Sims Africa, 38 years old, 20 years in MOVE, Muncy, PA
Delbert Orr Africe, Dallas, PA
Edward Goodman Africa, Camp Hill, PA
Janet Holloway Africa, 21 years in MOVE, Muncy, PA
Janine Phillips Africa, 20 years in MOVE, Muncy, PA
Merle Austin Africe, Muncy, PA
Michael Davis Africa, Huntingdon, PA
William Phillips Africa, Bellefonte, PA

Buck Family

Robert Buck, 28 years old. Ravenswood steel worker (Local 5668) railroaded by the feds for defending his union and job from scabs and thugs in the bitter West Virginia strike. Bob courageously refused to wear a wire for the feds and went to jail rather than spy on his union brothers and sisters. He is currently in Springfield, MO.

Ed Poindexter, 50 years old. Former Black Panther supporter, former leader of the Omaha Nebraska Committee to Combat Fascism, victim of racist FBI COINTELPRO. Framed on charges of killing a cop in 1970, he was sentenced to a life term. He was vindictively denied parole last year—he has served more than 21 years at Lino Lake, MN.

Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa (David Rice), 47 years old. He and Poindexter were victims of racist FBI COINTELPRO, framed up for an explosion in 1970 which killed a cop. Both men were convicted on perjured testimony and sentenced to life. Mondo is an award-winning writer and artist. He is at Lincoln, NE.

Hugo Pinell, the last of the San Quentin 6 still in prison. Militant anti-racist, leader of prison rights organizing along with George Jackson. In prison for over 28 years, currently serving a life sentence at Crescent City, CA.

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There Was No Assassination Plot Against Bush

Clinton's Flimsy Lie for Bombing Baghdad

When 23 cruise missiles loaded with 1,000-pound warheads smashed into a densely populated neighborhood in downtown Baghdad on June 26, President Clinton arrogantly gloated that he felt "quite good" about this wanton atrocity which murdered eight civilians, including a baby and celebrated artist Layla al-Attar. According to Clinton, this was "retaliation" (in the manner of the Nazis' "collective punishment") for "a plot to assassinate former President Bush...directed and pursued by the Iraqi intelligence service" when Bush visited Kuwait in mid-April. To back up his claim, Clinton pointed to an FBI report which came out the day before he decided to bomb. We immediately denounced "Baby-Killer Clinton" and the "U.S. Sneak Attack on Baghdad" (*WV* No. 579, 2 July) and dismissed the flimsy lie on which it was based.

Sahib/AFP

Baghdad, June 26: Victims pulled from the rubble after U.S. Tomahawk cruise missiles slammed into residential neighborhood.

Now an article by Seymour Hersh in the *New Yorker* (1 November) confirms in detail what was obvious from the outset: that the supposed Iraqi plot to assassinate George Bush last April was a tissue of lies concocted in order to justify yet another murderous imperialist attack on the long-suffering Iraqi people. In his oh-so-diplomatic way, intelligence gadfly Hersh debunks every facet of Clinton's deadly Big Lie, reporting: "none of the Clinton Administration officials I interviewed over a ten-week period this summer claimed that there was any empirical evidence—a 'smoking gun'—directly linking Saddam or any of his senior advisers to the alleged assassination attempt. The case against Iraq was, and remains, circumstantial."

The only "evidence" the U.S. ever offered was "confessions" of intelligence connections extracted under torture from two of eleven Iraqis arrested by the Kuwaiti emirate, "the ease with which the alleged Iraqi assassination team had crossed the border," and a car bomb whose design supposedly betrayed the distinctive "signature" of the Iraqi intelligence service. "Each of these assertions has now been shown to be factually incorrect," writes Hersh.

The "assassins" turn out to have been smugglers who were running whiskey to the piously Islamic but high-living Kuwaiti aristocracy. Eleven Iraqis and three Kuwaitis were put on trial in Kuwait City for the plot *after* the U.S. had already "retaliated." Most had been arrested the day before Bush arrived, but the key people were seized only the day before he left, even though the smugglers' hideout "was under round-the-clock surveillance by the Kuwaiti police." Not until *four days* after the arrests was a "plot" allegedly "discovered," when confessed smuggler Wali al-Ghazali told a tale of being "sent into Kuwait by Iraqi intelligence to kill Bush." Despite imprisonment and torture, not one of the other prisoners admitted knowing anything about an assassination plot.

During the trial, 73-year-old Ali Khdair Baddai testified that he had confessed to smuggling—but not assassination—after being beaten. "This is the way of the Kuwaiti police," explained one of the defense attorneys. The 1992 Human Rights Watch report notes that "torture remains common" in this feudal emirate. Yet the FBI agents who interviewed the prisoners denied that they had been tortured or beaten. Former U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia James Akins commented: "Either the investigators were idiots or they were lying."

The only "compelling evidence" which Clinton could point to in the FBI report was the allegation that the remote-control firing device for the car bomb had the same "signature" as previously recovered Iraqi devices. The White House released photographs to bolster its case, but as Hersh writes:

> "When I asked seven such [bomb forensics] experts about those photographs last summer, they all told me essentially the same thing: the remote-control devices shown in the White House photographs were mass-produced items, commonly used for walkie-talkies and model airplanes and cars, and had not been modified in any significant way."

So much for a "signature"!

Well before the bombing, the CIA had issued a classified report (leaked to a *Boston Globe* reporter) suggesting that Kuwait might have "cooked the books" on the plot to prove a "continuing Iraqi threat." But Clinton wanted to prove that he could be no less coldblooded a leader of the imperialist "New World Order" than his predecessor.

Not content with slaughtering tens of thousands of Iraqis during its 1991 "Desert Slaughter," the U.S. and its imperialist allies have murdered at least 300,000 more people in the last two years with their starvation blockade. The UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) recently reported that the country is on the brink of famine, warning that "A grave humanitarian tragedy is unfolding" in Iraq (*Los Angeles Times*, 9 August). A United Nations Childrens Fund (UNICEF) report also criticized the sanctions, which have left the country without the resources to import food and medicine.

Noting that Iraq "once boasted one of the highest literacy rates in the developing world," the *Times* article summarized the brutal results of the embargo: "skyrocketing typhoid, measles, infant mortality, malnutrition and primary-school dropout rates, as well as widespread child labor and deepening psychological disorders." Fueling the epidemic of disease is the deliberate U.S. devastation of Iraq's infrastructure, formerly among the most developed in the Near East, which has left water treatment and sanitation systems virtually inoperable.

During the Persian Gulf War, we called to defend Iraq against the imperialist onslaught, while giving no political support to the butcher Hussein. We oppose the "UN" sanctions which are aimed at subjecting Iraq to the imperialist diktat. From the devastation of Iraq to the colonial occupation of Somalia in the name of "humanitarian aid," the "democratic" imperialist cops of the world are the greatest enemies of humanity. Iraqi strongman Hussein has plenty of blood on his hands, to be sure, but the grand masters of assassination plots and massacres are to be found in Washington.

The Clinton administration, fresh from the incineration of an integrated religious commune in Texas, fabricated the whole non-plot for the non-assassination of ex-president Bush. They want to "teach a bloody lesson" to regimes they don't like ("outlaw nations") by showing that the U.S. can rain high-tech death from the sky on defenseless people at any moment. *U.S. bloody butchers: Hands off Iraq and the world!* ■

Rap...

(continued from page 1)

blaming rap music for undermining the morals of black youth, grabbed headlines by dumping a pile of CDs in front of Sony Music offices and threatening to mash them with a steamroller.

Rap was even blamed in a *New York Times* op-ed piece this summer for causing the "whirlpooling" phenomenon in NYC, when groups of teenage boys chanting the lyrics of the popular rap song "Whoomp, There It Is!" surrounded and sexually assaulted girls at public swimming pools. A few years back the media were blaming pricey sneakers for youth crime in the cities.

If rap is to blame for drugs and crime in the inner cities, what's to explain white suburban "juvenile delinquency"? Suburban white kids are supposedly being turned into potentially violent video zombies by the overnight success of MTV's satirical cartoon "Beavis and Butt-head," which features two antisocial teenage boys who divide their time between critiquing music videos and committing arson and assorted mayhem. When a five year old playing with matches burned down his mother's trailer home this summer, killing his baby sister, his mom got national press coverage for blaming Beavis and Butt-head.

Now Janet Reno, a real expert in burning down houses with people in them, is obscenely vituperating against "TV violence" as the cause of juvenile crime. Reno has the blood on her hands of 86 members of the Branch Davidian religious group outside Waco, Texas—slaughtered on her orders last April by federal stormtroopers and carried live on national television. When MTV moved "Beavis and Butt-head" from 7 p.m. to 11 p.m. in response to criticism, South Carolina Senator Hollings called the move an admission of guilt. But as columnist D.C. Denison remarked, noting the sensationalism of TV tabloid news and sleazy talk shows, "To make a real difference, apparently, the entire television industry would have to shift to a new time: the 1950s" (*Boston Globe*, 24 October).

The McCarthyite '50s were a period of anti-Communist witchhunts in the unions and universities; dissent was thoroughly stifled and conformity reigned supreme. Blacks were "kept in their place" until the emerging civil rights movement began asserting itself. What Reno, Clinton and the rap-bashers want today is to silence any disquieting voices appealing to working-class and minority youth, to ban images of the increasing brutality of life in racist, capitalist America. In their "Brave New World" Order—with the U.S. economy "downsizing" and blacks denied education, employment, housing and hope—the racist rulers don't want a new generation of youth making trouble at home.

Rap music and TV violence are convenient scapegoats for explaining away the poverty and violence endemic to American inner cities. The Spartacist League opposes any government censorship of TV or music. But unlike opportunist groups like Socialist Action, which patronizingly hails "The Revolutionary Message of Rap Music" (!), we do not cover up, for example, the demeaning sexism, the repulsive use of "bitch" and "nigger," the anti-Semitic and anti-Korean lines which are pretty common in rap music. The boasting and rage of the so-called "hip-hop nation" actually reflect a spirit of despair that accepts the degradation and oppression which pervade this rotten capitalist society.

Communists seek to bring socialist consciousness to the working class and win workers and youth to fight for a revolution. The desperation and anger of youth against this screwed-up society, felt especially by black and Hispanic youth—reflected by rap music or satirized by the likes of Beavis and Butt-head—must be channeled into a working-class program for revolution. Clinton, Reno: Leave the kids alone! ■

Army Rule Shaken in Nigeria

Down with the Puppet Government! For Workers Revolution!

LONDON, November 13—Nigeria, Africa's most populous country, is caught in the grip of the sharpest social and political crisis since the bloody 1967-69 Biafra War. Following a government-ordered increase of more than 700 per cent in the price of petrol November 8 and a high court ruling three days later that the army-installed government is itself illegal, the trade unions are threatening a general strike for the fourth time in three months. For several days demonstrations by thousands of working people and students have blocked the main roads of Lagos, the commercial capital of the country. But the regime announced its determination to carry through the drastic austerity measures and suppress opposition. The stage is set for a showdown in the ongoing turmoil that has rocked Nigeria since last summer.

On August 27 Nigeria's military strongman, General Ibrahim Babangida, moved out of the presidential palace and installed a hand-picked "interim government" with a civilian president. The political opposition in the country was furious at this manoeuvre to avoid turning over power to Moshood Abiola, the victor in the June 12 presidential election. Ethnic and religious tensions threatened to explode into civil war. For days, Lagos was paralysed by protest strikes called by the five-million-strong Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC). Significantly, the strategic oil workers union (Nupeng) also came out on strike, demanding recognition of the outcome of the election which was won by the business tycoon Chief Abiola but was annulled by the Babangida regime. Although they were mobilised on behalf of a capitalist candidate, this was the biggest display of the workers' power against the army which has ruled Nigeria for 25 years since independence in 1960.

Since 1986, Babangida's regime, in its attempt to negotiate the rescheduling of Nigeria's massive debt of $34 billion to Western bankers, has imposed a highly unpopular "Structural Adjustment Programme" on the workers. To defuse political opposition, the military junta promised on and off to hand over power to an elected civilian government. Eventually they allowed elections to take place in June, a process that combined breathtaking buffoonery with murderous repression. The military regime set up two political parties, and even wrote their manifestos. One, the Social Democratic Party (SDP), was supposed to be "a little to the left" and the other, the National Republican Convention (NRC), "a little to the right." The two presidential candidates that emerged, Moshood Abiola for the SDP and Bashir Tofa for the NRC, are both multimillionaires who are personal friends of General Babangida.

AP

Gilbert/Sygma

Peterson/Gamma-Liaison

Lagos: Thousands demonstrate in June against annulment of presidential election. Nigerian strongman General Babangida (above right) refused to turn power over to wealthy businessman Chief Abiola (below right).

However, after the votes had been counted and it turned out that the regime's preferred candidate, the NRC's Tofa, had lost, the election was retroactively annulled. The only excuse given by the regime was the fact that, as is usual in Nigeria, both presidential candidates had deployed their vast financial resources to canvass for votes. In the following weeks, General Babangida made it clear he was prepared to drown the country in blood. Student protests which erupted mainly in cities across the southwestern region, Abiola's home base, were ruthlessly suppressed by the police and the army. In early July tens of thousands marched and erected barricades in the streets of Lagos. Over a hundred people were killed, and scores of pro-democracy activists were jailed. Most of the newspapers in the country were banned. Within a few days, Abiola fled in his private jet to his elegant house in London.

But the protests did not stop, and indeed they escalated. In mid-August, millions observed a three-day stayaway general strike. The normally congested streets of Lagos, notorious for its traffic jams, were empty and silent; businesses were shuttered, rail and bus transport stopped. Faced with a mounting political crisis, General Babangida formally turned over the reins of government to Chief Ernest Shonekan. Like Abiola, Shonekan is a member of the Yoruba tribal elite, as well as head of Nigeria's largest conglomerate, the United Africa Co., a subsidiary of the British-Dutch Unilever. The new government promised fresh presidential elections (with new candidates) in February 1994. Prominent oppositionists and several journalists jailed by the Babangida regime were released.

After a few days in which mass protests took place mainly in the southwestern parts of the country, the NLC federation called off their strikes. However, the Nupeng oil workers union, which had long been considered in the government's pocket, kept up their strike action for ten days. This paralysed industry and put a squeeze on the government, since oil provides 95 per cent of Nigeria's export earnings and 80 per cent of government revenue. And when the Shonekan "interim government" was sworn in at the end of September, the oil workers threatened to strike again. The unions have been tied politically to sections of the bourgeoisie through the Campaign for Democracy (which includes as well human rights, student and women's groups), but the potential for independent working-class action was clear to all.

The Economist

Oil workers struck in August, paralyzing industry, but unions are tied to bourgeoisie through multi-class "Campaign for Democracy."

Worst Crisis Since Biafra War

Despite the figurehead civilian president, the military junta still effectively controls political power. The new vice president, General Sani Abacha, was a leader of the palace coup that brought General Babangida to power in 1985. General Abacha still retains his post of defence minister and has since moved to consolidate his power base in the military. At the beginning of November a supporter of Abiola, Iyorchia Ayu, was ousted as speaker of the senate. But a few days later, under the pressure of street protests, the senate condemned the drastic fuel price rises. In late October, a group of youths hijacked an airliner from Nigeria to neighbouring Niger, demanding that Babangida be put on trial, while at the same time declaring that Abiola is "a thief like the others." And meanwhile, tribal-regional tensions are mounting, with talk of Nigeria breaking up into several independent entities.

The political chaos and social misery in Nigeria, a country with a population of over 90 million, defies description. The military regime spent some $10 billion to build the capital of Abuja closer to its northern power base, as a counter to the turbulent port city of Lagos. At the same time, per capita income is now under $300 (having fallen from $1,000 in 1980). Workers in many of the 30 states have not been paid for months. Unemployment among college (high school) leavers is over 80 per cent. Inflation is running at about 100 per cent. The monthly income of most families is not enough to buy food for two weeks. The mass of city populations live in crowded ghettos, with infrequent water and electricity supply, and thousands are homeless. In the vast countryside peasant populations eke out a bare subsis-

tence, living an unmitigated life of toil and grinding poverty. For women, whether in the city or the village, life is an endless catalogue of oppression and pain.

The condition of women in Nigeria, as in most of Africa, is comparable to that of slavery. The bride price is prevalent, in both Christian and Muslim communities. Men treat their wives as property. The practice of purdah (seclusion) among the Muslims means that most women are not allowed out of the house during daytime, and even at night when they go to visit relatives they have to wear a veil and be accompanied by an escort. In strongly Muslim communities, few women are able to work even when they are allowed to go to school. Wife-beating is common all over the country. Female genital mutilation is practised in several parts of Nigeria. Abortion is illegal, leading to the death of many young women at the hands of quack doctors. The fight for basic rights for women in Africa is a central strategic task in the struggle for workers revolution.

Nigeria is an amalgam of several nations and ethnic groupings. As part of the divide-and-rule legacy of colonialism, Britain left behind an independence constitution crafted so as to give greater electoral advantage to the politicians from the mainly Muslim Hausa and Fulani ethnic groups in the north. The Yorubas and the Ighos (Ibos), in the southwestern and southeastern parts of the country respectively, are mostly Christians. When in January 1966 the federal government was overthrown in the first military coup, rumours spread that the Igbos were plotting to dominate the country. In the orchestrated pogroms that followed, thousands of Igbos were massacred and their houses and shops were looted and destroyed. Those Igbos who managed to escape fled to the southeastern region.

In 1967, the southeastern region decided to secede and form the Republic of Biafra. The nascent Nigerian bourgeoisie could not countenance losing the oil-rich region. A ferocious three-year civil war then ensued, in which close to two million people died mainly due to mass starvation as the Nigerian army succeeded in throwing a land and air blockade around Biafra. Biafran forces surrendered to the Nigerian government in January 1970.

The Spartacist League was unique on the socialist left in the U.S. and Europe in defending the right of Biafra to secede and form a separate state. We gave no political support to the bourgeois-nationalist government of Biafra. As Leninists, we defend an oppressed national minority and seek thereby to overcome national antagonisms and promote working-class unity against the bourgeoisie. In contrast, the rest of the left lined up behind the Nigerian government, because of its ostensibly anti-imperialist rhetoric. Shamefully, most Nigerian leftist intellectuals supported the Nigerian government with its genocidal slogan of "One Nation, One Nigeria." The few who voiced their opposition to the war were rounded up and thrown into jail by the then military strongman General Yakubu Gowon.

Neocolonial "Democracy" in Africa?

The triumph of capitalist counterrevolution in the ex-Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and the ending of the Cold War are having political repercussions throughout the world, including Africa. Most African countries gained political independence from their colonial masters in the 1950s and 1960s. After the Second World War, Britain and France sought to maintain their colonial empires, with some pseudo-democratic window-dressing under the guise of local "self-government." As David Fieldhouse writes in his book *Black Africa, 1945-1980* (1986), they "squeezed and exploited their colonies in Africa in ways never seen before." However, the European "democratic" imperialists had been weakened as world powers, and were forced to relinquish their formal colonial hold over much of the continent. Worried by the increasing influence of the Soviet Union on national liberation movements, they eventually acquiesced in handing over power, where possible to amenable native leaders.

The racist imperialists never cared if these leaders turned round and butchered their own people or national minorities. Thus in the former Belgian Congo (now Zaire), for example, UN officials stood by while Mobutu's forces aided by the CIA murdered Patrice Lumumba and thousands of his supporters in 1961. After a brief period in which independence movements held sway, almost everywhere in Africa they were soon replaced by generals, captains and even

WV Map

sergeants from the ex-colonial armies. These neo-colonial military regimes were shored up by the former colonial powers, who dispatched arms and occasionally troops when their puppet dictators were threatened. But now that the geostrategic "Soviet threat" is no more, the imperialists have little incentive to shore up corrupt tinpot dictators. And they are insistent that African governments "restructure" their economies so as to pay off their massive debts to the international bankers and the IMF.

In line with Reagan/Thatcher policies, state companies would be "privatised," while IMF-ordered austerity programs hold the workers and peasants in thrall. And in order to divert mass opposition over greater economic hardship, the imperialists have been pushing "political liberalisation" and elections. The "wind of democracy" was supposedly blowing across Africa. Elections were ordered, one-party states and army rule would be ended. And "Africa's biggest experiment in democracy" was to be Nigeria. But instead, as *The Economist* (4 September) headlined in a survey of "Democracy in Africa," there was "A Lull in the Wind." Rather than Western-style "multi-party democracy," long-ruling despots arranged their re-elections (as in Kenya, Ghana and the Ivory Coast), or disguised their continued rule by installing stand-in puppets as in Nigeria. And across the continent a host of civil wars have produced widespread hunger.

In Somalia, the imperialists opted for direct military occupation in the name of "humanitarian" aid. For months now U.S./UN "peacekeeping" troops have been gunning down defenceless civilians. In other cases, Western-aided armies are serving as regional gendarmes under the cover of international groupings. Through the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), Morocco has maintained its occupation of Western Sahara. And for three years now the Nigerian army has occupied Liberia under the mantle of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Meanwhile, even imperialist liberals are grotesquely talking of the need for instituting a new racist colonialism in the name of "nation-building." Yet the devastation of post-independence Africa is the direct result of imperialist domination, which has sucked out *tens of billions of dollars*, far more than the piddling sums of "foreign aid," while imposing neocolonial satraps. Workers must demand: U.S./UN out of Somalia! Nigerian and other foreign troops out of Liberia!

Realising the inherent weakness of 50-odd states and statelets in a post-colonial Africa, pan-Africanism was a point of reference for early independence leaders (Lumumba, Kwame Nkrumah, Sékou Touré). But by vowing to maintain the borders inherited from the colonial carve-up of the continent, the OAU that they set up legitimises the Balkanisation of the continent and perpetrates the suppression of the rights of national minorities. And while Nkrumah courted Soviet aid to counterbalance imperialist pressures, and authored books like *Class Struggle in Africa* after he was overthrown in a 1966 coup, in power he suppressed the Ghanaian workers, including smashing a general strike in 1961. The "socialism" and "class struggle" he and other left-nationalists espoused were the attempts by a petty-bourgeois elite to mould itself into a ruling class by using the state (what the Soviet Stalinists called the "non-capitalist road of development") as the primary source of capitalist accumulation.

Even after the rapid demise of Lumumba, Nkrumah and Touré, various fake-socialists have undertaken to be the publicity agents for the next generation of left-posing nationalists in Africa. The U.S. Socialist Workers Party promoted Thomas Sankara, the assassinated military leader of Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta), as a revolutionary hero. But apart from radical nationalist demagogy, he was no liberator of the working masses. The tiny bourgeois layer was harassed (as were the unions), but capitalist property in Burkina Faso remained intact. As in the case of the butcher Mengistu Haile Myriam of Ethiopia, who massacred thousands of Eritreans and other national minorities, "Marxist-Leninist" phraseology was used to mobilise support for a military clique.

Post-independence Africa has been dominated by bonapartist dictatorial regimes, civilian and military. Some like Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast are more right-wing, but despite the occasional anti-imperialist rhetoric the others are not qualitatively better. They all face the same conditions of abject poverty. In the imperialist epoch, the neocolonial African countries have no chance of achieving significant economic development under capitalism. With scant industrial production, the bourgeoisie consists mainly of generals, government ministers, government contractors and small merchants. Such a feeble ruling class cannot possibly achieve national emancipation from imperialism, and certainly can't risk any semblance of "democracy" for the working masses. As we wrote several years ago:

> "Whether openly neo-colonialist, 'African socialist' or 'Marxist-Leninist,' post-independence nationalist regimes have bowed down before the imperialists. They have been unable to achieve even capitalist development of their economies, and as the poverty deepens it is accompanied by a recrudescence of tribalism. Only the proletariat, standing at the head of the peasant masses and establishing its own class rule, can emancipate the black masses of Africa."
>
> —"South Africa's Proletariat Is Key," *WV* No. 160, 3 June 1977

For Permanent Revolution in Africa!

In August, a major public meeting was held in London on "Democracy in Nigeria." One of the speakers was Abiola himself. The main organisers, Africa Research and Information Bureau (ARIB), praised themselves for successfully organising a cross-class alliance. ARIB's self-appointed resident Marxist, Abdulrahman M. Babu, declared: "I think we should thank Babangida for having created this situation of unity for all Nigerians and Africans.... I have noticed Marxists here, social democrats, some conservatives, not extreme conservatives but of the liberal kind, all unified."

The last thing the Nigerian working class needs is unity with the bourgeoisie. In actuality, this "unity" means subordination of the working class to the capitalists. In the current political crisis Nigerian trade unions have demonstrated a consciousness of their relative social weight. But this social power has been mobilised in the service of bourgeois politicians, who moreover have no appetite to fight against military bonapartism. While workers and youth faced down Babangida's regime and its puppet government, the leaders of both the SDP

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Algeria in Turmoil

The following article has been adapted from Le Bolchévik *No. 125 (September-November 1993), published by the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).*

Der Spiegel

The streets of Algiers under the state of emergency, declared by the army in January 1992 after fundamentalists swept elections.

NOVEMBER 11—Algeria has gradually slipped into an underground civil war between reactionary Islamic fundamentalists and the widely despised military-based regime. Attacks and ambushes take place daily. Last summer, the fundamentalists took to burning down industrial plants, including a consumer electronics factory, a shoe manufacturer and a flour mill. They have made a particular target of leftists, announcing at the end of September that they would assassinate a communist every Tuesday. And in October the fundamentalists launched a wave of kidnappings and assassinations of foreigners in Algeria. The army, meanwhile, is ruling through a state of emergency since taking open control in January 1992 from the discredited FLN (National Liberation Front), which had run the country since independence in 1962. The military's latest prime minister is Redha Malek, a former executive director of the World Bank, who was installed in late August with orders to step up privatization of industry and repay the debt to imperialist creditors.

The regime has progressively lost any semblance of control since the assassination of President Mohamed Boudiaf in June 1992. A curfew is in force in ten *wilayas* (districts) and last April 15,000 troops were sent to reinforce the special forces of the gendarmes and police in and around the capital. Mixed assault squads of police, gendarmes and army special forces wearing black jumpsuits and ski masks, nicknamed "ninjas," cordon off whole districts and brutally search the population while attacking homes of "suspects" with rockets. Faced with the rise of Islamic fundamentalism, the HCE (High State Committee) front for the military is on its last legs. Imagining themselves to be spiking the fundamentalist danger, they can only answer with desert concentration camps holding up to 2,000 prisoners, prison terms ranging from five years to life, and meting out 350 death sentences. So far this year three batches of executions have been carried out, the latest on October 11 when 13 fundamentalists were shot by a firing squad.

According to unofficial sources, the death toll of this reactionary war on both sides has reached more than 2,500. To this balance sheet must be added a dozen prominent intellectuals assassinated by the fundamentalists over the past seven months. Among those murdered last spring were the writer Tahar Djaout and sociologist M'Hamed Boukhobza, and last month two TV journalists including 31-year-old Smail Yefsah. In carrying out their threats to kill a communist a week, on September 28 the fundamentalists murdered Abderrahmane Chergou at his apartment building, and on October 5 they gunned down Rabah Guenzet outside his home. Both were longtime leaders of the (Stalinist) Party of the Socialist Vanguard (PAGS).

Meanwhile, since late September an "Islamic Armed Group" has killed seven foreigners, including two Russian military advisers and two Latin Americans and a Filipino working for an Italian oil company, as well as kidnapping several Frenchmen. The latter were released with a communiqué threatening all 100,000 foreigners living in Algeria with "sudden death" if they didn't leave the country within the month. Of the 76,000 French citizens, half are married to Algerians. Also threatened are members of the non-Arab, Berber-speaking minority concentrated in Kabylia, who have traditionally opposed Islamic fundamentalism. In response to initial fundamentalist attacks last month, Kabyle villagers have begun forming self-defense committees. A meeting of 46 committees turned down government offers to provide them with additional arms.

In desperation at the HCE's patent inability to stem the rise of the fundamentalist threat, much of the "modernist" petty bourgeoisie, and even many workers, look to the military to act as "saviors." Last March there were massive demonstrations called by the UGTA trade union federation in which hundreds of thousands of people, shocked by the outbreak of assassinations of prominent intellectuals, marched behind banners such as "The People and the Army Against Terrorism." But, as throughout North Africa, the shaky bonapartist Algerian regime, incapable of confronting the deepening economic crisis, has been unable to stem the rise of the fundamentalists through government terror.

The army has been the real power behind every government since independence, and from the outset the FLN regime has followed policies reinforcing Islamic reaction. While today the news of Algeria is dominated by reports of shootouts between Islamic "holy warriors" and the army and police, it would be dangerous to ignore the ever-present possibility of the Algerian military, or a section of it, making a deal with the fundamentalists, or of the army adopting their reactionary program. Earlier this year, the FLN along with the MDA of former Algerian president Ben Bella, the more "moderate" fundamentalists of Hammas and Ennahdha, and the pan-Arabist PRA were calling for negotiations with the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) to arrive at a national consensus. They were even talking of a march for "national reconciliation" with the Islamic fundamentalists and against "secular communists" (*Le Matin*, 7 April), coming just after (and in response to) the UGTA-organized marches, but this was banned by the regime.

Recently, a "National Dialogue Commission" has been created, including five "civilians" and three generals, to undertake discussions with the fundamentalists. The commission has reportedly already contacted former FIS leader Abdelkader Hachani. The purpose of these efforts is to draw elements of the fractured FIS into the government. The situation can tip at any moment, and the repressive forces could be turned, in particular, against the workers movement.

The considerable class power of the Algerian proletariat was driven home this summer by the strike of Algiers dock workers, which totally shut down the port of the capital for more than a week, preventing goods (including food) from getting in through the country's main port. With this action, the longshoremen demonstrated their social power against the brutal austerity program of the government which is dictated by the starvation-breeders of the IMF. Similar murderous austerity policies provoked the 1988 riots which shook the country. However, the UGTA union leadership, historically part and parcel of the corrupt, anti-working-class FLN apparatus, kept the strike demands strictly limited to narrow defense of the dockers' economic self-interest.

There was a clear potential for the dock strikers to establish themselves as a rallying pole for all the oppressed in opposition to government austerity and the fundamentalists. But this posed the burning need for a revolutionary working-class leadership, opposed to the FLN's nationalist perspective, on an internationalist program of proletarian class struggle against capitalist rule.

no credit

Port of Algiers was paralyzed during week-long dockers strike last July.

Imperialist Oppression and Fundamentalist Reaction

Following the collapse of the Stalinist-ruled degenerated and deformed workers states in East Europe and the USSR, imperialism feels freer to impose its dictates on the neocolonial countries. In the heralded "New World Order," they have devastated Iraq, Yugoslavia has been destroyed, and now Somalia is subjected to colonial occupation under the flag of the UN and in the name of humanitarian aid. Under this phony Pax Americana, the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the South African ANC and the Palestinian PLO sign on to police the oppressed masses for the apartheid and Zionist butchers.

In Algeria, the fundamentalist reactionaries of the FIS feed off the deep economic crisis which is ravaging the country as the FLN's bourgeois nationalism is revealed as utterly bankrupt. But an Islamic fundamentalist regime, despite anti-Western rhetoric, would still be beholden to imperialism—witness the Islamic republic of Pakistan, the Islamic monarchy of Saudi Arabia or Iran's cooperation with the German Fourth Reich. In turn, the rise of Muslim fundamentalism in Algeria bolsters anti-immigrant reaction in France, where workers of North African origin are a key component of the working class. Le Pen's fascist National Front portrays North Africans as backward religious fanatics as it whips up its shock troops in murderous racist attacks. And the regime of "socialist" president Mitterrand cohabiting with the conservative government of Balladur is tightening up its borders to choke off immigration from North Africa and elsewhere. In early November, French authorities rounded up more than 88 people accused of

Senna/AFP

AFP

Demonstration of "Islamic Salvation Front" in summer of 1991 (left). Today, army "ninja" hit squads target fundamentalists in underground civil war.

supporting the FIS.

The establishment of an Islamic state in Algeria would send shock waves along the southern shores of the Mediterranean. In Egypt it would mean a strengthening for the "Djamaa Islalmiya" (Islamic Group, an umbrella group including almost all the fundamentalist factions) that is waging a reactionary war against Western tourists and secular intellectuals like the writer Faradj Fouda. A FIS victory would also embolden its counterparts in neighboring Tunisia. The fundamentalists have taken advantage of the disarray of the Tunisian working class, as the historically strong union movement was betrayed by its leaders, including the Stalinists, who for decades supported the presidential regime of Bourguiba and could offer no perspective after the brutal crushing of hunger riots in January 1984.

The Islamic reactionary thugs who are now on the loose in Algeria and Egypt were trained in their terrorist tactics in the anti-communist *jihad* (holy war) financed by the "Great Satan," U.S. imperialism, that brought down the Soviet-backed reform regime in Afghanistan. This victory of the forces of counterrevolution—which led to the imposition of a theocratic mullah regime in devastated Kabul and the imprisonment of emancipated Afghan women under the suffocating veil—gave a tremendous impetus to the destruction of the Soviet Union. And as the now-unemployed fundamentalist cutthroats milled around, these dogs of war soon found other battlefields. If the Soviet Army, instead of being withdrawn from Afghanistan by Gorbachev in 1988-89, had been unleashed to settle accounts with the *mujahedin*, these "Afghani" thugs would not be spreading reactionary terror in North Africa today.

Despite the failure of the policy of "industrializing industry" in the 1970s—i.e., of development through heavy industry—Algeria has created a working class which has social power well beyond its numerical weakness. Today these key working-class sectors are directly threatened by "restructuring" imposed by the IMF, represented in Algeria by its lackeys of the HCE/government, which is seeking to privatize much of the public sector. These "reforms" are already being translated into new waves of layoffs and a savage rise in the cost of living. The desperation of large sections of the population as they are crushed in the vise of imperialist exploitation is pushing them into the arms of the FIS, whose populist demagogy seems to offer a "radical" solution to the crisis.

Meanwhile, the guerrilla war that the fundamentalists are today waging to impose an Islamic state has served as a pretext to intensify the racist anti-immigrant campaign in the former colonial metropole of France. The withdrawal of the colonial army in humiliating defeat from Algeria spawned a generation of fascists in France, from the OAS (Secret Army Organization) to the National Front. Today French fascists brandish the spectre of a new wave of immigration fleeing an Islamic revolution in Algeria. By slamming the doors to immigration of North African workers, which was an escape valve for the unemployed, French imperialism is only accentuating the crisis and pushing Algeria toward an explosion.

"Immigrant" workers occupy a strategic place in French industry and constitute a veritable bridge to the working class on the other shore of the Mediterranean. In fighting to sweep away the "socialist"-conservative cohabitation regime of Mitterrand/Balladur and interior minister Pasqua, a revolutionary party must firmly champion the cause of so-called "immigrants" (as even those of North African descent who are born in France are called; they do not automatically get French citizenship). This will require as well sharp struggle against the Islamic fundamentalists who work hand in hand with the French bourgeoisie. After Mitterrand came to power in the early 1980s, he denounced striking North African auto workers at the Renault factory in Flins—who were the first to fight against his austerity measures—as manipulated by Islamic fundamentalists. At the same time, Renault bosses were allowing prayer rooms to be set up in the factories to better "discipline" the workers! And today, the same Pasqua who wants to pack North Africans into special train cars for deportation also officially sponsors an "Imam Training Institute" in Paris!!

The Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), section of the International Communist League, is fighting in France to build a multi-ethnic vanguard workers party to crush the fascists, expropriate the bourgeoisie and extend the proletarian revolution throughout Europe and across the Mediterranean to Algerian and other North African workers.

Zebar/Gamma

Workers in economically strategic petroleum industry are bastion of the small but powerful Algerian proletariat.

For a Trotskyist Party in Algeria!

Only the working class has the social power to defeat the corrupt regime of the HCE and crush the Islamic reactionaries of the FIS. To do this, the working class must not only draw behind it the enormous mass of unemployed youth and poor and landless peasants, but must champion the cause of all the oppressed, defending the rights of Berber speakers and fighting for the liberation of women, enslaved by the patriarchal family and prime targets of Islamic terror.

Muslim fundamentalism was bolstered by the FLN and the Family Code which it put forward in the 1970s. The debates which followed served as a springboard for the fundamentalist groups who attacked their leftist and feminist opponents. And as part of its "Arabization" campaign, the regime even brought in Muslim Brotherhood teachers from the Near East who helped whip up fundamentalist hysteria in the universities. In June 1984, the FLN succeeded in imposing this code, largely inspired by the *sharia* (Koranic law), which allows polygamy and divorce by "repudiation" (depriving the woman of all rights), and relegates women to the status of eternal minors, legally required to obey father and husband. Revolutionaries must win the working class to take up the fight for abolition of the reactionary Family Code and for the separation of religion and the state.

The miserable conditions faced by Algerian women and the proletariat are an utter condemnation of the treacherous left groups such as the former Stalinists of the PAGS—which dissolved in January, with a remnant naming itself Ettahadi (Challenge)—who have tailed all the FLN governments and now support the HCE. The murderous regime and the reactionary fundamentalists are both a deadly threat to the workers movement. Early this year, the minister of religious affairs practically called on the FIS to turn its guns on the left, asking "Why are they killing policemen? They are not all communists." And then-prime minister Belaid Abdesslam virulently attacked "secular assimilationists" on television. Around this time, Ettahadi leader Hachemi Sherif was injured in an attack on his car. In July, another Ettahadi spokesman barely escaped strangulation by fundamentalist assassins at the entrance to his apartment building, and the next month a party sympathizer and his wife were gunned down as they fled an assault on their home. Now the religious fanatics are systematically murdering leftists.

The shameless social democrats of the PT (Workers Party, followers of Pierre Lambert) criminally supported the June 1991 "strike" of the FIS and seek a bloc with the Islamic fundamentalists against the HCE. And the PST (Socialist Workers Party), in political solidarity with Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec), has abandoned all pretense of building a revolutionary party. These centrists, after their legalization in the political "opening" after the 1988 upsurge, received funding from the FLN regime, with which they obtained an office on the sea front, right next to the Algerian parliament. The program of these opportunists is essentially based on the necessity to "defend democracy," a cover for a policy of alliance with a supposedly "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie, such as the Front of Socialist Forces (FFS) of Ait Ahmed.

For years, the pseudo-Trotskyists of the USec touted a so-called "Arab Revolution," which was nothing but a cover for tailing after nationalist despots in the Near East who spouted anti-imperialist rhetoric while murderously suppressing their own workers and national or religious minorities. In Algeria, this meant direct *political support* to the bourgeois regime. Indeed, Michel Pablo (Raptis), Mandel's mentor who had broken from Trotskyism on a liquidationist program and engineered the political destruction of the Fourth International in 1951-53, became a close lieutenant of Ben Bella and an Algerian government official when the FLN came to power.

In recent years, in order to pursue its opportunist appetites the PST has adopted a reformist minimum program, the Workers and Peoples Front, or "FOP," which opens the door to political blocs with bourgeois forces. A so-called "left opposition" of the PST, which recently published *El Monadhil* (The Militant), proposes that the PST

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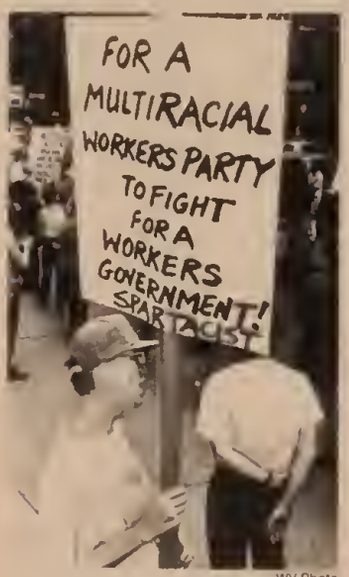
Elections...

(continued from page 1)

November 13 to evoke the memory of Martin Luther King and the civil rights movement in order to push his scheme to throw more black youth into prison. Echoing Jesse Jackson's "crusade" over black youth violence, Clinton blames the victims for the racist violence and economic devastation that the capitalist class has unleashed on black America. Already aimed at jacking up the numbers of police and prisons at a cost of over $22 billion while vastly expanding the racist death penalty and gun control, Clinton's bill has been padded with ever more outlandish amendments, targeting everyone from teen offenders to "illegal aliens," all passed with solid support from Democrats and Republicans alike.

The spectacle of bourgeois politicians trying to outbid each other in the racist "anti-crime" auction has become so extreme that Delaware Democratic Senator Joseph Biden, no slouch himself when it comes to "crime-fighting," felt compelled to remark: "if someone came to the floor and said we should barb wire the ankles of anyone who jaywalks, I think it would pass." Under the headline, "The Crime Bill: Worse Every Day," an editorial in the liberal *Washington Post* (10 November) anxiously asked: "Where are the men and women, elected to lead, to stand up and speak out when the crowd is shouting for blood?"

It is the elected "leaders" who are shouting the loudest. The "anti-crime" wave has little to do with crime, and everything to do with race and class.

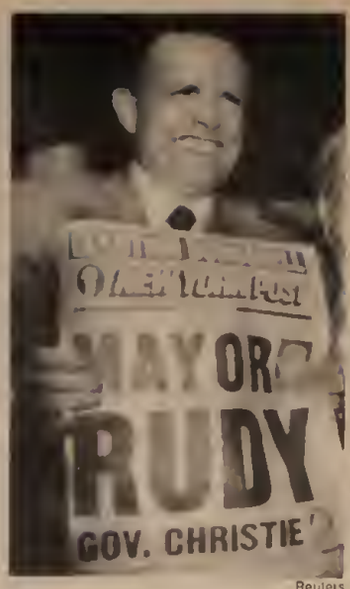


WV Photo

New York, June 1993 protest against INS deportations.

While the rate of violent crimes in major cities has actually *fallen* in the last year or two, the level of immiseration, desperation and unemployment continues to climb. Meanwhile the ruling class seeks to cut a budget deficit fueled by years of extravagant Cold War military spending by shutting down schools and hospitals and throwing people off the welfare rolls. And particularly since the 1992 Los Angeles upheaval sparked by the racist acquittal of Rodney King's cop tormentors, politicians of both property parties have been pushing for more convictions, more prisons, more executions to keep the ghetto and barrio poor in line.

At bottom what the hysteria over "crime" reflects is that crisis-ridden capitalist America, with its closed-down factories and burned-out slums, has neither a place nor a need for the black, Hispanic and other minority sectors who formerly served in the "reserve army of the unemployed." What we wrote about a 1988 "workfare" bill aimed at forcing millions of single mothers off welfare applies with equal force today to the "anti-crime" crusade: "The aim of this legislation is to see to it that layers of the minority population *die*, because this



Reuters

Universal Media

Cops' candidate Giuliani and his "tactical" attack squads.

decrepit capitalist system no longer needs them" ("Genocide U.S.A.," *WV* No. 463, 21 October 1988).

Big Brother Giuliani: "Nobody Will Escape My Attention"

As in the '89 elections but more so, the Giuliani campaign brought together a racist united front ranging from white Catholic "ethnic" enclaves to JDL-connected Brooklyn Zionist Assemblyman Dov Hikind and Hasidic rabbis. About the only black support Giuliani could garner was Dime Savings Bank CEO Richard Parsons and Roy Innis, promoter of the CIA/South Africa-sponsored UNITA terrorists in Angola. In the upshot, New York City—with a quarter of its population black—now has not a single black in a citywide elected position, and only one at the borough level.

The elections themselves saw blatantly racist dirty tricks. In New Jersey, a major scandal has been brewing ever since Republican gubernatorial winner Christine Whitman's campaign manager Ed Rollins *boasted* that he had bought the narrow electoral victory by handing out half a million dollars in bribes to black preachers and Democratic Party workers to keep blacks from voting. In NYC, off-duty cop provocateurs posted an ostensibly pro-Dinkins leaflet that threatened Hispanics with arrest as undocumented immigrants if they showed up at the polls.

Giuliani was elected on a racist backlash vote, with an 89,000 vote margin in overwhelmingly white Staten Island that was double his total citywide lead. Staten Islanders meanwhile voted for secession from New York City, leading many to term Giuliani the "mayor of Staten Island." But, aside from a more benign personality, Dinkins could offer nothing to the masses other than his record of service to the bankers in laying off city workers and in putting more cops on the streets, and his support from yuppie "Bubba" Clinton. The city has lost 400,000 jobs in the last four years. "We've become the youth unemployment capital of America," observed columnist Bob Fitch in the *Village Voice* (16 November).

In his carefully scripted attempt to "reach out" to nonwhites in his victory speech, Giuliani said: "Nobody, no ethnic, religious or racial group, will escape my care, my concern and my attention." Coming from a former Reaganite federal prosecutor—the man who helped incite a racist police riot on the steps of City Hall last year—this should send chills up the spines of all New Yorkers. Noting that "Giuliani has talked about wanting to build more prisons," one Queens high school student told the *New York Times* (4 November) that after the election "the members of her class on government agreed that under Mr. Giuliani, their chances of going to jail would be greater than of their being successful."

Giuliani announced that one of his first acts as mayor would be to order the cops to reinstitute indiscriminate "drug" sweeps and random arrests of "street dealers." Giuliani calls for uniformed cops to patrol school corridors and entrances (a proposal earlier raised by Dinkins). Already little more than run-down holding pens for youths being "trained" for a future in and out of jail, now the city's schools will come complete with gun-toting racist prison guards. City labor had better watch out, too. The *Wall Street Journal* (4 November) wasted no time in giving the new mayor his marching orders: "A key test for Mr. Giuliani will be his ability to tame" municipal unions. Giuliani wants to slash 34,000 workers from the city payroll and has already threatened to privatize everything from garbage collection to city hospitals.

Death Penalty Democrats

The spearhead of the racist "law and order" campaign is Clinton's "anti-crime" bill, which promises to put 100,000 more cops on the streets and build ten mammoth regional "high security" prisons. What "high security" means to these sadists can be seen at the California state prison in Calipatria, which has just erected a "death fence" (just like in Nazi concentration camps) to electrocute potential escapees. The bill would also extend the federal death penalty to 47 additional crimes while limiting death row inmates to at most one *habeas corpus* appeal with a six-month deadline. This would legally formalize a spate of recent rulings by the Reagan/Bush Supreme Court okaying the racist application of the death penalty, and even denying prisoners a hearing when new evidence proves their innocence.

Clinton's "anti-crime" bill has brought gun control liberals together with death penalty conservatives. Clinton speaks for both. Under this "New Democrat," Congress has just passed the longstanding Brady Bill, which calls for a five-day waiting period for handgun sales and will set up a sinister computer network to do instant "background checks" on all prospective buyers. And New York Democratic Senator Daniel Moynihan now calls for financing the administration's health plan with a punitive tax on handgun ammunition, ranging up to *10,000 percent* on "hollow-point" bullets. We say: No to gun control! Down with the racist death penalty!

Meanwhile, amendments to the Senate bill have been flying fast and furious. One, approved with only one vote in opposition, imposes mandatory life sentences on "three-time losers." Another, passed by a whopping 60-38, would make it a federal offense under the notorious RICO conspiracy laws to belong to or recruit to street gangs. Yet another will introduce "star chamber" courts to deport "illegal" immigrants suspected of "terrorism"—they will not be told who their accusers are or even what acts they are alleged to have committed!

At the same time, both parties have seized on the "child abuse" and "kiddie porn" witchhunt. When the Justice Department failed to oppose a Supreme Court appeal by a graduate student convicted for having videos of fully clothed children who were not engaging in sex, Clinton pushed for new guidelines which could put away any parents who snapped their infant taking a bath. In addition, on election day, all three anti-gay referendums which were up for a vote passed.

Seeking to regain their edge as the hard-nosed racists, the Republicans recently proposed a "tough love" welfare scheme which would deny cash assistance to single mothers who don't finger the fathers as "deadbeat dads," would make unpaid slave labor a condition for a third year on welfare, and throw everybody off the rolls after that. Not to be outdone, Clinton honored his election vow to "end welfare as we know it" by approving a Wisconsin pilot project to force recipients into a sham "training program" in the first year, unpaid work in the second year, and after that...starvation. Meanwhile, the San Diego Board of Supervisors has just voted to cut off funds for emergency medical care to "illegal" immigrants, while San Francisco mayor (and former top cop) Frank Jordan is having summonses issued to the homeless for begging.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

The racist tide has been so overwhelming in recent years that even the black middle-class "talented tenth," whose newfound status is about the only "gain" left over from the civil rights era, overwhelmingly agree that life has gotten worse for black people in the past decade. Following Dinkins' defeat in New York, 100 black political leaders gathered in Harlem to moot the idea of a black party modeled on Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition. But this is only a cynical pressure tactic to get more leverage within the racist Democratic Party; the black bourgeois politicians want to impress on their white counterparts that Democratic candidates almost always lose the white vote in big cities and nationwide, and thus are dependent upon black votes to win.

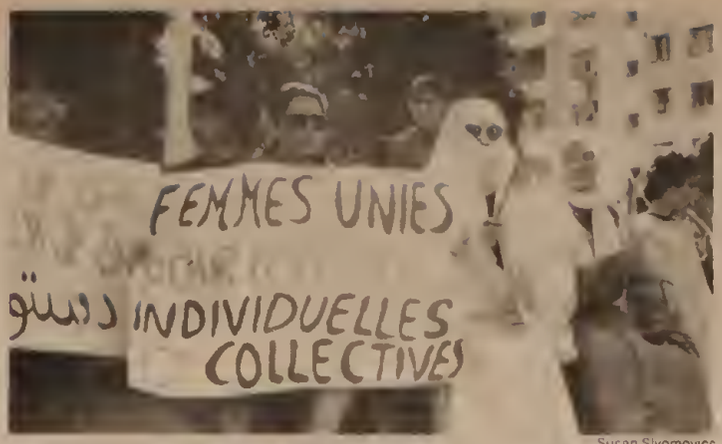
Schemes for a "black party" will meet the same fate as did Jesse Jackson, who after exhausting his usefulness as a front man for the Democratic Party was thrown unceremoniously to the back of the bus. American capitalism is rooted in the bedrock of institutionalized racial oppression. The only possibility for a decent future for black youth today lies in a revolutionary struggle that overturns the entire capitalist system—and that means mobilizing the social power of the integrated working class. "Open shop" Clinton targets the unions, as he pushes the racist death penalty. This underlines that what is needed is a *revolutionary workers party* which fights to expropriate the exploiters and oppressors, who have made life hell for the rest of us. ■

Algeria...

(continued from page 7)

conceive of the "FOP" as an Anti-Imperialist United Front, or "FUA." This is just another set of initials for a class-collaborationist bloc. Appealing to former members of the PAGS to form a "common party" of "all Algerian communists and socialists"—i.e., a social-democratic "party of the whole class"—its reformist program amounts to a bizarre attempt to reproduce British Labourism in Algeria!

This is no accident, for *El Monadhil* is sponsored by Damien Elliott, formerly a pseudo-left oppositionist in the USec who is currently fusing with the British-based Militant tendency, recently emerged from *four decades* of "deep entrism" in the Labour Party. *El Monadhil*'s first issue declares: "The trade-union leaders must call a conference of delegates, elected democratically, in order to set up a workers party" which will have an "action program 'however modest'." Their "modest" (reformist) program—for "renationalizing" the enterprises which the government has sold off, for "real independence" of Algeria, for a "freeze of prices" and "non-payment of the foreign debt"—could be raised by any moderately militant FLN nationalist of a Ben Bella stripe. And not unintentionally, for that is exactly the political profile of the ex-PAGS and UGTA bureaucrats. As for the call for a "workers and peasants government," that is what the Mandel/Pablo USec labeled the Ben Bella government to justify their political support to it.



Susan Slyomovics

Islamic fundamentalism threatens Algerian women. After FIS election victory, secular bourgeois forces organized protests in January 1992 to pressure for army intervention.

Playing the role of a loyal opposition to the discredited HCE government, as PST leader Chawki Salhi does while building a toothless popular front with the FFS, or acting as a pressure group on the UGTA tops, as Damien Elliott wants to do, provides no answer to the desperate masses whose lot can scarcely be improved without a revolution. Meanwhile, Elliott, in the latest issue of his French paper *L'Egalité* (November 1993), declares that since the FLN is discredited and "the workers movement is nonexistent, it is logical that the fundamentalists of the FIS continue to gain influence." In fact, the cynical maneuvering of these pseudo-Trotskyists will only serve to convince the masses that the fundamentalists alone offer "radical change," in a situation in which it is obvious that continuation of things as they are is intolerable and in any case impossible.

Many opportunities have been missed (1954 and 1962-63, also 1980 and 1988), but nothing is definitively settled. The fact that the FLN could not achieve real economic development and genuine independence from imperialism, despite the Algerian masses' heroic victory over French colonialism, is a striking confirmation—in the negative—of Trotsky's theory and program of permanent revolution. Summarizing the experience of the 1917 Russian Revolution, Trotsky insisted that in the colonial and semi-colonial countries under the hoot of imperialism, achieving even the most elementary democratic gains requires the taking of power by the working class, led by a Leninist party and standing at the head of all the oppressed sectors, which will accomplish bourgeois-democratic tasks in the course of carrying through socialist revolution.

This underlines the urgent necessity to regroup the cadre for building an authentic Algerian Trotskyist party, which can seize opportunities, such as the recent dockers strike, that arise even in such a period of mounting reaction. The woman question is strategic, and explosive—with the military regime and the fundamentalist opposition sharing the common ground of Islamic law, the liberation of women, and indeed any substantial improvement in their condition, can only come through workers revolution. In a common struggle to bring down the bastions of reaction such as the Moroccan monarchy and the "secular" butchers of Tunisia, a socialist federation of the Maghreb must be forged that will unite the working masses of North Africa while enabling fullest national rights to minorities such as Berber-speakers, including Saharaouis.

Above all, to sweep away the military dictatorship, to crush the fundamentalist danger, to put an end to imperialist exploitation requires international socialist revolution on both sides of the Mediterranean, reaching into the heart of the metropole and abolishing the racist distinction between "French" and "immigrant" as liberty, fraternity and equality become the birthright of all. ■

Nigeria...

(continued from page 5)

and the NRC were almost from the outset busy making deals that would legitimise Babangida's anti-democratic annulment of the June 12 election. While the government was breaking into opposition and union leaders' houses and throwing them into maximum security prisons for interrogation and torture, Chief Abiola was counselling "no violence."

Also speaking at the London meeting was Wole Soyinka, the Nigerian playwright who received the Nobel Prize in literature. Soyinka was one of the few non-Igbos who opposed the war against Biafra, for which he spent years in prison. At the August 14 meeting, he went out of his way to say he had "no problem" with military regimes, so long as they set an exit date: "We can work together for the good of the nation." Indeed, Soyinka read out the speech he wrote for the 1991 OAU summit meeting in Ahuja calling to "unite our people under the banner of democratisation," a speech which was delivered *by President Ibrahim Babangida!* But Soyinka's willingness to work with the ruling powers is not limited to Nigerian generals. This summer he visited Washington, where he spoke with State Department officials, calling for "sanctions, embargos, isolation and quarantine." Such calls for imperialist intervention, also raised by the Campaign for Democracy, are an attack on the Nigerian masses.

After the initial burst of mass outrage over the regime's dictatorial action, support for the "pro-democracy" protests have been generally lukewarm. And no wonder. The working masses have seen for themselves in the three decades since independence from Britain that all the capitalist politicians, civilian or military, have been bloodsucking self-aggrandising rogues. Babangida and Abiola alike denounce corruption, yet feeding off the state apparatus is not some kind of aberration but the basis for the very existence of the nascent bourgeoisie, just as bonapartist rule in the service of racist imperialism is pervasive throughout the continent. In the absence of revolutionary working-class mobilisation, ethnic, religious and regional divisions have played a greater role so far in the political turmoil in Nigeria.

Industry in Nigeria is limited, with barely 10 per cent of the gross domestic product coming from manufacturing. Petroleum extraction (in joint ventures with Shell, Elf and, until recently, Texaco) is the main industrial activity. It is also the main source of private accumulation, with an estimated 100,000 barrels a day siphoned off into smuggling. The oil industry is concentrated in the delta region in the south, with a few oil refineries scattered all over the country. Indicative of the low level of economic development is the fact that Nigeria has only two railway lines running diagonally across the country and these were constructed during colonial times to transport peanuts and cotton from the north to the Atlantic coast for shipment to Europe. They are not very much used nowadays. Transportation around the country is mainly on the small network of badly maintained killer roads. Nevertheless, unlike much more backward regions of Africa, Nigeria has a significant working class. With revolutionary leadership the working class, supported by the toiling peasants in the countryside, can be mobilised to overthrow the capitalist order and establish a workers and peasants government.

The so-called Marxists of ARIB are obsessed with the concept of "democracy," which they argue requires the alliance of all classes. They maintain that the main task now is to fight for bourgeois democracy in Africa; later—some time in the indefinite future—the workers can fight for socialism. Lenin's Bolsheviks in Russia destroyed the Menshevik notion of revolution in stages. The Bolsheviks were uncompromising in their opposition to alliances with the liberal bourgeoisie. Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the Russian October Revolution, noted that it was an example of permanent revolution: that in the imperialist epoch, in countries whose bourgeois development has been belated, basic democratic tasks such as national emancipation and agrarian revolution require the conquest of power by the proletariat. For this it is necessary to forge a communist party which acts as the tribune of all the oppressed and fights for the independent mobilisation of the working class for its own class interests.

In contrast to the fight for a revolutionary workers party, Nigerian supporters of the British Militant tendency in a leaflet on the annulment of the June 12 election called for: "A working people's party with a socialist programme as a step towards a workers and farmers government." In South Africa, where the question of proletarian power is palpable, the reformist Militant tendency *opposes* the call for a workers party, instead declaring that "Workers must struggle to lead the ANC," the petty-bourgeois nationalists now negotiating to enter the apartheid regime. And when they talk of "socialist programme," Militant mean the British Labour Party's old "Clause Four" call for nationalisations within the framework of bourgeois parliamentarism. Even taken at face value, this was only a leftist fig leaf for administering the capitalist state.

Moreover, in Nigeria Militant's call for "nationalisation of the commanding heights of the economy under workers democratic control and management" is absurd, for the "commanding heights" are already controlled by the central government (in collaboration with multinational corporations). At its core, Militant's strategy is premised on pressuring the capitalist state to adopt "socialism." Little wonder that this reformist outfit holds that the police are part of the workers movement! Marxists understand the elementary truth that capitalism cannot be reformed; it must be overthrown. To establish the dictatorship of the proletariat it is necessary to smash the bourgeois state (based on the police and the army) and expropriate the capitalists.

In the late 1970s some intellectuals and trade unionists in Nigeria tried to launch a "Socialist Party" to campaign in the national elections of 1979, which was soon disbanded. If in the course of class struggle some sort of mass workers party were to be formed, communists would intervene to win militant workers and youth to the perspective of workers revolution and to form the nucleus of a Bolshevik party, a core of professional revolutionaries.

Revolutionary mobilisation in Nigeria cannot be conceived in isolation from that of the working masses elsewhere on the African continent. The combative black proletariat of South Africa is key to the perspective of socialist revolution in sub-Saharan Africa. A revolutionary conflagration in Africa could be the spark for workers revolutions in the imperialist heartlands. The International Communist League calls for the forging of a Trotskyist party in Nigeria as a section of a reborn Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

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Puerto Rico...

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imperialist war since World War I, but island residents are second-class citizens who are not represented in Congress and cannot vote in presidential elections. The federal tax-free provisions of "commonwealth" status, Section 936 of the U.S. tax code, have encouraged U.S. investment in Puerto Rico and led to substantial industrialization of the country as a low-wage platform for American capital. But as investment has stagnated, conditions on the island are increasingly desperate, with unemployment at 30 percent and over two-thirds of the population receiving food stamps. And now Clinton is threatening to curtail the tax advantages which have been the backbone of the Puerto Rican economy.

President Clinton piously declared in advance that he would "support" the results of the balloting. Republican ex-presidents Bush, Reagan and Ford campaigned for statehood. But what Puerto Ricans can expect from Washington was shown when Bush came out for statehood in his 1989 inaugural address: a storm of "English-only" racism whipped through Congress until the issue was allowed to quietly die in committee two years later. And anyone who thinks that independence will be accompanied by generous financial subsidies is willfully blind to the history of U.S. intervention in the Caribbean.

The reason this vote took place had nothing to do with a supposed respect by the colonialists for the democratic right of self-determination. It was held because the PNP "statehooders," linked to the mainland Republicans, are seeking to consolidate their position after sweeping the November 1992 elections. In that vote, the pro-"commonwealth" PPD, connected with the Democratic Party, lost not only La Fortaleza (the governor's office) but also control of both houses of the legislature and two-thirds of the municipalities. With the PPD splintering and in chaos—its leadership openly split over whether to participate in the referendum—Governor Pedro Rosselló sought to redefine Puerto Rico's status and consolidate the PNP dominance on the island. But even many who voted for him didn't believe the PNP fairy tales and opted for the status quo.

Last November's elections also marked a serious defeat of the bourgeois *independentistas* of the PIP led by the lawyer Rubén Berríos, which only succeeded in electing two candidates to the legislature. But the decline of the PIP, which is part of the social-democratic Second International, did not benefit radical petty-bourgeois nationalists, who are in open crisis. The main "left" nationalist group, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), which used to count thousands of supporters, simply dissolved last month. PSPers were urged to individually join the New Independence Movement (NMI), which was officially founded on October 2-3 as a "multi-class" group including "Marxists, non-Marxist socialists, proponents of Liberation Theology, environmentalists, feminists."

Deese Conde/El Vocero

UTIER electrical workers clash with police during one-day general strike to protest privatization of telephone company in 1990.

The reason there is so little mass support for the perspective of independence is the widespread perception that under present conditions independence would bring a sharp drop in the standard of living which, while income levels are half those of the poorest state (Mississippi), is the highest in Latin America. An independent Puerto Rico under capitalist rule risks being driven into grinding poverty, which one only has to look next door to the Dominican Republic to visualize. And the masses' fears are hardly assuaged by the reformists of the ex-PSP, which put forward a "two-stage" program of (bourgeois) independence first, and socialism "later." The only road to eliminating neocolonial poverty and breaking imperialist domination is through proletarian revolution in the Caribbean and above all in North America.

Not only do Puerto Rican workers work in branch plants of American corporations, providing a direct link to the working class in the U.S., but in addition to the 3.5 million Puerto Ricans living on the island there are 2.6 million Puerto Ricans on the mainland, concentrated in and around New York City. Likewise, in the Caribbean, workers from Puerto Rico and all the islands of the region can be found in industrial sites such as the Hess oil refinery at St. Croix, and can play a key role in international class struggle.

As an elementary duty for revolutionary internationalists, the Spartacist League defends the right to self-determination for Puerto Rico. We support struggles against colonial rule, even when led by petty-bourgeois and bourgeois forces, while fighting for proletarian leadership of anti-imperialist struggle which can only achieve genuine national liberation through workers revolution. Only socialist revolution throughout the hemisphere, laying the basis for international socialist planning with massive assistance from the victorious proletariat in North America, can open the road to genuine economic development for the semi-colonial countries which are today under the imperialist boot.

Colonialism and Police-State Repression

One of the themes in the PNP's campaign for statehood was support for *increased* militarization of Puerto Rico, which is already the main U.S. military installation in the Caribbean (fully 12 percent of the island's territory is occupied by bases). In the past, attacks have been launched from Puerto Rico against Cuba (1961), the Dominican Republic (1965), Grenada (1983) and Central America. Now the Rosselló administration proposes that Puerto Rico become the seat of the U.S. Southern Command when the "lease" on the Panama Canal expires in 1999 and that it replace the Guantánamo naval base in Cuba when that "lease" expires in 1997. We demand: *U.S. military out of the Caribbean!*

Meanwhile, the voting took place as the National Guard has been called out on a permanent basis to reinforce the Puerto Rican Police in carrying out massive "drug raids" in working-class housing projects, literally subjecting them to military occupation. This "experiment," which is being carried out under the supervision of Pentagon representatives, is a sinister harbinger of what racist rulers intend to mete out to American workers.

Puerto Rico has often been a testing ground for U.S. security agencies, as in the case of the FBI's COINTELPRO operation of disruption and harassment of leftists and assassination of leaders of the Black Panther Party. This program was given a test run in Puerto Rico, where the FBI targeted trade unionists, suspected *independentistas* and others. When the Puerto Rico Supreme Court ordered last year that the files of so-called "subversives" be released to those who requested them, it turned out to include an incredible total of *135,000 individuals*. An operation in the U.S. of proportional magnitude would target over ten million people! As part of its suit for the "subversives lists," the newspaper *Claridad* also obtained from the court a list of hundreds of police agents and informants, whose names and code numbers it is now publishing!

The utter cynicism of U.S. rule in Puerto Rico is illustrated by the previous (also non-binding) "referendum" in July 1967 which was called to give a "democratic" cover to the colonial regime (it gave a 60 percent majority in favor of "commonwealth"). To provide a veneer of authority to the vote when all *independentista* groups were calling for a boycott, Washington literally *bought* a pro-independence "opposition" to participate in the vote. U.S. intelligence services funneled *half a million dollars* to a leading member of the PIP, Héctor Alvarez Silva, who used his "Fund for the Republic" as the vehicle for campaigning for a vote in favor of independence. Héctor Alvarez was expelled from the PIP, but his close associates stayed, and today the PIP is playing the same political role.

In fact, PIP leader Berríos is closely cooperating with Rosselló's PNP in order to bring the question of Puerto Rico's status before the U.S. Congress. In an interview with the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario/La Prensa* (10 October), Berríos declared: "We also want to force Congress to confront the colonial problem of Puerto Rico. In doing so, sooner or later it will have to accept decolonization." While the statehooders thought that Congress would support annexation, the PIP is cynically counting on a racist Congressional reaction to force independence *against the will of the Puerto Rican population*. As the wording of the independence "option" in the referendum makes clear, by accepting the continued presence of U.S. bases and requesting massive aid from Washington, the PIP is offering to become neocolonial satraps of Yankee imperialism.

Petty-Bourgeois Nationalism and the "New World Order"

The dramatic disarray of petty-bourgeois nationalists in Puerto Rico is rooted in the strangling of the Soviet workers state, as they can no longer look for support from Moscow and Soviet-allied Cuba against the imperialists and their agents. The same process is illustrated by the Palestinian PLO and the South African ANC which, despairing of getting a "better deal," have offered themselves to police their respective populations for the Zionist and apartheid butchers. The chilly winds of the "New World Order" are strongly felt in the Caribbean, where the triumphalist Yankee imperialists are squeezing Cuba in the vise of a vicious embargo in order to "roll back" the revolution. The Puerto Rican ex-New Left petty-bourgeois nationalists are collapsing just when defense of the Cuban Revolution, which for years served as their model, has become more imperative than ever!

As throughout Latin America, the victorious counterrevolution in East Europe and the former Soviet Union has led many Puerto Rican leftists to abandon all talk of socialism. In arguing for liquidation of the PSP, a party spokesman cited the "political errors" of "radical" *independentistas* who "believed in the imminent destruction of world imperialism, when what occurred was the dismantling of the Soviet Union and the European socialist camp" (*Claridad*, 20 August). At the same time as they buy the "death of communism" lie, from their nationalist perspective the prospect of a "unipolar" world, leaving them alone before the colossus of the north, is daunting indeed. Despite their "socialist" rhetoric, PSPers were at bottom nationalist social democrats who couldn't conceive of common class struggle together with the North American working class "in the belly of the imperialist beast."

In liquidating into the NMI, the cadres of the PSP are literally turning the clock back to the origins of their party in the 1960s Puerto Rican student movement. The original PSP cadres came mainly out of the Pro-Independence University Fed-

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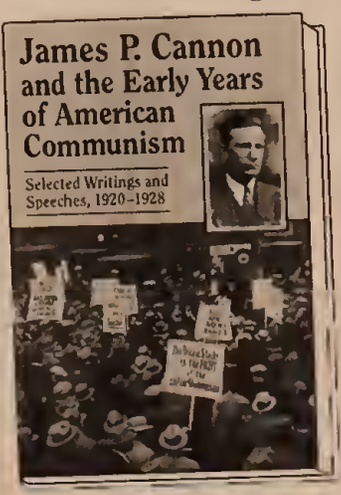

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Airlines...

(continued from page 12)

before the Thanksgiving holiday weekend. American, which is slashing maintenance and pilots' jobs across the country, is going after the flight attendants, demanding a free hand on work rules and staffing levels. The union, which signed a "two-tier" wage contract ten years ago, has seen base wages fall *40 percent*. If American defeats the Association of Professional Flight Attendants, the ground crews, mechanics and pilots will be next.

The two biggest airlines, United and American, are preparing all-out war on the workers. IAM Lodge 1781 shop stewards committee chairman Carl Finamore called for a "day of solidarity" on November 18 if American Airlines flight attendants go out. But the bureaucrats' call for a one-day "solidarity" sick-out is designed to blow off steam—and then let the flight attendants hang. And United has announced it is going ahead with the sell-off of the kitchens. The unions at United and American—Machinists, Teamsters, Transport Workers, pilots and flight attendants—have enormous power. The capitalists are heavily dependent on air travel and cargo service. *United and American Airlines workers strike together to win! Shut down the airports! For one industrywide union in the airline industry! Organize the unorganized!*

Even as their profits rise, the airline bosses plead poverty in order to compete with non-union "short haul" carriers like Southwest Airlines. In addition to the sale of the kitchens, the *Washington Post* (12 November) revealed United has plans (with code names such as "Project Yuletide" and "Project Root Beer") to break up the airline into as many as four smaller carriers, slashing thousands of jobs and cutting pay to non-union levels. United CEO and takeover shark Steven Wolf is pressing ahead with plans to sell off the turbine engine maintenance shop, presently part of UAL's massive San Francisco Maintenance Operations Center, farming out ramp (ground service) work, and possibly unloading the entire maintenance operation in order to take advantage of non-union maintenance outfits. A large contract maintenance base is currently under construction in Tijuana, Mexico, and already aircraft painting has been sent out to non-union, low-wage firms.

Bosses to Labor: "Buy In—*And* Get Bashed"

The airlines took on massive debt in leveraged buyouts (LBOs) and the huge expansion of the industry during the 1980s. Now the capitalists are trying to unload the costs on the workforce, driving up the rate of exploitation. This is war, with tens of thousands of jobs and the safety of millions of airline passengers at stake. Airline workers are heavily organized in unions—*65 percent* of airline workers are unionized, more than five times the rate in the rest of private industry in the U.S. But the bureaucrats of the airline unions are now actively *destroying* union conditions built through years of struggle, trading billions in workers' wages in exchange for a few seats on the company board.

For years the IAM and the Airline Pilots Association (ALPA) at United have been pushing one ESOP (employee stock ownership plan) deal after another. As we said when the pilots tried another ESOP fable at United in 1989, "The 'ownership' workers would get out of such a deal would be only the 'right' to exploit themselves for the junk bond holders." The $5.5 billion in concessions, cash and stock grants in the last IAM offer is even more than the belly-crawling company cops of the UAW International extracted from auto workers in the early 1980s. But even that wasn't enough for Wolf, who derisively rejected the giveback offers and embarked on an open union-busting, job-slashing campaign.

Business Week (1 November) summed it up in a headline: "The Airlines to Labor: Buy In—Or Get Bashed." The labor fakers tried to buy in...but they only whetted the airlines' union-bashing appetites.

"It's the Debt, Stupid"

In the last year, ESOPs at TWA and Northwest have enabled Wall Street banks to unload hundreds of millions of dollars of debt onto the backs of the workers. The IAM and ALPA offered corporate raider Carl Icahn vast concessions and helped him break the 1986 flight attendants strike when he took over TWA. Last year they forked over $660 million more to bail him out again! Earlier giveback-for-stock deals by the labor traitors left thousands jobless and their pensions plundered at Pan Am, and set up the 1989 strike betrayal at Eastern.

This summer, Teamsters chief Ron Carey joined the IAM and ALPA bureaucrats in ramming through a $886 million giveback package for Northwest bosses Gary Wilson and Democratic Party bigwig Alfred Checci. The IAM International threw the entire 26,000-member Lodge 143 into receivership in order to ensure that the concessions went through. Wilson and Checci put up less than $40 million when they took over Northwest in 1989, loading up the airline with *$3.65 billion* in junk bond debt. T-shirts worn by IAM members opposed to the ESOP at Northwest read "It's the Debt, Stupid."

Airline workers have enormous power—but to use it they must break the straitjacket of ESOPs, corporate campaigns and reliance on Democratic Party capitalist politicians. *Any* major transportation strike in this country will collide head on with the forces of state repression—injunctions, cops and even bringing in the military as in the 1981 PATCO air traffic controllers strike. It was the Democrats in Congress who rushed through legislation to outlaw the 1991 rail strike. Yet under another Democratic president, airline unions decisively smashed LBJ's wage "guidelines" when they struck five carriers in 1966. The key is forging a class-struggle leadership with the determination and program to win against the bosses and their state.

That means ousting the present labor lieutenants of capital who sit atop the unions and chain them to the bosses. When the 1989 Eastern strike began, United Machinists at JFK voted to strike in solidarity, but the IAM tops ordered them to work. The strike was turned into a long, empty consumer boycott and "corporate campaign" as the union tops capitulated to every court injunction.

The current union-busting offensive comes after a decade of concessions, givebacks and the hated two-tier wage system. This could have been fought by shutting down the airports to *win* the PATCO strike, betrayed by the bureaucrats. The destruction of the unions can and must be stopped! Hard class struggle by the powerful airline unions would galvanize the working people and oppressed who know they're getting shafted in Clinton's America. It will quickly become a political battle of labor against capital, its parties and its state. The battle to defend the airline unions must be linked to the fight for a workers party and a workers government which will take industry out of the hands of Wolf and his fellow parasites and build an internationally planned socialist economy. ■

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eration (FUPI), which was a cross-class movement combining a broad range of political currents. Under the impact of the Cuban Revolution, the FUPI was transformed into the Pro-Independence Movement (MPI) led by Juan Marí Bras, which became in the early 1970s the PSP. Now the generation that was radicalized in the '60s is shedding its leftist pretensions.

The group around *Pensamiento Crítico* magazine, which includes the Puerto Rican followers of Ernest Mandel's fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat, is likewise in crisis. After participating in the "Anti-Electoral Front" together with various nationalist currents, this left-of-the-PSP milieu formed the "Socialist Front." On the "referendum," lamenting that "our movement finds itself weak, as much from an organizational as from a programmatic point of view" (*Claridad*, 11 June), Pensamiento Crítico put forward a platform for a boycott campaign that does not mention socialist revolution—or raise any programmatic demands at all. (In a similar vein, the PSP before it dissolved and the NMI at its founding meeting called for abstention in the November 14 poll.)

It is certainly correct for revolutionary socialists to denounce the fraudulent character of the referendum as a cover for colonialist rule. Revolutionaries could not support any of the three options since all specified continued U.S. military occupation of Puerto Rico. As evidenced by the substantial participation in the vote (73 percent of registered voters), a mass boycott was not a real possibility. Quite aside from the election, in the face of the Puerto Rican masses' justified fear that bourgeois independence would mean immiseration, the nationalist politics of these "socialist" *independentistas* means that they have no perspective to offer to the Puerto Rican proletariat. The same despair of achieving mass support has produced futile adventures such as the Jayuya uprising of 1950 by Pedro Albizu Campos' Nationalist Party, and the Puerto Rican nationalists' armed attack on the U.S. Congress in 1954. In the extreme it can lead to indiscriminate terrorist attacks, such as the 1975 bombing of Fraunces Tavern in NYC.

WV Photo

1988 rally *in* San Juan protesting colonial repression against *independentistas*.

For Bolshevik Internationalism!

Locked into their narrow horizons and anti-working-class politics, the nationalists cannot imagine a revolutionary internationalist solution to colonial oppression. But unconditional and active support to independence for the colonies was a watchword of the early Communist International, and indeed one of the famous "21 conditions" for membership in the Comintern. As Stalin, with his nationalist program of "socialism in one country" renounced this in favor of a search for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, Trotsky continued the program of Bolshevik internationalism. In the Popular Front period of the mid/late 1930s, when the Stalinists were supporting "democratic" imperialism (and thus turning their backs on independence struggles in the colonies, including Puerto Rico), Trotsky wrote:

> "The task of genuine revolutionaries is to get rid of the oppressive colonial regimes. Our slogan: *the right of all nations to self-determination, not in word, but in deed, the full and genuine liberation of all colonies!*
>
> "The future of humanity is inseparably linked with the destiny of India, China, Indochina, Latin America, and Africa. The active sympathy, friendship, and support of genuine revolutionists, socialists, and honest democrats is completely on the side of these peoples—who constitute the majority of humanity—and not on the side of their oppressors, no matter what kind of political masks they appear in. Those who actively or even passively support a colonial regime under the pretext of defending their own 'democracy' are the worst enemies of the working classes and oppressed peoples. We and they are traveling very different roads."
>
> —"Fascism and the Colonial World" (August 1938)

Puerto Rico is a separate geographical, cultural, linguistic and economic entity from the United States. Annexation to the U.S. would pose considerable objective problems. Statehood would create powerful pressures toward a single language, with English tending to displace Spanish, ultimately bringing into question the identity of the Puerto Rican people. As well, a state of Puerto Rico would be the object of nativist racist hostility. The present "commonwealth" is inherently oppressive, keeping Puerto Ricans living on the island in the position of second-class citizens subjected to sharp repression.

As revolutionary internationalists, we defend Puerto Rico's right to self-determination and support struggles for independence. We advocate independence in order to strike a blow against U.S. imperialism, and because only through breaking out of colonial subjugation will it be possible to move beyond the perennial question of Puerto Rico's "status" to focus on the international *class* struggle. We also favor a socialist federation of the Caribbean, for the tiny island countries are so fragmented that they are economically unviable. But the question of independence and a regional federation are democratic questions, whose basic proposition is that the Puerto Rican population and the ethnically and linguistically diverse peoples of the region must decide their own fate. We are not in favor of *forcing* annexation, federation or even independence on anyone, least of all by racist U.S. imperialism.

As the principal U.S. colony, Puerto Rico's liberation can only be the product of the closest unity in struggle of the working class in the colony and on the mainland. An internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist party must be built in Puerto Rico—fighting imperialism on a proletarian program and in sharp political combat against the dead end of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois nationalism—as part of the struggle of the International Communist League to reforge the Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Colonial Referendum Farce

Diederich/NY Times

AP

San Juan—As the National Guard occupies housing project under guise of "war on drugs" (left), Puerto Rican governor Pedro Rosselló campaigned for statehood.

For the Right of Independence for Puerto Rico!

After suffering 95 years under the Yankee boot, Puerto Ricans voted on November 14 by a slim margin (48 percent) in favor of continuing the present thinly disguised colonial status—deceptively termed in Spanish "free associated state," or in English the meaningless "commonwealth"—rather than statehood (46 percent). A far smaller number, 4 percent, voted for independence. While cynically presented as an exercise in democracy, this "referendum" is being used by U.S. imperialism and its local henchmen to legitimize continued colonialist domination. The vote in any case has no more power of decision than an opinion poll: all important decisions about Puerto Rico are decided in the U.S. Congress. Far from representing a positive choice by the population, the vote was dominated by fear that each of the choices was worse than the other.

The framers of this referendum hoax were careful to stack the deck. The three alternatives submitted for a vote, drafted by the three main parties, all promised pie in the sky.

- "Statehood" (annexation), supported by the New Progressive Party (PNP), was defined as "including the preservation of our culture" and a "guarantee" of "our two languages."
- "Commonwealth," supported by the Popular Democratic Party (PPD), was defined as "ensuring the creation of more and better jobs."
- "Independence," according to the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), would include a "Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation" with the U.S. and a "process of transition" including continuation of Social Security benefits, "free access to U.S. markets," "tax incentives for North American investment" and "federal aid in an amount equal to that received at present for at least a decade." Tacked onto this wish list was "eventual demilitarization"—in other words, the U.S. bases stay.

Under the present "autonomous" commonwealth, Puerto Ricans have been drafted in disproportionate numbers to serve as front-line troops in every U.S.

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S.F. Machinists Rally: "Shut It Down—Take the Runways!"

Airlines Workers: Bust the Union-Busters!

SAN FRANCISCO—One thousand angry workers rallied at the SF airport November 12 to protest the massive union-busting cuts by United. First on the chopping block are 5,200 jobs held by mostly women and minority workers in the airline's kitchens. At the rally, called by International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local Lodge 1781, the union tops pushed their "employee ownership" plan involving massive givebacks and work rule changes worth *$5.5 billion!* As United rips up union jobs, the IAM tops refuse to strike, only offering more givebacks and a useless, impotent "corporate campaign."

But angry young Machinists at the rally, taking their lead from Air France strikers whose militant struggle beat back threatened layoffs last month, began chanting "Shut it down!" and "Take the runways!" Airline workers in the U.S. have been inspired by the dramatic scenes of Air France strikers occupying the runways, shutting down Paris airports and beating back the government's privatization scheme. Scores of copies of *Workers Vanguard* headlined "Air France Strikers Ignite Class Struggle" have been snapped up at Bay Area rallies and union meetings.

At press time, 21,000 flight attendants at American Airlines are preparing to strike on November 18, just

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WV Photo

Angry United Airlines workers protest at SF airport, November 12. Inspired by Air France strike, many chanted "Take the Runways!"

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 589

3 December 1993

After NAFTA, Clinton Strongarms Japan, Europe

Wilson/NY Times

Clinton and leaders of Pacific Rim countries meeting in Seattle at "Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation" forum. U.S. wants to use spectre of Pacific "free trade" as club against European imperialist rivals.

U.S. Gears Up for Trade War

Hours after the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was passed by the U.S. Congress on November 17 by an unexpectedly wide margin, President Clinton shuttled off to Seattle where he had convoked a meeting of the heads of government of the Pacific Rim countries. The purpose: to use his NAFTA "win" to extract trade concessions from the Asian leaders, to be used in turn as a battering ram against the Europeans. The aim of Clinton's pact with Canada and Mexico is to reinforce the American bourgeoisie's economic muscle against its imperialist trade rivals by creating a U.S.-dominated free trade zone—"free" for capitalist exploitation and immiseration of the workers. This is a step toward global trade war.

Washington's "New World Order" was supposed to be an era of renewed U.S. imperialist hegemony, heralded by the ruthless destruction of Iraq in the Gulf War. The terror bombing that slaughtered tens of thousands of Iraqis was as much intended as a warning to America's chief imperialist rivals, Japan and Germany. With the restoration of capitalism in East Europe and the former Soviet Union, the Cold War cement which held together the post-World War II imperialist alliance has come unstuck. And as in the periods leading up to World Wars I and II, trade wars for redivision of the world are ultimately decided by the imperialists in shooting wars—only this time they will be armed with nuclear weapons.

As they gear up for an era of heightened interimperialist competition, the capitalists on three continents are all seeking to squeeze enhanced profits out of the workers through speedup, wage-gouging and ruthless cuts in social services. But the working class has the power to turn the capitalists' trade war into a class war against all the exploiters. This was dramatically underscored last week by an upsurge of class struggle that ripped across Europe, where the bourgeoisie is on a rampage to dismantle the so-called "welfare state" and tear up hard-won union rights and working conditions.

• **Belgium:** A one-day general strike on November 26 completely shut down industry, transportation and even shops. Workers marched with red flags to protest a three-year freeze on real wages and massive cuts in social security decreed by the Christian Democrat/Socialist government. The international airport at Brussels was shut down by pickets who put up flaming barricades on the access roads. This is the first time since 1936 that the major unions in Belgium have called a general strike.

• **Spain:** On November 25, hundreds of thousands of workers demonstrated across Spain against "Socialist" prime minister Felipe González' proposed labor law "reform" which would make it easier to fire workers at a time when official unemployment is almost 23 percent. The workers' demonstrations, supported by students and community organizations, were called by the Socialist Party-led General Workers Union and the Workers Commissions as a dry run for a general strike.

• **France:** Coal miners of the Lorraine region in northeast France struck Wednesday against threatened layoffs, waging pitched battles with police. Armed with ax handles, the miners overran police lines (47 cops were injured), overturned police cars, burned buildings and smashed up a local office of the minister of industry. This explosion of working-class anger comes one month after a two-week strike by Air France ground crews, who battled cops on the airport runways, forcing the right-wing cabinet to scrap its job-cutting plan (see "French Government Reeling—Air France Strikers Ignite Class Struggle," *WV* No. 587, 5 November).

This powerful working-class upsurge, coming after mass marches by tens of thousands of coal miners in Germany's Ruhr region and militant factory occupations in southern Italy, took place simultaneously with big student strikes in France, Spain and Italy. At the same time, amid burgeoning unemployment and petty-bourgeois despair, fascist forces are escalating their racist terror attacks and gaining at the polls (notably in the recent Italian municipal elections). What is clearly posed is international working-class struggle against the capitalists' reactionary attacks. But reformist misleaders have sidetracked labor protests into the dead end of protectionism. The miners in Lorraine burned imported coal on the docks and railroad sidings. German miners—many of them Turkish immigrants—have repeatedly demonstrated against imported coal. This nationalist poison is a deadly obstacle to effective working-class struggle.

Similarly in the U.S., the AFL-CIO bureaucrats and their right-wing allies have pitched opposition to NAFTA in terms of protectionist tirades against Mexican workers "taking American

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Class Struggle Explodes in West Europe

Martinez/Reuters

Metz, France, November 24: Striking coal miners waged pitched battle with cops as wave of class struggle sweeps across Europe. A day later in Belgium, the first general strike in nearly 60 years shut the country down tight in protest against government wage freeze. On November 27, in Spain hundreds of thousands of workers marched threatening a general strike. Italy was hit by strikes of transport, auto and steel workers, while students took to the streets to demonstrate against education cuts. Student protests also swept France. The militant Air France strike two weeks earlier rattled French rulers and raised spectre of a new May 1968, when a general strike nearly toppled the regime and posed prospect of workers revolution. What's needed: revolutionary vanguard parties to lead workers to victory over capitalism.

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Fourth Reich Aids Turkey's Bloody War on the Kurds

Down with Germany's Ban on the Kurdish PKK!

The following article is adapted from Spartakist *(No. 108, November/December 1993), newspaper of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany.*

On November 26, the German government outlawed the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) and 35 other political, cultural and news organizations of the 450,000 Kurdish people living in Germany. The ban came as German cops staged more than a hundred raids on Kurdish clubs, businesses and homes, breaking into post office boxes and seizing bank accounts. Only a week before, the French government likewise launched an assault against Kurdish militants, rounding up 111 people "suspected" of belonging to the PKK. The Turkish government expressed "great satisfaction" with these raids. The Spartakist Workers Party of Germany and the Ligue Trotskyste de France issued urgent statements denouncing the anti-Kurdish repression. Hands off the PKK and other Kurdish organizations!

Christian Democrat (CDU) interior minister Manfred Kanther tried to justify this vile racist vendetta as a campaign to wipe out "foreign extremism" on German soil. In fact, it is part and parcel of the German bourgeoisie's unstinting support to its junior partners in Ankara.

Roland Roder

100,000 Kurds demonstrate in Bonn last May.

In recent months, the Turkish government has dramatically escalated its war against the Kurdish people, as 20 people a day are murdered. The Fourth Reich

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TROTSKY

Freedom for Class-War Prisoners!

LENIN

In fighting to mobilize the working class in defense of victimized black and labor militants, the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee look to the tradition of the International Labor Defense founded by James P. Cannon. In the face of revolutionary upheavals inspired by the 1917 Russian Revolution, the U.S. bourgeoisie escalated its persecution of working-class militants, notably through the notorious 1920 Palmer Raids. While the imperialists crow over the destruction of the Soviet Union, the class struggle continues, as does the capitalist rulers' vendetta against fighters for the working class and black emancipation. In a 1921 article commemorating May Day, reprinted in the Prometheus Research Library's James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism *(1992), then Communist Party and later Trotskyist leader Cannon honored the class-war prisoners of U.S. imperialism and called on the workers movement to fight for their freedom.*

There is a definite purpose behind this persistent and systematic railroading of working class agitators. The money-sharks who rule America thought they would be able to break up the movement by taking away the leaders and intimidating the rank and file. But the revolutionary movement grows up out of the life needs of the workers and there is no power that can break it. Persecution is but the fire in which it is tempered and hardened. When leaders go to prison others come forward out of the ranks and take their places. When fainthearted followers desert, new recruits, better suited for the stern requirements of the class war, are enlisted.

The men who have gone to prison for the workers' cause know this. That knowledge enables them to bear their confinement without complaint, oppressive as it is to men of independent spirit. They see the proletarian revolution still triumphant in Russia; they see it rising in all the countries of Europe where capitalism has played out its string and cannot reorganize production; they know that we, who are on the outside of the jails, have not forgotten them nor our sacred obligation to appeal to the all-powerful workers in their behalf.

The day is coming when the toiling masses of America will hear that appeal and act upon it. Then the prison doors will be opened and the prisoners set free, for the masses have an authority higher than that of any court. To redouble our efforts to hasten on the day of liberation is the pledge we make to our imprisoned comrades on this First of May.

—James P. Cannon, "The Political Prisoners" (May 1921)

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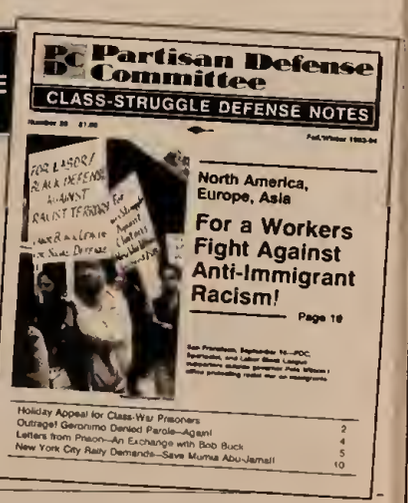

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- North America, Europe, Asia: For a Workers Fight Against Anti-Immigrant Racism!
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British Troops Out Now!

Northern Ireland "Peace" Plan Threatens Catholics

Not Orange Against Green, But Class Against Class!

Giles/AFP

British troops occupy Catholic neighborhood in Belfast, October 1993.

The following article is reprinted in slightly edited form from Workers Hammer *(No. 138, November/December 1993), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain.*

The last period has seen a chilling increase in the level of communal tension and communalist killings in Northern Ireland, in which it has been the oppressed Catholics who have taken the most casualties, while the population, both Catholic and Protestant, live in terror. Enraged by "peace" talks initiated by the "moderate" Catholic Social and Democratic Labour Party (SDLP) leader John Hume and Sinn Fein head Gerry Adams, the fascistic Protestant Loyalist/Unionist thugs intensified their campaign of wanton murders of Catholics. This generated widespread revulsion, and not only among Catholics. The mainly Protestant workers at Shorts aerospace factory in Belfast struck over the murder of a Catholic worker.

On Saturday, 23 October, the Irish Republican Army (IRA), associated with Sinn Fein, planted a bomb in a fish shop beneath the offices of the Loyalist paramilitary Ulster Defence Association (UDA) on a crowded street in the heart of the Protestant working-class district of Shankill, Belfast, killing nine Protestant shoppers and one of the IRA team planting the bomb. In the week that followed, Loyalist death squads implemented their grisly dictum "any Catholic will do." Two Catholic workers were killed and five others injured at a council sanitation depot in West Belfast. The next weekend six Catholics and one Protestant were gruesomely murdered in a machine-gun attack on a predominantly Catholic pub in Greysteel, County Derry.

Sections of the bourgeoisies in London and Dublin, together with their Labour and social-democratic lackeys, have seized upon the widespread fear, revulsion and despair over sectarian violence as an opportunity to foist an imperialist-imposed "peace" deal on Northern Ireland. Any imperialist "deal" will be bloody and brutal and will *necessarily be at the expense of the oppressed Catholic minority*. And it would not do any good for working-class Protestants either.

The bourgeois press, the Tory (Conservative) government of Prime Minister John Major and Labour politicians have whipped up a chauvinist frenzy against "terrorism," which for them applies always to the actions of the IRA, but never to the blood-soaked British Army, which has 20,000 troops there, or the viciously anti-Catholic sectarian Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC)/Royal Irish Regiment (RIR). In fact, in recent years there has been a buildup of military and police personnel. There is one army/RUC member for every 3.7 Catholic males between the ages of 16 and 44.

The words of one Belfast Catholic are apt: "We will not be lectured by the likes of John Major whose army has been responsible for the massacre of thousands of innocent people all around the world" (*Irish Times*, 25-26 October). Belfast Catholics got a bloody reminder of the British Army's role when 60 shots were fired from an army Land Rover at mourners outside the home of Thomas Begley, the IRA member killed in the Shankill bombing, wounding a prominent Sinn Fein supporter. Elements of the British security services are interpenetrated with the fascistic Loyalist paramilitaries. Brian Nelson, a British agent and the intelligence chief for a Loyalist gang, targeted Republicans for assassination and arranged substantial military shipments to the Loyalists from the South African apartheid regime. Beginning with the last Labour government in the late 1970s, the elite British Army SAS (Special Air Services) killer squads have been used to carry out assassinations of Republicans.

The essential assumption, explicit or implicit, in all the "peace" proposals being touted about is that the British Army, with its shoot-to-kill policy, will remain to police capitalist order, backed up by the bloodthirsty Loyalist thugs. The British imperialists played divide and rule in colonies like India and Palestine, and then on their way out sought to wreck these places by whipping up communalism. Today they adopt a racist and arrogant pretence that they are just trying to stop the tit-for-tat barbarities of the "uncivilised Irish" of all hues. All of SDLP chief John Hume's initiatives, including the talks and proposals with Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams, are based on the premise that British imperialism is somehow "neutral." All history and the graves of many Irish Catholics say otherwise.

The Sinn Fein leaders are hell-bent on pressuring the imperialists, and thus refuse to call for army withdrawal, waffling on about total "demilitarisation" of the situation—as if the armed forces of the capitalist state are about to disarm themselves. The only people slated to be demilitarised are the IRA, and in this process the Catholics are to be totally subjugated. Lenin stressed that the proletariat of the oppressor countries had a special duty to combat in words and deeds the chauvinism of its own rulers. Today British revolutionaries have particular responsibility to lead the English, Welsh and Scottish working class to struggle for the immediate withdrawal of the British troops and the blacking [refusing to handle] of all military goods

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Reuters

McCullough/PA

IRA bombing of fish shop in Protestant Shankill was a crime which can only breed communal warfare (left). Sinn Fein head Gerry Adams carries coffin of IRA bomber who died.

The Honecker Show Trial and the Berlin Wall

Part One of this article, dealing with the show trials of former East German officials by the courts of the vindictive German bourgeoisie, was published in WV *No. 568 (29 January)*

November 9 is a fateful day in Germany. On that day in 1918, the Hohenzollern monarchy fell and

PART TWO OF TWO

the republic was born, a tottering bourgeois republic, initially presided over by the Social Democrats, which was able to establish itself only by the bloody suppression of workers revolution and was subsequently swept away by the victory of Hitler fascism in 1933. Again, on November 9 in 1938, mobs of Nazi stormtroopers staged anti-Jewish pogroms throughout the Reich (empire), burning synagogues and smashing store windows in what became known as "Kristallnacht," the night of shattered glass, that foreshadowed the genocidal Holocaust. On the same day in 1989, the Berlin Wall was opened after mass demonstrations had brought down the Stalinist government of the German Democratic Republic (DDR), the East German bureaucratically deformed workers state, led by Erich Honecker.

From then it was only four months until the decisive elections of 18 March 1990 and the victory of the forces pushing for a rapid *Anschluss* (annexation) of the DDR by the imperialist federal republic (West Germany). But far from the "blooming landscape" promised by Bonn chancellor Helmut Kohl, the capitalist reunification of Germany has produced a devastated wasteland in the East. The gains of the workers state have been steamrollered; women have been fired wholesale, foreign workers expelled, factories torn down so that today only one job in four remains in what used to be the tenth-largest industrial power in the world. In part to divert discontent among the east (and west) German population, the rulers of the triumphant Fourth Reich of German imperialism staged a monstrous show trial, placing former DDR chief Honecker and his principal aides in the defendants' box. The charge: ordering border guards to shoot those trying to cross the Wall.

In this blatant case of "victor's justice," it was the DDR itself that was put on "trial."

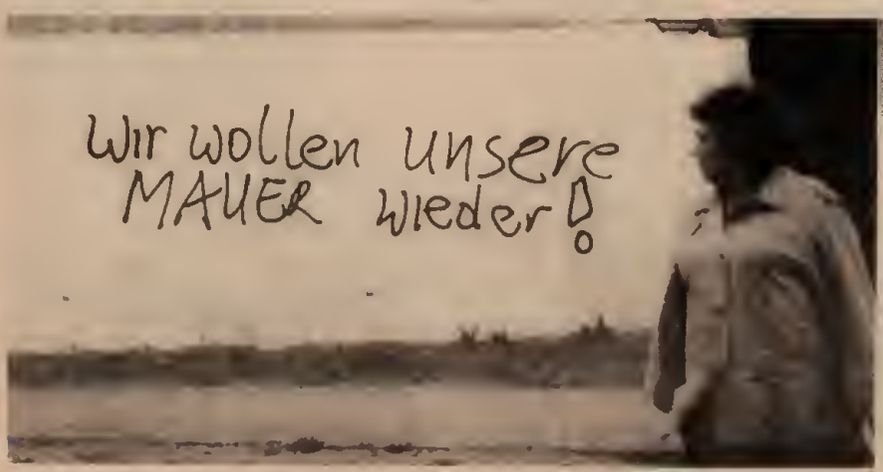
Junge/ADN-ZB

13 August 1961: Thousands of factory militiamen of the *Betriebskampfgruppen* were mobilized to defend construction of the Berlin Wall.

Defending the DDR Was No Crime, Selling It Out Was

The proceedings turned into a "judicial farce," as *Der Spiegel* termed it. Sick old men were dragged before the court in a grotesque public torture, and then one by one were removed from the trial as they were physically unable to continue. To cut short the embarrassment, on January 12 a Berlin constitutional court ordered charges dropped against the cancer-stricken Honecker, who then went to Chile. But with the klieg lights of international publicity turned aside, the Honecker trial continued without Honecker. Former DDR defense minister and member of the political bureau of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) Heinz Kessler, his deputy and secretary of the National Defense Council Fritz Streletz, and former SED district leader Hans Albrecht were accused of "manslaughter." The defendants pointed out that this was a militarized border, where mines and armed patrols are normal. But after ten months of hearings, in September the three were duly convicted, even though the judge remarked "they shot at no one" and "they didn't want any dead."

The border between East and West Germany was the front line of the Cold War. "The Wall" stood as a barrier to the attempts by imperialism to "roll back" the Soviet bloc, or failing that, to undermine the DDR deformed workers state by draining its skilled labor and hemorrhaging its economy. *That is why the capitalists hated the Berlin Wall and why we Trotskyists defended this bureaucratic measure in defense of the DDR economy.* The International Communist League and our German section, the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD), fought tooth and nail against capitalist reunification. And we have subsequently denounced the anti-Communist witchhunt trials, demanding freedom for Honecker, Kessler and the other leading DDR state officials, as well as for individual Volksarmee (Peoples Army) border guards.



Klostermann/AP

"We Want Our Wall Back" reads graffiti in east German town of Freienwalde after experiencing bitter realities of capitalist reunification.

The centerpiece of the West German campaign to criminalize the East German workers state has been to portray the DDR as simply a police state, the "*Stasi-Staat*." So naturally they went after the head of the "Stasi," former minister of state security Erich Mielke. But to charge him with police spying on the population, which was so extensive that it became a burden on the East German economy, would raise questions about the West German secret police (the euphemistically named "Office for the Protection of the Constitution") which *admits* to having computer files on over 600,000 West Germans. Instead they tried Mielke for supposed involvement in the 1931 killing of two cops in front of the Communist Party headquarters. These charges were first raised by a *Nazi court* in 1934, on the basis of "evidence" extracted under torture by the Gestapo! Holding the indictment of the blood-soaked fascist judges to be "credible," the Berlin court on October 26 found Mielke guilty of murder, and sentenced the ailing 85-year-old to six years in prison!

As we have said before, Honecker and Mielke were tried by the wrong class for the wrong crimes. For their Stalinist repression of the working class and undermining of the DDR, the revolutionary proletariat in power would call them to account. Instead, they have been persecuted by a revenge-hungry bourgeoisie, which seeks to make an example of them to intimidate a conquered population and criminalize the very idea of socialism.

Another prime target of this "revenge justice" has been the former head of the DDR's renowned intelligence service, Markus Wolf. Accused of high treason, Wolf asked in his opening statement to the court last May, "What country am I supposed to have betrayed?" As the SpAD's newspaper *Spartakist* (No. 103, May 1993) noted, "this can only mean 'betrayal' of the Third Reich, which was smashed by the victory of the Red Army over German fascism. It was out of this victory that the DDR deformed workers state was built. Not only did the (West) German Federal Republic designate itself the legal successor state to the Third Reich, but it took over Hitler's entire 'Foreign Armies East' spy apparatus, the Gehlen organization, which became the core of the later BND [West German intelligence]." Denouncing his seven-month treason trial as a political farce and a show trial, in which a guilty verdict was foreordained, Wolf declared with dignity in his closing statement:

> "Apparently no one who once believed in the possibility of another Germany with more social justice, a Germany without arrogance or nationalistic taint or the almighty dollar, is allowed to walk around any more with his head held high."
>
> —*New York Times*, 25 November

On December 6, the court in Dusseldorf will pronounce sentence on Wolf. In a press release on November 27, the SpAD declared: "Markus Wolf did his best to defend the DDR—now we must defend him."

DDR Nostalgia and the Wall

With the "other Germany" dead and gone, the one that remains is showing signs of social disintegration. The capitalist economic crisis has led to a net

cutting of *three-quarters of a million jobs* in 1993 alone. While tens of thousands of coal miners and steel workers march in the Ruhr, the social-democratic union leaders guarantee that "things don't get out of hand." Mass unemployment already numbers over six million, the highest level reached in the Weimar Republic before the Nazi takeover, and nationalist sentiment over loss of "German jobs" is fueling the xenophobic attacks on immigrants by fascists. The number of Jewish cemeteries defaced last year alone (80) equaled the total number attacked between 1926 and 1931. The ugly face of the Fourth Reich is that of Nazi racists who launched murderous firebomb attacks from Hoyerswerda and Rostock in the east to Mölln and Solingen in the west.

As economic conditions deteriorate and think tank experts warn of impending social unrest, one effect of the pervasive malaise has been a growing dissatisfaction with reunification. In the west, right-wingers blame "Ossis" for undermining prosperity: a supporter of the fascist Republikaner in Bavaria grumbles, "Plenty of people, myself included, think they should put the wall back up and make it four meters higher" (*Wall Street Journal Europe*, 29 October). In the east there is widespread resentment against "*Besserwessis*" (western know-it-alls), while graffiti proclaim "We want our wall back." On the third anniversary of formal reunification on October 3, Kohl held a ceremony in Saarbrücken, about as far west as you can get in Germany, while several thousand pro-DDR demonstrators marched in Berlin.

There is now a wave of nostalgia for the DDR, dubbed "*Ostalgie*," including TV spots for the East German Club-Cola showing Erich Honecker doing calisthenics. A Dresden disco attracts big crowds with no cover charge for anyone wearing the blue shirt of the SED's youth group FDJ (Free German Youth); hundreds weep as the DDR flag unfurls to chants of "Peace! Freedom! Solidarity!" and "DDR, my fatherland!" (London *Guardian*, 9 November). Interestingly, this yearning for the good old days under "Honi" has sparked complaints by former leaders of the East German "citizens movement" which arose in the fall of 1989. Filmmaker Konrad Weiss, now a well-paid Bundestag deputy for Alliance '90, lamented that "our peaceful revolution failed" and denounced this "strange DDR nostalgia" as "downright perverse." The former dissident author Christa Wolf, just returned from Santa Monica, California, also rejected DDR nostalgia:

> "No one can make me think in retrospect that everything about it was wonderful, but at the same time I can't find everything so wonderful now either, when everything is being closed down and done away with."
>
> —*The Week in Germany*
> (1 October)

We Trotskyists, who consistently defended the DDR against counterrevolution, also do not idealize the Stalinist-ruled deformed workers state. Following the fall of the Honecker government and the opening of the Berlin Wall, we intervened to the limit of our forces in the DDR, calling "For Political Revolution in East Germany!" and declaring "Workers Soviets Must Rule in All Germany!" But the incipient political revolution in the DDR was overwhelmed by German imperialism's drive for *Anschluss*. In the March 1990 Volkskammer (DDR parliament) elections, the SPAD ran under the central slogan "No to Capitalist Reunification!" In contrast, Alliance '90, many of whose leaders had signed the November 1989 manifesto "For Our Country" which called for a "socialist alternative" to West Germany, went along with the reunification drive. And subsequently, while the Spartakists called for "Fourth Reich Hands Off Honecker!" and freedom for Kessler, Mielke and Markus Wolf, the "citizens rights" advocates have been the biggest pushers (along with the rabidly anti-Communist SPD "justice" minister of Berlin) of the anti-red witchhunt. Some "democracy"!

Wallis/Sipa

10 November 1989: Crowds at the Brandenburg Gate as the Berlin Wall was opened amid mass upsurge in the DDR.

In the conflicted attitudes of the "citizens rights movement" toward the DDR one can see the failure of the "classless" perspective of these petty-bourgeois democrats as opposed to the Marxists' proletarian-revolutionary program. Nowhere is this clearer than in their attitude toward "The Wall." Thus in November 1989, following the million-strong demonstration in East Berlin's Alexanderplatz and the opening of the Berlin Wall, after reiterating that the Wall was erected as a barrier to capitalist reunification of Germany, we wrote:

> "But what brought the Wall down in the end was not imperialist revanchism, but social struggle by the East German masses. Today, free passage across the Wall can also serve as a springboard for revolutionary unity and common struggle by the working classes of the capitalist West and the East German deformed workers state."
>
> —*WV* No. 490
> (24 November 1989)

Leaders of the "citizens movement," such as Sebastian Pflugbeil of Neues Forum, however, *lamented* the opening of the Wall, saying that this was "nothing but the corruption of the people," and that "the small amount of national identity that developed over the last two months will be drowned in West Berlin chocolate" (*New York Times*, 13 November 1989). New Left groupings similarly complained that the DDR population had been bought off by bananas.

We warned at the time that the economic consequences of the breaching of the Wall posed a challenge to the existence of the DDR, but did not necessarily spell the doom of the workers state. While open to individual travel, it could remain as an instrument of exchange control, if combined with a convertible DDR currency to act as a buffer to the world market. But even under the SED reformers, the Stalinist regime could not carry out such a program. The necessary economic defense measures—currency reform, exchange controls, rationalizing subsidies—were only possible with the political loyalty of the citizens, which "requires the establishment of a revolutionary workers soviet government" and "socialist international economic planning to replace nationalist bureaucratic commandism" ("For a Red Germany in a Socialist Europe!" *WV* No. 491, 8 December 1989).

The Spartacists defended the Wall as an economic measure. For all their complaints about Ulbricht and Honecker treating the population like children, the "citizens rights" movement joined the Stalinists in seeing the Wall as a means of preventing the "corruption of the people."

The Berlin Wall and "Peaceful Coexistence"

In his speech to the Berlin court last December, Honecker noted: "How and why it came to the building of the Wall does not interest the state attorney.... Erich Honecker built the Wall and upheld it. Basta.... The Communist is branded a criminal and found guilty for that."

For the official spokesmen of the Fourth Reich, only a socialist "state of illegality" could ever restrict emigration by its citizens. They might have considered West Germany's own history. When the federal republic was being formed, at a time of mass unemployment and hunger, there was a debate in the Parliamentary Council of the western occupation zones in September 1948 on the demand for a basic right to emigration. This was *rejected*. One of the delegates, Carlo Schmid, warned of the danger of a mass exodus: "Germany today shares a common destiny, from which there may be no flight" (quoted in Peter Glotz, "We Accomplices" in *Kursbuch III: In Sachen Erich Honecker* [1993]). He urged the seizure of the belongings of those who left. *Republikflucht* (flight from the republic) wasn't just a crime in Germany East, it turns out.

West Germany's rulers never accepted that one-third of the reduced Reich had been wrenched from capitalist domination by the victory of the Soviet Red Army. For years, West German authorities denied the very existence of the DDR, threatening to cut off relations to any country that recognized the East Berlin government (the "Hallstein Doctrine"), even referring to it exclusively as the "SBZ" (for "Soviet Occupation Zone"). After the erection of the Berlin Wall in August 1961, anti-Communists seized upon this as the symbol to discredit the DDR, calling it the "*Mauerstaat*" (walled state). By invoking the image of a gigantic concentration camp, they equated Stalinism with fascism along the lines of the Cold Warrior "totalitarianism" thesis, beloved of pseudo-liberals like Hannah Arendt and Nazi apologists like Professor Ernst Nolte, who gained notoriety in the late-1980s "Historians Debate" for insisting that Stalin was worse than, and responsible for, Hitler.

Behind this terminology and imagery stood the determination of German imperialism and its parties (Christian Democratic, Free Democratic, Social Democratic alike) to reconquer the DDR for capitalism. Against this counterrevolutionary drive, the Stalinists answered with the pipe dream of "peaceful coexistence" of the two contradictory social systems. In his speech to the court, Honecker argued that the "situation of tension in Germany...threatened world peace. Humanity stood on the brink of an atomic war." If the Wall had not been built "it would have resulted in the deaths of thousands or millions." In an extended "cross-examination" of Honecker by two east German authors, Reinhold Ander and Wolfgang Herzberg, *Der Sturz* (Aufbau-Verlag, 1991), the DDR leader said of building the Wall that "we later heard that even [then West German chancellor] Adenauer as well as the American president" were "relieved that we solved the problem in this way on the night of 13 August 1961, thus contributing to securing peace."

There was certainly plenty of tension in Germany threatening world peace. Pursuing a "policy of strength," Adenauer's government in Bonn was massively rearming, building up a Bundeswehr that was several times the size of the DDR's Volksarmee as right-wing war minister Franz Josef Strauss was noisily demanding tactical nuclear weapons. And while Washington was not trumpeting the "rollback" rhetoric of Eisenhower's secretary of state John Foster Dulles, the Kennedy administration, after its debacle at Cuba's Bay of Pigs, was trying to look tough to the Soviets. At the June 1961 Vienna summit, Kennedy refused Soviet leader Khrushchev's call for a peace treaty on Germany, saying this was impossible until there was a single German government. A National Security Council memo declared that the reason the U.S. and its allies had "refused to recognize the so-called 'German Democratic Republic' is that there is in actuality no such

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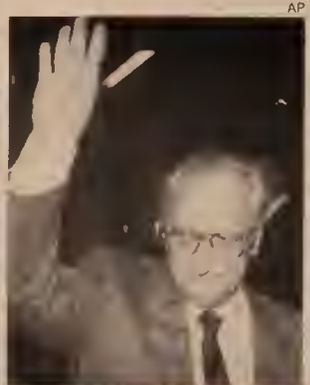
Der Spiegel

AP



Andreas Schoelzel

From left: Markus Wolf, Heinz Kessler and Erich Mielke. Leading DDR officials put on trial by vengeful Fourth Reich rulers.

Honecker...

(continued from page 5)

country" (quoted in Norman Gelb, *The Berlin Wall: Kennedy, Khrushchev, and a Showdown in the Heart of Europe* [Times Books, 1986]).

Dulles was gone, but the Cold War was blowing hot and Dulles-style nuclear "brinkmanship" was still Washington's approach to Moscow. In a saber-rattling TV speech in late July, Kennedy whipped up a crisis atmosphere, announcing a multibillion dollar increase in Pentagon funding, sharply increased draft calls and reactivation of reserve and National Guard units. In the event of a new blockade of Berlin, U.S. plans included not just an airlift but sending military units up the Autobahns—i.e., invading East Germany. U.S. war secretary Robert McNamara publicly declared, "We will use nuclear weapons whenever we feel it's necessary to protect our vital interests." And JFK worried to aides about command procedures: "If we're going to have to start a nuclear war, we'll have to fix things so it will be started by the President of the United States" rather than "a trigger-happy sergeant on a truck convoy at a checkpoint in East Germany" (quoted in Peter Wyden, *Wall: The Inside Story of Divided Berlin* [Simon and Schuster, 1989]).

More effective than the imperialists' military threats was West German economic warfare. In September 1960, Bonn unilaterally canceled its trade agreement with East Germany, underscoring that the DDR had become dependent on the West for various raw materials, as well as intermediate goods including rolled steel. And as the Berlin crisis escalated, so did the numbers of East Germans crossing to West Berlin. Western propaganda blamed this flow across the unsecured border on the "hardline" policies of the DDR regime headed by Walter Ulbricht, in particular the collectivization of agriculture. But the late 1950s were a period of rapid economic improvement in East Germany, including the elimination of rationing of meat, sugar and fat. And collectivization was carried out in early 1960, when the number of border crossers was lower. What happened in the summer of 1961 was *Torschlusspanik* (panic over the door slamming shut) as the "tough" talk from the West convinced many that it was now or never. Moreover, even the leading West German historian of the DDR admits that the "West German mass media with sensational headlines about numbers of refugees" helped "swell the stream of refugees into a flood" (Hermann Weber, *Geschichte der DDR* [DTV, 1985]).

East Germany's Stalinist rulers could not deal frankly with this phenomenon. DDR propaganda spoke of "headhunters" and "smuggling of human beings," and they even caught some people recruiting skilled workers in the Elektrokohle Lichtenberg plant in East Berlin. But mass flight of such proportions, totaling almost 2.7 million people (out of a population of 17 million) from 1949 until the border was closed in August 1961, cannot be explained by the actions of Western agents alone. This exodus was clearly the effect of the West German federal republic's lead (estimated at roughly 25 percent) in production of consumer goods.

Cold War face-off at Checkpoint Charlie in August 1961.

Ulbricht declared at the Fifth SED Party Congress in 1958 that the "main economic task" for the DDR was to "reach and surpass" West Germany in "the per capita consumption by the working population in all important foods and consumer goods." But by 1961 it was clear that this utopian program (linked to Khrushchev's talk of surpassing the USA by 1965) was not working, and despite substantial DDR growth the economic gap with the West was expanding. Internally, the top level of the bureaucracy had a pretty accurate picture of the situation. In recently released correspondence with Khrushchev during 1960 (*Utopie kreativ*, May-June 1993), the DDR leader admitted that "fulfilling the main economic task by the end of 1961 is proving more difficult than anticipated," and later, "In the economic competition between the DDR and West Germany, West Germany expanded its lead in 1960." But they couldn't admit as much publicly because they couldn't explain it: it didn't square with the Stalinist program of "constructing socialism in one country."

A July 1960 Ulbricht letter to Khrushchev stated plaintively:

> "But West Germany is proving itself economically strong. Ultimately we cannot choose whom we would like to test our strength with in competition. We are simply forced to stand against West Germany. Of course, the economic strength of the DDR alone is insufficient for this.... Put plainly, without the closest ties with the powerful economy of the USSR, our economy cannot develop overall."

Empirically, this was a frank admission of the impossibility of building "socialism" in half a country, particularly the weaker half (or third) of a country facing the most robust capitalist economy in the world. And despite early successes of the planned economy, even the Soviet bloc of countries could not withstand the onslaught of the much more powerful capitalist world market (combined with the relentless imperialist military pressure). The workers states could seek to hold out against imperialism, but they could only build socialism by spreading revolution to the advanced capitalist countries. This was the watchword of the Soviet republic under Lenin and Trotsky and of the early Communist International. But the program of world socialist revolution was *reviled* by the conservative, nationalist bureaucracy—whose spokesman Stalin became—which sought a live-and-let-live "coexistence" with imperialism.

What the Wall Did: Temporary Stabilization of the DDR

Well, it takes two to tango. The imperialists would coexist "peacefully" with the Stalinist regimes (alternating between Cold War hostility and "détente," combined with a string of proxy wars in the Third World) only so long as they couldn't destroy these workers states, however bureaucratically degenerated and deformed. The building of the Berlin Wall was a defeat for the Kremlin's attempts to negotiate recognition of the status quo in Europe with the Western imperialists. The DDR was hemorrhaging badly, losing professionals (particularly doctors) to the West along with young skilled workers enticed by the image of prosperity they saw on Western TV. Key plants were in danger of production stoppages, food shortages were growing.

Faced with this emergency, at least the Stalinists were still able to act with determination. A meeting of the top representatives of the Warsaw Pact states was held in Moscow from 3 to 5 August 1961, and called for the DDR to secure its borders with West Germany. Marshal Koniev (who together with Zhukov took Berlin in 1945) was named commander of Soviet forces in the DDR to oversee the operation. Ulbricht's ambitious young protégé Honecker, who was secretary for security affairs of the SED central committee, formed a staff to carry out the operation which had been prepared since the spring. There were no leaks; they caught the NATO imperialists napping, and in the early morning hours of August 13 the border was closed, first with barbed wire and later with the concrete wall. This is the "crime" for which the German bourgeoisie tried Erich Honecker.

American and Soviet tanks faced off at Checkpoint Charlie, but did not move. The German chancellor said little and stayed in Bonn. Does that mean that Kennedy and Adenauer were "relieved," as Honecker claims? Hardly. In Washington, Pentagon planners under Paul Nitze staged two "crisis simulation" war games, with players including McGeorge Bundy and Henry Kissinger. The games showed, according to another player, Daniel Ellsberg, "how quickly you were confronted with the choice of using nuclear weapons or giving up." Kennedy adviser Arthur Schlesinger Jr. wrote that "Everyone agreed that we might eventually have to go on to nuclear war." Eventually? Journalist Paul Wyden in his book *Wall* debunks later claims by McNamara that use of nuclear weapons over Berlin was ruled out, reporting that "the sneak-attack 'first strike' scenario... had resurfaced, this time fleshed out by military planners down to the altitudes and flight tactics of the attacking American bombers." It was deemed feasible, but the likely U.S. casualties (3-15 million dead from a Soviet second strike) were considered too high.

West Germany's "policy of strength" had failed. Khrushchev called Kennedy's bluff. So instead the imperialist propaganda machine went into high gear, with the usual "Iron Curtain" rhetoric about a totalitarian regime in East Germany. But photographs show East Berlin families standing around watching the NVA troops putting up the barriers around the Brandenburg Gate rather than desperately "fleeing to freedom." Moreover, since the 10,000 Volksarmee regular troops stationed in the Berlin area were insufficient for the operation, they were supplemented by 12,000 factory militiamen of the *Betriebskampfgruppen* (plant fighting groups) in Berlin, and thousands more were called up from Saxony. The reality was that everyone could see that the existence of the DDR was at stake, and those who defended it supported the building of the Wall. This included many pro-socialist intellectuals. In response to an open letter by West German SPD writer Günter Grass, declaring that in the face of the Wall "whoever is silent is guilty," DDR writer Stephan Hermlin wrote:

> "I did not send a telegram of thanks to my government on August 13, and I also wouldn't define my inner feelings as 'joyful agreement,' as many are wont to do ... But I give my unlimited earnest support to the measures of the German Democratic Republic ...to brake the most dangerous state in the world, the federal republic, on its aggressive road."
>
> from Hans Werner Richter, *Die Mauer, oder Der 13 August* (Rowohlt, 1961)

The construction of the Wall did allow the DDR regime to stabilize economically. A "New Economic System of Planning and Management" (NÖS) was introduced in 1963, giving state-owned plants more autonomy. In the following years, there was a sharp increase in production of consumer goods. While the goals of the seven-year plan ending in 1965 were not met in many areas, the number of autos and TVs tripled, the number of washing machines increased five times and the number of refrigerators six times. Larger numbers of women were

Berlin, 4 November 1989: During incipient proletarian political revolution, protesters marched with banner demanding "For Communist Ideals—No Privileges." German Spartakists intervened with daily press against West German imperialist drive for capitalist counterrevolution.

drawn into the workforce, higher education and the technical intelligentsia (but not into the SED leadership) by providing essential services such as day care, laundries and birth control, as well as housing allotments for single mothers. When the decentralized economic system produced imbalances and bottlenecks—e.g., manufacturing output increased twice as fast as electrical power generation, leading to power cuts—in 1970 the NÖS was scrapped and the economy recentralized.

After Honecker staged a palace coup with the support of Brezhnev in 1970 to oust the aging Ulbricht, he put a particular emphasis on continually increasing consumer goods production, which was largely achieved. Trying to compete with the West in terms of "consumerism" rather than communism, the DDR produced millions of pairs of jeans a year, and when fashions changed, stonewashed jeans. There were still plenty of examples of horrendous top-heavy mismanagement. In the interview in *Der Sturz*, Honecker relates a case that was decided by the Politburo: "For example, for a long time there were no women's panties to be bought, not in Berlin, not in the whole republic. I heard that and brought it up in the Politburo. Inge Lange said: 'Well, don't you know that the Women's League is now giving out patterns for sewing panties'." Honecker remarks it was "a scandal" that "a country with a big textile industry and enormous exports cannot produce enough women's panties."

Percentage of Families Owning

	1955	1966	1970	1975	1985
Television	1	54	69	82	93
Washing Machine	0.5	32	53	73	92
Refrigerator	0.4	31	56	86	99
Automobile	0.2	9	15	26	46

Source: Hermann Weber, *Die DDR, 1945-1986* (Oldenbourg, 1988)

Even aside from such bureaucratic absurdities, this did not produce all-round satisfaction. In the first place, as Trotsky had predicted in the 1930s, with the development of the economy the heavy hand of the bureaucracy increasingly held back improvements in quality. The most notorious example was the Trabant auto with its noisy, smoky two-stroke engine and fiberglass body which provided a bone-jarring ride. In the mid-'60s, Ulbricht actually *decided against* producing a decent family car on the order of the VW Golf sedan (at a time when VW was still producing the Beetle) because it would cost too much and would tend to "privatize" the population. The logic: the bureaucracy knows best what the people need.

This same principle was behind pricing policies which bore no relation whatever to production costs: to increase the birth rate, everything from baby carriages to children's clothing was heavily subsidized. Dn the other hand, some shortages were caused by the DDR tops' desperate efforts to obtain hard currency from export of consumer goods. Thus the top-of-the-line East German camera model was extremely expensive and hard to get in the DDR because it was produced almost exclusively for export to the West. The bureaucracy's arrogant *Bevormundung* (treating the people like children) infuriated the DDR population and estranged them from "those on top."

But above all, as Ulbricht noted, the DDR didn't get to choose who it competed against: the comparison was always to rich West Germany. And here one comes back to the fundamental impossibility of the Stalinist pipe dream of "socialism in one country," even in a relatively advanced state like the DDR. For even more threatening in the long run than the danger of military intervention is the inexorable power of cheap (and high-quality) commodities.

Lenin repeatedly insisted that "In the last analysis, productivity of labour is the most important, the principal thing for the victory of the new social system" ("A Great Beginning," July 1919). The fundamental material basis of socialism is a level of abundance high enough to make possible a classless society. Karl Marx underlined in *The German Ideology* (1845-46) that "the development of the productive forces...is absolutely necessary as a practical premise" of communism, because, first, "without it only *want* is made general, and with want the struggle for necessities and all the old crap would necessarily be reproduced." And secondly, "because only with this universal development of productive forces is a *universal* intercourse between men established." "Without this," he emphasized, "communism could only exist as a local event," and "each extension of intercourse would abolish local communism."

Here is the key to why the relative stabilization brought about by the Berlin Wall could not ultimately save the DDR. Even though Ulbricht and Honecker managed to supply the population with television sets, refrigerators, washing machines and (to a lesser extent) cars, West German capital, because of its higher level of labor productivity, could supply cheaper and better color TVs, faster and more comfortable automobiles, as well as new products like VCRs and food processors. Again Marx foresaw these developments, writing that "if in England a machine is invented" such as a mechanical loom, this will in far-off India and China "overturn the whole form of existence of these empires." Even the East German fascination with bananas as a contributing factor to counterrevolution was prefigured by Marx when he wrote, "take the case of sugar and coffee which have proved their world-historical importance in the nineteenth century by the fact that the lack of these products, occasioned by the Napoleonic Continental system, caused the Germans to rise against Napoleon...."

International Revolution Is Key

In his critique of the Stalin/Bukharin draft program of the Comintern, *The Third International After Lenin* (1929), Leon Trotsky wrote:

> "The new doctrine proclaims that socialism can be built on the basis of a national state *if only there is no intervention.* From this there can and must follow...a collaborationist policy towards the foreign bourgeoisie with the object of averting intervention.... The task of the parties in the Comintern assumes, therefore, an auxiliary character; their mission is to protect the U.S.S.R. from intervention and not to fight for the conquest of power."

Thus the anti-Leninist, anti-Marxist nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" at home was eventually codified in the class-collaborationist policy of the "popular front" abroad, in which the call for allying with sections of the bourgeoisie was the excuse for heading off proletarian revolution, for example in Spain during the 1936-39 Civil War. The Western Communist parties were to be nothing but "horder guards" for the Stalinist-ruled Soviet Union.

And what better border guard than a wall? To Ulbricht/Honecker et al., the Berlin Wall was the ultimate expression of the Stalinist false consciousness that they could build "socialism" in *their* country if only they could avoid Western military intervention. It went hand in hand with the development of a hypertrophied internal secret police, which went beyond the necessary combating of imperialist espionage and counterrevolutionary subversion to become generalized snooping and intellectual suppression. Many DDR reformers hoped that the relative economic protection and stabilization which the Wall afforded in the early years would lead to a progressive liberalization of the regime. But the bureaucracy was viscerally hostile to workers democracy, which would have threatened its privileged position. It saw in the Wall a guarantee of its immortality. In 1986, DDR officialdom turned out with much pomp and circumstance to celebrate "25 Years of the Anti-Fascist Dike"(!), and early in 1989 Honecker predicted that the Wall would last another *hundred years!* But the "dike" sprung a leak.

The Stalinist repressive content of the DDR's policies can be seen even in their success stories. Thus Honecker undertook a massive program of housing construction. From 1970 on, more than 3.2 million apartments were built, so that more than half of the DDR population lived in new accommodations. This was more than double the per capita rate of any other deformed workers state, and even higher than in West Germany. A decision was made not to throw scarce resources into renovating the central areas of East German cities. While bourgeois critics call the new apartment blocks which were built "barracks" and "silos," they are generally comfortable and in some cases attractive. Such a vast effort was made possible by the perfection of industrial prefab construction techniques. Moreover, it was accomplished by appealing to socialist consciousness: the vast East Berlin *Plattenbau* (slab construction) districts of Hohenschönhausen, Marzahn and Hellersdorf were built by mobilizing FDJ youth. There are notorious problems of quality, captured by the ironic name of an East Berlin rock band, "Einstürzende Neubauten" (Collapsing New Buildings).

But the most notable deficiency is that these huge areas were built *without any commercial or social centers*, because the Honecker regime feared any uncontrolled gathering of large numbers of its population. In order to organize the burgeoning suburban population under the domination of the dollar, American-style capitalism developed the mall, which has subsequently become a social gathering spot. But DDR Stalinism, contrary to its communist claims, deliberately sought to *privatize* the population by sending them home after work. (Dn the other hand, factories had extensive social and cultural facilities—including day-care centers, libraries, athletic clubs—which are inconceivable in a capitalist enterprise.) The lack of social facilities in residential areas, along with the shutdown of all the FDJ youth clubs in the East after reunification, has played a role in the rise of Nazi gangs among the youth.

A similar overriding concern for social control was shown in the extremely limited development of the telephone network: only about a fifth of the population had phones, and at most 10 percent of the workers. Honecker and Mielke didn't want the workers communicating with each other, and wanted to keep down the cost of bugging the phone lines.

Perhaps the most famous example uf failed Stalinist repression concerns West German TV. For a long time, the DDR tried to prevent the population from listening to Western stations. They devised a special antenna which couldn't receive signals from the West. When Honecker was head of the FDJ, the youth group carried out "*Operation Ochsenohr*" (Rabbit Ears), climbing up on top of apartment buildings throughout the republic to take down the antennas that were pointing West. In Halle at one point confiscated TV sets with their antennas broken were piled up in the market square as a lesson to the population. In the third grade, schoolchildren were made to sign statements that they would not watch Western TV. But then they went home to watch Big Bird on Sesame Street. What Ulbricht/Honecker & Co. accomplished was to turn nine-year-olds into conscious lawbreakers!

Finally, they gave up trying to block Western TV, and so the whole of the DDR could watch it at will. Except for the area around Dresden, which is located in a depression that became popularly known as the "*Tal der Ahnungslosen*" (the Valley of Those Who Don't Have a Clue). So in order to gain popularity, during the last years of the DDR, the local SED and city officials (Modrow and Berghofer) set up a cable system so the Dresden population could watch Western television. Rather than relying on impotent measures of information control, a genuinely communist regime would promote openness of the media, with honest news, frank discussions of problems at home, creative cultural development and aggressive and believable reports on the reality of life under capitalism. The ironic part of it is that West German TV is almost as boring as was the DDR's, suffused with boring talk shows and run by Lutheran pastors and Social/Christian/Free Democratic politicians determined to provide the population with what they determine is good for it.

Der Spiegel

Erich Honecker commemorates anniversary of Berlin Wall, August 1986. Sign reads, "25 Years of the Anti-Fascist Dike."

The revolutionary answer to the very real Western ideological subversion wasn't to turn the antennas the other way but to aim the broadcasts to the West to undermine the capitalist federal republic. But that is something that the Stalinists were incapable of doing, for it ran headlong into their restriction of information at home and their policies of "peaceful coexistence" abroad.

The imperialists certainly never accepted coexistence with the workers states. With their military and direct economic subversion checkmated by the Berlin Wall, they adopted other methods. In an October 1962 lecture at Harvard University, SPD leader Willy Brandt declared that "we must live with the

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Young Spartacus

No to National Guard in Black D.C.!

UPI

12,000 National Guard and Army troops occupied Washington, D.C. as city exploded following assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968.

Washington, D.C. mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly is pushing for a massive escalation of police terror against the population of this majority black city. In October, she asked President Clinton to deploy 3,000 National Guardsmen on the streets, especially in the overwhelmingly black and poor Northeast and Anacostia neighborhoods. Clinton passed the buck to Congress. Whether the Guard is unleashed on D.C. or not, Kelly has gotten promises from Attorney General Janet Reno, Secretary of Defense Les Aspin and drug czar Lee Brown to help occupy black neighborhoods with more feds and cops from a whole panoply of police agencies—including the Secret Service, FBI, the BATF of Waco infamy, the Drug Enforcement Agency, U.S. Park Police, U.S. Marshals and the U.S. Capitol Police.

Washington, D.C. has more cops per capita than most major cities in America, a statement about the force and violence the ruling class feels is necessary to lord it over a population that is trapped in poverty and stripped even of the elementary right to vote. The federal government is the de facto colonial master of this vast plantation—the district can't even schedule garbage pick-ups without Congressional approval! A proposal for D.C. statehood was trounced in the House on November 21 amid racist appeals for "law and order" in black D.C. One Texas Congressman raved that the district "is a liberal bastion of corruption and crime. Let's take it back and clean it up" (*New York Times*, 22 November). Until 1964, D.C. residents were denied the right to vote in presidential elections; now they live under the sham of "home rule," which operates much like the bogus "independence" for the Ciskei, a South African apartheid "homeland." D.C. residents have the "right" to elect a representative who is utterly powerless—as all decisions are made by Congress.

While D.C. statehood got slammed, Clinton's draconian $22 billion "crime package" breezed through both the House and the Senate with one of the most overwhelming majorities in Congressional history. Aimed at vastly reinforcing the government's monopoly on force and violence, the bill would expand the racist death penalty, restrict the population's right to bear arms through even more stringent gun control laws, make membership in street gangs a federal offense under the RICO conspiracy law, put tens of thousands more cops on the streets and build thousands more jail cells to fill with the victims of capitalist "justice." And all these new prisons and cops are to be funded by cuts in Head Start and drug treatment programs, among others.

Carey/L.A. Times

California National Guard "practices" crowd control El Salvador-style in Los Angeles last February.

Kelly is demanding her cut of this deployment of police-state terror for the District of Columbia. Besides bringing in the National Guard, Kelly wants to bring retired officers back into service, build more prisons, reclassify handgun possession from a misdemeanor to a felony and allow prosecutors to try *14-year-old children* as adults (*Washington Post*, 26 October).

For Kelly to talk about fighting crime is a disgusting affront to the working people and black and Hispanic youth victimized daily by the criminals in blue uniforms. Salvadoran immigrants in D.C. compare the cops to the jackbooted National Guard death squads of the U.S.-backed dictatorship at home. City labor unions are also in Kelly's crosshairs—3,200 city workers were recently laid off. Among the homeless, she's earned the nickname "the black Marie Antoinette" for her haughty "let them eat cake" attitude. Under the guise of a "war on drugs," D.C.'s paramilitary "RDUs" (rapid deployment units) rampage through the streets, using the bloody martial-law tactics that Bill Clinton has unleashed on Somali women and children in Mogadishu. Last June in Hyattsville, Maryland, a black man, Archie Elliott III, was killed by police who had arrested him for "drunk driving." It didn't matter that he was the son of a District Court judge. The 24-year-old Elliott was shot *14 times while strapped into a seatbelt and handcuffed!*

If National Guard units are deployed in D.C., there will be an increase in racist police terror against black and Hispanic youth and working people. In 1967, the National Guard rolled through the streets of black Detroit in tanks, killing 43 people. The D.C. Guard units were among the first sent to massacre Iraqis in the "Desert Storm" slaughter in the Persian Gulf two years ago. And you better believe that the Guard won't stop to distinguish between "respectable" Howard students and "boys in the 'hood." *Any* gathering of black youth frightens this trigger-happy ruling class. In 1990, hundreds of Howard students were met with a full-scale cop riot while waiting to get into a school basketball game. In 1989, Virginia police backed up by National Guard units terrorized hundreds of black college students at a Labor Day weekend "Greekfest" in Virginia Beach. And no one should forget the massive, murderous show of police force, including National Guardsmen, unleashed against the poor of Los Angeles to put down the multiracial upheaval of outrage at the acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King.

The Los Angeles explosion terrified the capitalist ruling class. In Washington, D.C., the bourgeois media worried openly that this city was a powder keg ready to blow. Since 1968, when the city was engulfed in flames in the riots that followed the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., the White House has feared the disenfranchised black population of this city. On the heels of the Rodney King upheaval, black and Hispanic D.C. residents exploded in anger over their routine regimen of racist cop terror.

Despite its resounding rejection by city voters last fall, the death penalty is being sought in D.C. as a weapon in the bogus "war on drugs" which is nothing but a pretext for more police terror against the black and Hispanic population. Reno, who made her bones by overseeing the murder of 86 people in Waco, Texas, is leading the charge. Wayne Anthony Perry is being tried under federal law in order to bring the death penalty against him in the District's first death penalty case since 1971. The state of Maryland is set to gas its first victim in 32 years, and in Virginia a mentally retarded black man, Earl Washington Jr., faces execution. Capital punishment is *state murder*, racist "legal" lynching that reveals the impulse toward genocide in a racist society that offers its youth a downsized "future" of non-union jobs as low-paid wage-slaves, or, more likely, life on the streets, in jail or in the military.

The multiracial working class, which keeps the capital city going, must be mobilized to use its social power to combat the onslaught of anti-working-class measures sought by Kelly, Clinton and Congress. Transit workers in particular, who've been hit hard by layoffs and cutbacks, must defend the oppressed black and Hispanic masses against escalating police-state repression. The Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth Clubs are committed to building a party that can mobilize this social power to fight racist oppression and capitalist exploitation. While the Kellys and Clintons of this world see in Northeast and Anacostia unruly subjects they seek to repress, we see in Anacostia the home of Frederick Douglass—an inspiration to the disenfranchised of the city to complete the Civil War's unfulfilled promise of black freedom. Finish the Civil War! Black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

Defend the Spartacus Youth Club!

Young Spartacus photos

Spartacus Youth Club breaks the ban at Columbia. Left: Spartacist forum "Yeltsin's Coup Serves Washington," October 26. Right: Spartacus Youth Club militants organized to bring Columbia students to Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the fascists in Philadelphia, November 1988.

The New York Spartacus Youth Club is fighting for its rights against anti-communist witchhunters at Columbia University. We reprint here the SYC leaflet which was issued on November 16.

On November 11, while setting up a literature table on College Walk, a female supporter of the Spartacus Youth Club was attacked by right-wing male student Mircea Murnu. Murnu grabbed literature off the table and threw it to the ground while shouting anti-communist epithets. When our comrade reached to pick up the papers, Murnu kidney-punched her from behind. This violent physical assault by an anti-communist thug comes only weeks after the Student Governing Board of Earl Hall "banned" the Friends of the Spartacus Youth Club, declaring them *persona non grata* on the pretext that the group was dominated by "outside agitators." Bad things tend to happen to people who have been declared without rights.

The Friends of the Spartacus Youth Club is just that: a group of students who agree that revolutionary Marxists have a right to openly advocate their views on campus. The FOSYC was singled out for harassment and suppression for a purpose that has nothing to do with supposed violations of petty bureaucratic bylaws. The members of the Earl Hall Chess Club are not hauled in and interrogated about the extent to which each member actively takes part in club activities. Nor do we presume that the College Republicans decide which candidates to support independently of off-campus political organizations like the Republican National Committee. The reinstatement of the FOSYC is an act of elementary self-defense for Columbia students, faculty and campus workers against an assault on *your* democratic rights of free political association by the junior Joe McCarthys of the SGB.

"Outside agitator" is a time-worn slur used to set up and persecute those who fight against racism, exploitation and injustice—from militant labor organizers, to integrated teams of civil rights organizers, to the blacks and leftists who took part in the takeover of Hamilton Hall in 1968. Indeed there are dangerous "outsiders" who insinuate themselves and usurp control of the Columbia campus—but it's not who the SGB has in its sights. The School of International Affairs' Russian Institute is crawling with "non-student" CIA spooks and high-level NSC aides and operatives. The Board of Trustees is a veritable who's who of the major real estate moguls, bourgeois media czars, and financiers who preside over a capitalist system that is bleeding the poor and minorities of this city to death.

Chartered before the American Revolution as Kings College, Columbia thinks itself above the laws that nominally accord democratic rights—rights which were wrested through hard struggles by working people against the arrogant ruling class. Columbia has trained generation after generation of the ideologues, technicians and administrators who run American society for the profit of the few. The ultimate defeat of the "outside agitator" hans at bastions of bourgeois privilege such as Columbia will come the day that these schools are *nationalized* and opened up to the sons and daughters of the working class with open admissions and free tuition.

As profits for America's ruling class have become more and more dependent on the global military hegemony of U.S. capital, the imperialists have come to rely more and more on weapons researchers, strategic planners and other "academicians." Columbia is a preeminent agency in the service of U.S. imperialism. During World War II, Columbia played a key role in the development of the atomic bomb which was used to slaughter hundreds of thousands of Japanese civilians. After the war, Columbia helped spirit Nazi technicians and war criminals out of Germany through the infamous "rat line." In the 1970s, Columbia was exposed as the CIA's prime research facility for project "MK-ULTRA," a sinister program of mind control experiments.

The Columbia administration has welcomed with open arms "outsiders" who stand out as a virtual rogues' gallery of labor-haters and henchmen of imperialism. In 1977, only seven years after the saturation bombing of Cambodia, Henry Kissinger—the architect of America's dirty war to suppress the revolutionary masses of Southeast Asia—was offered academic haven with a prestigious post at Columbia. Columbia alumnus and union-buster Frank Lorenzo was bestowed a special award for "distinguished professional achievement" *at the height of the strike* against Eastern Airlines. And symbolic of Columbia's many contributions to counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union was would-be czar Boris Yeltsin's reception by New York's high rollers at Low Library in 1989.

Meanwhile, the university has used its extensive real estate holdings and armed security officers to push around the black and Hispanic residents of neighboring Harlem. The exclusion of the black community from Columbia's proposed gymnasium sparked the militant student revolt in 1968. Last year, Columbia students occupied Hamilton Hall again to protest the university's razing of the Audubon Ballroom—the historic Harlem building where Malcolm X was assassinated.

The Spartacus Youth Club at Columbia is looking for a few good class traitors—students who will dedicate themselves to a lifetime of partisanship of the working class and its struggles. The Spartacus Youth Club brings to Columbia the fight for a socialist future—an end to imperialist war, atrocities and racial oppression. In 1988, we mobilized a bus of Columbia students to participate in a successful labor/black mobilization which stopped the Ku Klux Klan and skinheads from staging a white supremacist provocation at the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia. During the Eastern strike, we took students off campus to walk picket lines at the New York airports—and we are the *only* group that has built support for Columbia's workers by honoring the principle that *picket lines mean don't cross*. We initiated the successful united-front campaign that kept war criminal Kissinger from donning the respectable robes of academia at Columbia. We've initiated student protest against NSA and CIA recruiting efforts and fought for the defense of the Soviet Union and the workers states of Eastern Europe when it counted, warning that capitalist counterrevolution would bring fratricidal wars and immiseration of working people.

Presently, we are fighting against racist "legal lynching" and the speed up on death row in America. We champion the case of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, a former Black Panther, MOVE supporter, and former president of the Philadelphia Association of Black Journalists. Jamal is the first political prisoner on death row since Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. Now Columbia University and the Earl Hall *in loco parentis* board aim to silence those who organize and speak out in defense of Jamal, a man known as "the voice of the voiceless." We will break the anti-communist ban so that Jamal's voice will be heard and students will retain their right to organize for cases and causes in the interests of the working people.

These acts of political censorship and anti-communist thuggery now directed at us, contain an implicit threat: Who will be next? Black students at Columbia "mistaken" for residents of surrounding Harlem? Campus workers who express solidarity with "outside" unionists? Gay students who were harassed with anti-gay graffiti on the very day our comrade was attacked on College Walk? *An injury to one is an injury to all! Join the "banned" Friends of the Spartacus Youth Club! Defeat the Earl Hall witchhunters!*

Spartacus Youth Club
16 November 1993

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Thurs.: 5:30-8:00 p.m., Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
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Chicago
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Sat.: 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
161 W. Harrison St., 10th Floor
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New York, NY Phone: (212) 267-1025

Cops Protect Nazis in New Hope

NEW HOPE, Pennsylvania—As 200 anti-fascist protesters lined the road outside Washington Crossing Park November 6, some 50 racist terrorists of the "USA Nationalist Party" and the KKK staged an anti-gay, racist provocation in the woods outside this eastern Pennsylvania town. Facing off against the anti-Nazi protesters were 300 state troopers, including a squad of mounted cops, who had been mobilized to protect the fascists.

Two days earlier, the Nazis held a joint press conference with the police to announce that "for reasons of safety" they were abandoning their threatened "Gay Bash '93" march through New Hope. It was expected that crowds of gay, minority and leftist youth would have jammed the narrow streets of this heavily gay tourist town on the Delaware River, about 30 miles from Philadelphia, and the fascist scum would have needed thousands of cops to emerge unscathed.

So instead, under heavy police protection, the racists slithered into the park four miles away and held their provocation, drawing a few dozen skinhead thugs and KKKers from Delaware. As state troopers sealed off the park, anti-fascist protesters were left to chant at the Nazis across a 50-foot-wide canal. Meanwhile, a liberal "Stop the Hate" diversion several miles away was sparsely attended.

From California to the Midwest and New York there has been an ominous rise in provocations by the deadly fascist marauders. Their campaign of racist terror is stoked by the "respectable" racism, anti-immigrant hysteria and anti-gay bigotry of the Republicans and Democrats. The fascists are the capitalists' dogs of war, protected by the forces of repression and held in reserve to be used in times of deep capitalist crisis against minorities and the organizations of the working class.

The integrated working class is the one force with the social power to crush the fascist gangs while they are still small and to sweep away their capitalist masters. In major black and proletarian centers around the country, the Spartacist League has successfully called on the unions allied with minorities, gays, immigrants—all the fascists' intended victims—in *labor/black mobilizations to stop the Nazis and Klan.*

Young Spartacus

Hundreds of Pennsylvania state police line the road against anti-fascist protesters on November 6.

RWL Strategy: Militant Liberalism

In New Hope, the anti-fascist protest was called by a collection of anarchists, many organized in "Love and Rage," and members of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and its National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition (NWROC) from Detroit and upstate New York. Some reformists like the Socialist Workers Party camped out with the liberals, while others like the International Socialist Organization (ISO) *built* the liberal diversion and attended both rallies.

In a revealing report on New Hope, "Love and Rage" in Detroit writes that, "considering the fact that we couldn't even get a few licks in," chanting "Death to the Nazis" across a wide canal "didn't seem to be particularly threatening." Hostile to organizing the necessary labor/black mobilizations which can *stop* the fascists and back down the forces of repression, the anarchists and the RWL/NWROC can offer nothing more than a vague program of "militancy." While sometimes landing well-deserved blows against the Nazi scum, more often this amounts to impotent posturing, and in all cases it relies directly or indirectly on the forces of the capitalist state.

But it was clear to everyone at New Hope that "more militancy" and "unity" wasn't going to stop the Nazis, as they carried out their provocation protected by the bourgeois state. What the cynical RWL leadership means by "militancy" was demonstrated when they started chanting "militant action" in an attempt to *drown out* a transit worker and Spartacist League supporter from New York who called on a bullhorn for mobilizing *labor/black power.* What else can you expect from an outfit like the RWL which "militantly" defends crossing picket lines?

In a report on New Hope, the reformists of the ISO explicitly amnestied the role of the cops, claiming, "The cops' main function at the demonstration was not to protect the 40 Nazis from the 200 counter-demonstrators" (*Columbia Daily Spectator*, 15 November). The RWL/NWROC made their own illusions in the capitalist state disgustingly clear throughout the day at New Hope. They hysterically denounced the SL for our opposition to gun control and our denunciation of the feds' slaughter of almost 100 people in Waco, Texas and the set-up and murder of fascistic survivalists in Idaho simply because they exercised their right to bear arms. Like the liberals who want to see the working class and blacks disarmed, it is completely alien to the RWL to defend this vital right. In New Hope, members of NWROC grotesquely screamed, "Fuck Waco, let 'em burn!" and pushed Clinton and Reno's lie that "They incinerated themselves."

In their paper program, RWL/NWROC calls for developing an "alternative locus of power in our society" as the road to liberation. But the ruling class won't brook an "alternative" to its monopoly on armed force, as they showed with fire and blood at Waco. The RWL's idea is nothing but the liberal belief in the "neutrality" of the bourgeois state. It is what leads them to herd their supporters through police searches and into "pens" which were a set-up for victimization of anti-fascist demonstrators, as in Indianapolis and Columbus in October (see "Stop the Fascists Through Labor/Black Mobilization!" *WV* No. 587, 5 November). The fight against fascist terror must be based on the clear understanding that the capitalist state is not a neutral arbiter in society, but the enemy of workers and minorities. ■

Can You Top This?

RWL Apologists for Scabbing Now Call for Mass Pickets

Striking workers attending the Caterpillar UAW Local 751 meeting in Decatur, Illinois on November 14 were handed a flyer signed by a couple of Detroit-area union caucuses and the National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition (NWROC). Calling the brief strike "the key battle for American labor," NWROC argued that it could "force the cowardly [?], pro-business courts to declare—finally!—that CAT's union-busting has been illegal!" Sure, and after the courts slap CAT boss Donald Fites in jail they can declare capitalism unconstitutional! Earth to NWROC: busting unions is perfectly legal in Clinton's America. Defending capitalism is what the capitalist state is there for.

The fact that the leaflet lacked a union bug and was presumably printed in a scab shop shouldn't surprise anyone familiar with this crowd: NWROC is a front for the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), an opportunist outfit for which the most basic working-class principles are at best empty words.

But if hypocritical lip service to the class struggle is what you're looking for, this is the group for you. The flyer calls for "mass, militant picket lines to stop scabbing—by any means necessary!" An excellent demand! Funny they didn't raise it last fall, when they *crossed picket lines* of striking teaching assistants in Berkeley! In fact, this group has been slinking across picket lines since its inception, a scabbing policy they defended at great length in the very first issue of their increasingly infrequent newspaper, *Fighting Worker*.

In the Transitional Program, Trotsky wrote that "*Strike pickets* are the basic nuclei of the proletarian army" needed to sweep away the fascist terrorists. Little wonder that with their blatant disregard for picket lines, the occasionally radical-sounding liberals of the RWL are equally dismissive of a labor-centered strategy for fighting fascism.

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Building Takeover at Cornell

Latino Students Protest Racist Vandalism

On Friday, November 19, more than 100 Latino and black students at Cornell University seized the university administration building to protest the desecration of an Hispanic art exhibit on campus. The exhibition, entitled *Revelaciones* (*Revelations*) consists of works by eight different Hispanic artists and was defaced with racist epithets, including a fascist swastika. "We feel that just as this work of art has been attacked and violated, so we also have been attacked and violated," said Ricardo Roman, one of the organizers of the protest.

The provocation against Latino students was perceived as a threat against *all* minorities at Cornell and black, Asian and gay students quickly rallied to support and join the building occupation. Locked out of their own offices and unable to get the students to bend to their demands for "private" negotiating sessions with a small hand-picked group of student leaders, the administration grew antsy and surrounded the building with armed phalanxes of police officers. More students then flocked to the protest, scuffled with the cops and stormed inside to bolster the occupation. The administration responded by suspending some 40 student participants from school and refusing to negotiate with the students until the building was vacated by the protesters.

Eduardo Penalver, one of the protest organizers, responded, "We intend to stay here until they drag us out, or until they agree to an open meeting." Among the demands raised by the students were: no reprisals against the protesters and increased minority student enrollment and employment. On "Day Four" and with the protest still growing in strength, the administration blinked and rescinded the suspensions and agreed to negotiate.

Hasta la victoria! For militant, mass student/labor action to smash racist attacks! Increase minority enrollment through open admissions and free tuition! ■

Okoniewski/NY Times

After fascists defaced Latino art show, Cornell students occupy administration building.

PKK...

(continued from page 2)

is the godfather of this genocidal war against the Kurds, through its support to its NATO partner in Ankara and particularly through generous weapons deliveries and training of Turkish army counterinsurgency units. With the demise of the neighboring Soviet Union, and with Ankara's German military ally providing protection, Turkish chief of staff Güres declares: "We will kill the Kurds. By the spring of 1994 we will have liquidated them. We will also liquidate them in Europe."

According to reports, 1.7 million Kurds have been driven from their homes and 778 villages have been destroyed by flame throwers and tanks. Simultaneously the Ankara regime has strengthened Article 8 of the "anti-terror law," which bans the playing of Kurdish music, speaking in Kurdish or identifying oneself as a Kurd, and designates "collective work stoppages" as acts of terror. The Kurdish town of Lice was razed to the ground, with hundreds killed there alone. Its fate brings to everyone's mind the Nazi destruction of the Czech town of Lidice (as an act of "collective punishment") during World War II.

In response to the genocidal onslaught, on November 3 Turkish establishments in over 25 cities in Germany, Switzerland, France, Denmark and Britain were subjected to attacks and firebombings. These attacks targeted not only consulates and other symbols of the Turkish ruling class, but also vegetable stores and restaurants. One man was killed and dozens of people were injured.

That same night, German cops seized on the attacks to launch a series of anti-Kurdish raids, breaking into 29 immigrant organizations, cultural centers and meeting places and confiscating files and leaflets. A total of 46 "Turks of Kurdish origin" were reportedly arrested. The pretext of "terrorism" has been used to launch another racist campaign against immigrants, directed in the first instance against Kurds and Turks, with the Social Democrats (SPD) running point. Even as Kanther declared a ban on meetings and freedom of travel, as well as other repressive measures, the SPD was denouncing the Christian Democratic Kohl regime for not having outlawed the PKK long ago.

Concerning the anti-Turkish attacks, in a November 4 press release the PKK's European representative said, "These incidents do not have any connection with our party." The statement nevertheless *justified* the "attacks by Kurds on Turkish institutions" as "natural and understandable reactions against the massacre and extermination of a nation." Yet these were not simply attacks against symbols of the genocidal regime, but also indiscriminate nationalist terror against all Turks. The innkeeper at "Hermannseck" in Wiesbaden is a Kurd. As immigrants sat drinking tea in his restaurant, Molotov cocktails crashed through the windows. One 31-year-old Turk was so paralyzed by shock that he was unable to get out and burned to death in agony.

As Leninists we reject the substitutionalist strategy of individual terror. Only the mobilization of the working class is capable of smashing racist terror and sweeping away bloodsoaked German imperialism and Turkish capitalism. But those who strike out against their capitalist and nationalist oppressors must be defended against bourgeois repression. When last June Kurds occupied a consulate of the Turkish state—butcher of the Kurdish people—we defended them against state repression. The Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) denounces the ban on the PKK and demands an end to the monstrous show trials of the PKK. The SpAD also opposes the ban on the Turkish left group Devrimci Sol, and calls for freedom for all imprisoned members of the Red Army Faction.

But the PKK's attacks on travel agencies and kidnapping of tourists is another matter—i.e., *indiscriminate terror* against those who are deemed an "enemy" people. This reflects the genocidal logic of nationalism, which identifies entire peoples as the enemy rather than the bloody ruling class. Driven to the wall by the genocidal attacks of the Turkish regime, Kurdish nationalists have desperately lashed out against anything Turkish, including restaurants and cultural centers. Such random terror against innocent people is utterly indefensible. At the same time, we vehemently oppose the German government's anti-Kurdish repression.

During its consulate occupation in June, the PKK begged Fourth Reich chancellor Kohl to establish "peace" in Kurdistan. The flip side of guerrilla war and terrorism is appeals to the imperialists or their neocolonial lackeys to arrange a "political solution." In the best of circumstances, this would lead to a Kurdish "banlustan," as has so tragically proved to be the case recently for the Palestinians, where the PLO is being installed as cops for the Israeli occupying power.

Social Democracy serves the masters of German imperialism by inciting west Germans against east Germans, Germans against immigrants, men against women. And the PKK covers the SPD's flank by organizing Kurdish workers on a nationalist basis and preventing joint class struggle with Turks and other workers against the common enemy. Following the fascist firebombing in Mölln, the PKK consciously decided *not* to fight against the Nazis, characterizing the subsequent murderous Nazi arson attack on Turkish women and girls in Solingen as a "diversion." And the current indiscriminate attacks on Turks in Europe have only worsened the situation. The fascist stormtroopers of this bourgeoisie make absolutely no distinction between Turks and Kurds.

In the face of mounting racist terror, the Spartakists fight for worker/immigrant mobilizations to smash the Nazis. Especially after Mölln, there were significant discussions—and even some modest efforts—in the factories aimed at mobilizing the unions against Nazi terror. In Solingen it was above all Turkish and Kurdish protesters who drove off nationalists who had attacked the demonstration waving Turkish flags and shouting "Down with the PKK!" Especially with Ankara waging a war of extermination against the Kurdish people, it is important for Kurdish workers to defend Turkish immigrants in Germany in order to frustrate the chauvinist appeals of the Turkish rulers.

This kind of unity must necessarily be based on the right of self-determination for Kurds. The Turkish workers must be won to this perspective, through the struggle for an internationalist revolutionary workers party to bring down the murderous Turkish NATO regime. The liberation of the Kurds requires the smashing of four capitalist states. What is needed to bring that about is a revolutionary alliance of the Kurdish, Turkish, Arab, Persian and Hebrew-speaking workers in struggle for a federation of workers republics of the Near East, including a socialist republic of united Kurdistan.

Common action by Turkish and Kurdish workers against fascist terror in Germany can go a long way toward forging proletarian unity in Turkey itself. This potential for united struggle was shown by the protests against the Islamic fundamentalists and the Turkish regime following the fundamentalist pogrom in the Turkish city of Sivas in July. Dozens were killed as a mob of Islamic fanatics attacked a cultural festival which included the famous secularist poet Aziz Nesin, whose newspaper published excerpts from Salman Rushdie's *Satanic Verses*. In response, hundreds of thousands—Turks and Kurds *together* for the first time in years—took to the streets from Istanbul to Cologne, chanting: "In Sivas Islamic reactionaries, in Solingen the skinheads."

In Germany today class-struggle unity is more urgent than ever, because the German bourgeoisie is now carrying out an all-sided war against the working class. The explosion of racist terror in Germany is directly fueled by the capitalist reunification which devastated the former DDR (East Germany) and destroyed jobs and social programs throughout Germany. The Spartakists fight for a revolutionary workers party that can unite and lead Kurdish, Turkish and other immigrant workers along with their German class brothers and sisters in a fight against the ravaging onslaught of German imperialism, which can only be brought down by proletarian revolution.

Down with the ban on the PKK! For immediate freedom for imprisoned Kurds! No extradition—Stop all attempts at deportation! Defend the right of asylum! Full citizenship rights for immigrants! ■

Ireland...

(continued from page 3)

and transport bound for Northern Ireland. In itself, withdrawal of troops does not constitute a solution, but it is an essential prerequisite for any just resolution to the conflict.

Within Northern Ireland, the Catholics, part of the Irish nation, are an oppressed minority. But they live within the same territory as the Protestants, who are a distinct community which very much defines itself against the Irish Catholic nation, and who fear becoming a minority which would in turn be oppressed and discriminated against within a capitalist united Ireland. And finally there is the presence of the British imperialist butchers, whose rule sprang out of 800 years of bloody English domination of all Ireland. In such situations of interpenetrated peoples there can be no just solution to national oppression outside the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of workers rule.

Imperialist "Peace" Manoeuvres

In the mid-1980s, an attempt to break the stalemate which had developed in Northern Ireland was made with the Anglo-Irish Accord. It was a Cold War, pro-NATO deal, which granted the southern clerical state a "say" in the running of the North and tried to cajole the pro-imperialist Protestant Unionists into "power-sharing," in return for which Ireland was to be made into a nuclear aircraft carrier for NATO against the Soviet Union. There were promises of "financial aid," which included the "National Endowment for Democracy," a CIA conduit, pouring money into the SDLP. This "peace deal" saw 100,000 outraged Loyalists marching through Belfast, a big crackdown on the IRA and more British troops in Northern Ireland. Underscoring the fact that the Unionists are not simply a creature of British imperialism, Loyalist mobs burned effigies of then British Conservative Prime Minister Thatcher.

The victory of capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union undercut the Cold War imperatives of the Anglo-Irish Accord. At the same time, British imperialism was becoming increasingly concerned about its overheads for the situation in Northern Ireland. In a November 1990 speech Thatcher's Northern Ireland secretary, Peter Brooke, declared that Britain had "no selfish, strategic or economic interest" in remaining in Northern Ireland. And although Thatcher successor John Major is in a corridor coalition with the Ulster Unionists, while simultaneously manoeuvring with the Dublin government, he has now announced that there is a role at the negotiating table for Sinn Fein if they renounce violence for good.

In the "New World Order" Sinn Fein has junked most of its rhetoric about "socialism" and enthused over Bill Clinton, butcher of Somalia. (Major slapped an exclusion order on Adams preventing him from entering Britain, and Clinton followed suit by barring him from the U.S.) The Hume/Adams talks have been inspired by the PLO "deal" with the Zionists and Mandela's negotiations with the apartheid butchers. In effect, the Palestinians have been granted "community control" over a couple of impoverished slums, hounded and terrorised by the Israeli army and heavily armed Zionist zealots. The PLO has been promised its own cops to help suppress the Palestinians, but that hasn't happened yet. The U.S. imperialist-orchestrated "peace" in the Middle East and the ANC rapprochement with the racist South African regime is a product of the destruction of the Soviet Union through counterrevolution. As we noted:

> "So long as the Soviet degenerated workers state existed as a counterweight to U.S. imperialism, this allowed petty-bourgeois nationalists like the PLO and ANC and the bourgeoisies of the semi-colonial countries to jockey for position between the two 'superpowers'. . . Now faced with a 'one superpower' world, the various nationalist movements see no option but to go begging hat in hand for any crumbs the U.S. is willing to dispense."
>
> —*WV* No. 583, 10 September

Among the foremost enthusiasts for both the Anglo-Irish Accord and current "peace" negotiations is the Irish Labour Party leadership, part of the Dublin Fianna Fail/Labour coalition government, which is vehemently anti-Republican, anti-women and anti-working-class. Irish president Mary Robinson actually resigned from the Labour Party in sympathy with the Protestant Loyalists, but the Labour Party still backed her for the presidency. Irish Labour leader and foreign minister Dick Spring was vitriolic in his denunciation of "IRA terrorism," of Gerry Adams, and even of John Hume, who is a darling of the imperialists. Spring proposed a harsher version of "Pax Britannica."

Dublin has made conciliatory gestures toward the Loyalists over the Irish Constitution's Articles 2 and 3, which outline the nationalist claim to Northern Ireland. As Leninists, we oppose forcible reunification of Ireland, and therefore do not uphold the Green nationalist claim that Dublin has an inalienable right to rule the whole island. However, Spring is anxious to stitch up a deal with Britain, including granting the Unionists a veto over Northern Ireland while demanding that the IRA lay down its arms before getting anywhere near the negotiating table. This fits well with Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) leader Jim Molyneaux's call for a "period of quarantine" for the IRA. Among Catholics in the North there is a strong feeling of betrayal by the Dublin politicians, and although Sinn Fein's electoral support in the South is currently low, there remain large residues of solidarity with the northern Catholics.

P. Michael O'Sullivan

Bloody Sunday, 30 January 1972: British troops open fire on march of 6,000 Catholic civil rights protesters, killing 13 unarmed civilians.

The spectre of the southern state—where workers struggles are attacked and the bourgeois parties, along with Labour and petty-bourgeois Republican politicians, pander to reactionary and clerical forces over questions of women's rights and education—helps to cement the hold of reactionary Loyalist politicians on the Protestant masses. The Protestants are neither a colonial administration (i.e., mere agents of British imperialism), nor even a closed colour caste like the South African whites, but a distinct, million-strong community, differentiated by class as much as Irish Catholics. Arguments that the Protestants should be accorded no democratic rights because Northern Ireland is an artificial imperialist creation are based ultimately on reactionary notions of nationalist irredentism.

Any attempt by the Catholic bourgeoisie to forcibly incorporate this large and relatively well-armed community into a common state could only precipitate a bloody communal conflict. At the same time, the Protestants have not crystallised into a separate nation, and the establishment of an independent Ulster would necessarily be oppressive of the Catholic minority and likely accompanied by the expulsion and slaughter of the Catholics.

In the history of the Irish labour movement there have been examples of significant workers solidarity, which has temporarily cut across sectarian divisions. Invariably, as in the case of the 1919 Belfast engineers strike and the mass unemployment marches in the 1930s, they have been countered with massive sectarian mobilisations intended to wipe out the fragile proletarian unity. The defeat of the 1919 strike and the subsequent expulsion of Catholic workers from the engineering industry helped lay the basis for Partition (which divided Ireland into a republican South and the British-controlled North). In 1934 Protestant workers marched from the Shankill to join a commemoration for Wolfe Tone (leader of the 1794 United Irishmen revolt against British rule), carrying a banner "Break the connection with capitalism." This was an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist act by Protestant workers, who were rebuffed by the IRA.

In recent months there have been large demonstrations of both Protestant and Catholic workers against the proposal for the Royal Victoria Hospital to "opt out" of the National Health Service. Situated in the predominantly Catholic Falls Road, the RVH is the second largest employer in Northern Ireland, employing 5,700 workers, 3,000 of whom are drawn from the Falls and Shankill Roads. The industrial decay of British imperialism has particularly impacted on Northern Ireland. In some Protestant working-class slums, male unemployment can be as high as 50 per cent, and it is even higher among Catholics.

Most of the killings in Northern Ireland this year have been carried out by Protestant paramilitaries, mainly targeting Catholics not connected with any organisation. These acts are not only aimed at disrupting the "peace negotiations" but are also pre-emptive blows designed to undercut the possibility of joint class struggle. The fascistic thugs explicitly motivate their attacks as "mass murder" intended to totally intimidate the Catholic population.

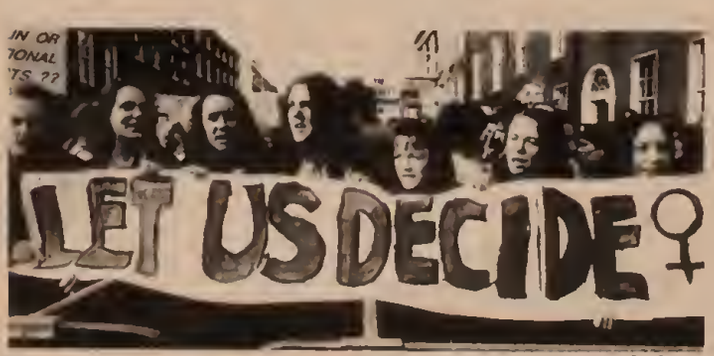
We Marxists consider the tactic of individual terror antithetical to the tasks of the liberating struggle of the proletariat as well as oppressed nationalities, because small groups of individuals cannot replace the masses. Thus the Russian Marxists of Lenin's time ruthlessly criticised the Narodniks (populists) for their petty-bourgeois strategy of individual terrorism and assassination. However, out of solidarity with those who fought against the tsarist oppressor, albeit in a misguided way, the Marxists defended against state persecution those who carried out such terrorist acts. Similarly, the IRA policy of blowing away a Lord Mounthatten or an Airey Neave is not our policy. But when the IRA strikes a blow against the imperialist oppressor or the Loyalist fascistic thugs, we defend the perpetrators against capitalist retribution.

However, it is different with indiscriminate terror such as the Enniskillen, Teebane, Warrington and pub bombings, as well as the recent Shankill bombing. The rationale behind the latter mass bombings is ultimately genocidal nationalism, and they are simply crimes from the standpoint of the working class. Those ostensible Marxists who do not make this distinction render themselves apologists either for the nationalists or for the imperialists.

The context of the IRA's Shankill bombing was the murderous onslaught by the UDA and Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF) on Catholics in the preceding period. The IRA was under great pressure from the embattled Catholics to do something to stop the Loyalist killers. The UFF/UDA have close ties to hardcore British fascists like the Hitler-lovers of "Combat 18," and are the equivalent of the race-terrorist Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB) in South Africa or the fascistic Zionist followers of the late unlamented Meir Kahane.

The IRA's plan was to leave the bomb in the fish shop on a Saturday morning when passing working-class shoppers were bound to be killed, even had the bomb not gone off prematurely. Their excuses about issuing a warning so that innocent passers-by could be cleared away are not plausible, even leaving aside the criminal reliance this places on the hated RUC/British Army. Nine working-class shoppers died, while the UDA tops had left well before. At bottom, this bombing cannot be divorced from the IRA's nationalist politics. Dead British and Protestant workers are a matter of indifference to them.

Two weeks before the Shankill bomb over 1,000 mainly Protestant workers



Der Spiegel

Thousands of Irish women protest Dublin's reactionary anti-abortion law, February 1992.

Honecker...

(continued from page 7)

Wall," but added. "In Berlin, where the division of the world has become petrified ..precisely there the demand arises that true coexistence cannot simply be equated with the maintenance of the status quo" (from Peter Brandt and Herbert Ammon, eds., *Die Linke und die nationale Frage* [Rowohlt, 1981]). In addition to the decades-long espionage activities for the CIA carried out by the SPD's Ost-Büro (whose files are still closed while the witchhunters rummage through the Stasi's leftovers), the social democrats sought to use "peaceful coexistence" to undermine the status quo. Honecker described the Helsinki "human rights" accord as "a codex of peaceful coexistence for our continent." Yet the imperialists used the DDR's signature of the Helsinki agreement's supposed right to freedom of travel as a spearhead of their ideological assault on the Wall.

And as we repeatedly warned, the SPD was the Trojan horse of counterrevolution in the final destruction of the DDR. The 1989 events were begun by the opening of the Hungarian border to Austria, which attracted thousands from the DDR during their summer vacations. This development was the result of a visit by the foreign minister of the new social-democratic-oriented Hungarian regime, who in the spring of 1989 visited SPD leaders in Bonn, who passed him on to officials of the Kohl regime. And after the deed was done, Kohl presented the Hungarian prime minister with West Germany's highest military award for services rendered to counterrevolution, plus generous credits of 500 million D-marks!

We Spartacists of the International Communist League, while opposing *capitalist* reunification, stood for the *revolutionary reunification* of Germany, through anti-bureaucratic proletarian political revolution in the DDR and socialist revolution in the capitalist West. This was hardly an impossible perspective, for example during the mid-1970s in the aftermath of the 1968 European-wide upheavals and U.S. imperialism's humiliating defeat in Vietnam. The much-persecuted DDR left-wing oppositionist Robert Havemann, who refused pressures by the regime to emigrate to the West, captured something of this perspective in a response he wrote in 1975 on the question of the Wall and German unity:

> "In Germany as well the border fortifications will fall. The question is, which side will tear them down. Of all the possibilities to be considered, the most favorable would be if it was the builders themselves who then dismantled it. That would be possible if the economic and political conditions in Germany had developed to the benefit of the DDR to such an extent that there was no more one-sided stream of people out of the DDR into the federal republic. Already today the DDR exercises a growing attraction on many in West Germany, while as a result of the intensifying capitalist crisis the attractive power of the federal republic on the citizens of the DDR is diminishing.
>
> "Let's assume for a moment that in the DDR and also in other socialist states, and also in the Soviet Union, a great political change had taken place instead of bureaucratic centralism genuine socialist democracy had come about. What is already today decreed in the constitutions of these states, the freedom of opinions, information and organization, would be practically realized. All limitations on travel would be lifted. A wonderful blooming of art and science would have begun, unfolding freely without the narrow-minded tutoring by half-educated official philistines. In a word, let's assume that socialism had broken out in the socialist states! Yes, then we would not have needed the Wall anymore, and the road to a peaceful reunification would not be far off."
>
> —from *Die Linke und die nationale Frage*

Instead, Stalinism's dead hand strangled every attempt to break out of the bureaucratic grip, from the quickly suppressed workers political revolution of 17 June 1953 to the systematically purged, jailed and exiled socialist oppositionists inside and outside the SED. So when the regime collapsed under the relentless imperialist pressure, as Soviet leader Gorbachev withdrew his support for Honecker in October 1989 and then in January 1990 gave the green light for capitalist reunification, it was the right-wing and openly counterrevolutionary forces that exploited the opening. Even many of those pro-socialist intellectuals who issued the appeal "For Our Country" seeking a "democratic socialist" DDR had an elitist petty-bourgeois program that, no less than the petty-bourgeois bureaucracy, relied on the Wall—once it was breached they had no perspective and quickly faded from the scene except as drumbeaters for the anti-Communist witchhunt.

Like Ulbricht in 1961, Honecker also was able, after the fact, to empirically register the ultimate dead end of the DDR, even in the framework of the Soviet bloc. In his 1992 booklet *Zu dramatischen Ereignissen* (On Dramatic Events), he noted:

> "The DDR with its achievements as with its limitations was closely bound up with the Comecon [the Soviet bloc "common market"] and its possibilities. Comecon's potential was not sufficient to keep up with international development. For example, the entire socialist camp only belatedly recognized the challenge presented by the scientific-technical revolution growing out of the development of high technology in a few advanced capitalist countries."

But *why* the bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states couldn't keep pace with advanced capitalism remains a book with seven seals for the Stalinist reformists. They, and most of the leftist dissidents as well, could not conceive of socialist revolution in the West. Particularly since Ulbricht and Honecker themselves came to power not through working-class revolution but as a consequence of the Soviet victory over Hitler fascism, this is hardly surprising.

In fact, the Stalinist bureaucracy *strangled* every attempt to spread workers revolution to the West, notably in 1945-47, when millions of workers, East and West, were calling for a socialist Germany; and in June 1953, when insurgent East German workers called on their Western brothers to "clean house" in Bonn as well. It would take a fundamental reckoning going to the roots of the Stalinist perversion of Leninism, as Trotsky did and we Spartacists seek to continue, to overcome the bureaucracy's greatest crime of all, the destruction of working-class revolutionary consciousness. It is to that necessary Marxist rearming of a proletarian vanguard that the ICL dedicates its efforts today. ■

After collapse of Soviet Union, Honecker was brought back to Berlin for show trial in July 1992. Spartakists at Tegel Airport in Berlin demand "Fourth Reich Hands Off Erich Honecker!"

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walked out of Shorts in Belfast in protest at the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) murder of a Catholic worker in their factory. This was an opening which communists would seek to exploit in order to transcend the sectarian spiral. The IRA's Shankill bomb blasted that opening to hell, as the same Protestant workers went into the streets cursing the IRA and Catholics in general. There is a burning necessity for programmatically-based anti-sectarian, anti-imperialist workers militias to combat Orange and Green terror and imperialist rampage. Not Orange against Green but class against class!

Fake Left Capitulates to Imperialism

The fake left either capitulates to British imperialism or Green nationalism, or in some cases both. *Socialist Organiser* (*SO*), social-democratic lackeys of the British bourgeoisie, can now applaud Sinn Fein too. Demanding that "Britain and Dublin accept the Hume-Adams proposals as the basis for negotiations," *Socialist Organiser* (11 November) baldly states that "'imperialism' is no longer the central issue in Northern Ireland."

SO explicitly attacks the call for the immediate withdrawal of troops, arguing that this would *necessarily* precipitate a communal bloodbath. This argument assumes that the working people are incapable of transcending sectarianism and that, in particular, the Protestants are wedded to Loyalism. In all likelihood, a definite resolution of the character of the Ulster Protestant community will be reached with the withdrawal of the British Army and will depend on the circumstances surrounding this. In the context of massive class mobilisations, directed as well against imperialism, opportunities would undoubtedly arise for a *class* determination of the question.

The Cliffite Socialist Workers Party (SWP), whining that "Major Slams Door on Peace," effectively endorses the idea of an imperialist-brokered solution, saying "The one thing Major could do is immediately meet representatives of all sides" (*Socialist Worker*, 6 November). This is nothing new for these birds, who welcomed the British Army sent to Northern Ireland by the Labour government in 1969 on the grounds that it would provide a "breathing space" for Catholics.

For years, the Militant group has refused to call for British troops out of the North. Now, in response to the chauvinist hysteria whipped up by the imperialists, the SWP and its Irish affiliate, the Socialist Workers Movement (SWM), once again bury this demand. As with their appeals to the British government to act against the fascist BNP (British National Party), the reformists of the SWP and Militant present the capitalist state as a neutral arbiter or even potential ally of the working class. Claiming to be for workers unity, they uncritically enthuse over the "peace" rallies organised by the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU) bureaucrats.

While many workers attend these pacifist rallies out of a genuine disgust for sectarianism, the bureaucrats have openly appealed to the "business community," and have ingratiated themselves with the capitalists by denouncing "all violence," drawing no distinctions between the Republicans and the fascistic Loyalist gangs. SWM leader and Derry Trades Council chairman Eamonn McCann joined ICTU tops and assorted church leaders at a rally in Derry. McCann's only criticism of the ICTU is that they want to organise a 15-minute protest rather than a half-day stoppage against "violence" (*Derry Journal*, 12 November).

The Militant calls for factory and community-based "anti-sectarian committees...to provide defence against attack." However, in the absence of a call for immediate withdrawal of the British Army and with its effective equation of the IRA and the fascistic Loyalist thugs, such "workers militias" as envisioned by Militant would simply become an armed adjunct to the British state.

The Irish Workers Group (IWG), connected to Workers Power in Britain, attacks the SWM for capitulating to the ICTU's "peace chorus." But a 12 November IWG statement is uncritical of the IRA's Green nationalism and refuses to even mention the Shankill bombing atrocity. The IWG's assertion that workers unity has and will be "fundamentally limited to episodes in the economic struggle *as long as the sectarian state [is] not smashed*" is profoundly despairing of any prospects of breaking Protestants from the Loyalist stranglehold and is effectively calling for a two-stage "revolution": first, forcible reunification of Ireland, and later socialism. On the other side, the IWG—like the SWM and Militant—supported Dick Spring's viciously anti-Republican Irish Labour Party in the last elections!

The struggles of the proletariat throughout the British Isles are necessarily intertwined. The strong possibility remains that the solution to the seemingly intractable communal divisions in Northern Ireland may very well come from the outside, for example, on the bayonets of a victorious Red Army of the proletariat of the British Isles—proletarians from Dublin, Glasgow, Liverpool and containing large numbers of Irish Catholics, Bengalis, Sikhs, Pakistanis, West Indian blacks and other national and ethnic minorities. But a revolutionary perspective requires a relentless struggle to purge from the British workers movement all traces of chauvinism. A century ago Karl Marx emphasised that the British proletariat would never be free as long as Ireland remained in thrall. What is necessary today is the forging of a revolutionary workers party by splitting the Labour Party. The British social democracy is the strategic obstacle to socialist revolution throughout the British Isles.

The southern Catholic proletariat, which in recent years has shown a greater measure of class consciousness, can be an important lever in breaking down the sectarian divide in the North. Key is intransigent struggle against the clerical state, which is deeply oppressive of women, as well as opposition to Irish Labourism, which bows to both imperialism and the capitalist bosses at home.

In the situation of interpenetrated peoples and fratricidal nationalism of the North, there can be no solution short of workers revolution. In the context of an Irish workers republic in a socialist federation of the British Isles, the Protestants may yet be incorporated in a common Irish nation, which they would at present vehemently reject; they may develop a more distinct national identity; or they may find a democratic accommodation with the Catholics outside the framework of strictly national solutions under the rule of the working class. The decisive factor in the overall outcome of the struggle will be the presence or absence of a revolutionary party, rooted in the proletariat of all the peoples of these isles. ■

Miners...

(continued from page 16)

scabs into the mine. Arch has been operating with scabs in Illinois, using thugs from Southeastern Security and Investigations in Ohio who patrol the coal fields in black uniforms and using night scopes.

On July 22, a three-car convoy of company goons and scabs was *exiting* the Ruffner mine at Slab Fork Hollow Road when a shot struck a scab contractor in the *back* of the head—from the direction of where the company thugs were. But state troopers swept in, *deputizing some of the Elite Security goons* in their search for "evidence."

The company immediately used another weapon in the capitalists' frame-up arsenal—the "racketeering" charge. Arch, which is owned in part by the wealthy Texas Hunt family, filed RICO charges against the union, seeking to chill any effort at solidarity with the miners. Scandalously, Trumka issued a statement that violence "has no place in the coal fields" and pledging "whatever support and assistance we can give in that investigation"—an investigation by the bosses' cops that was clearly an effort to frame the union and the strikers.

For weeks the state of West Virginia came up with nothing, until early this month the U.S. attorney announced the sweeping frame-up against the miners. After decades of coal company violence aimed at the unions, the indictment by Charles Miller, Clinton's newly appointed U.S. attorney, proclaims that violence "has no place in a labor dispute"! The "conspiracy" indictment is based on charges by the FBI and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, architects of the bloody siege and massacre of some 86 men, women and children of the Branch Davidian religious group outside Waco, Texas. It was also the BATF that persecuted Ravenswood, West Virginia Steelworkers striker Bob Buck, who is imprisoned for 33 months because he refused to wear a wire and spy on his union brothers for the feds.

The indictment claims the miners "gathered together devices designed and intended to damage and disable motor vehicles, commonly known as rocks, jack rocks, jack plates and molotov cocktails" and "hurled rocks at said vehicles." The feds cite union-run "strike training" held last spring to show the miners had been instructed not to stop scabs. This "training" was nothing but Trumka and the UMWA tops acting as open enforcers for the coal bosses and using the union as a tool for overseeing the workers on behalf of the capitalist state.

Now the Clinton administration is trying to bankrupt the union, filing alongside the state of Virginia in a Supreme Court case that will impose the largest civil penalties ever in the U.S. The union has appealed the decision in Virginia courts that recently reinstated fines of *$52 million* against the union in the long 1989 Pittston strike, when thousands of miners were arrested in mass civil disobedience. The judges were particularly outraged at the strikers' occupation of Pittston's Moss No. 3 coal processing plant—an act which could have sparked a real class battle against the coal bosses. But Trumka, bowing to his Democratic Party friends, shut down the occupation and the strike ended in defeat.

For a Class-Struggle Fight to Save the Union!

The UMWA is fighting for its life, but from the beginning of the miners walkout in February, the UMWA tops have sabotaged militant struggle in the coal fields. Less than a third of the 50,000 miners at BCOA companies have been called out. Spitting on the miners' traditions, Trumka has turned picket lines into sieves, as the bosses mine coal using foremen and scabs. The UMWA tops in Washington have refused to throw up picket lines at the railroads or power plants, although miners have been heartened to see that some scab coal trains have fallen off the tracks.

Workers Vanguard warned at the time that Trumka's 1988 contract "is a knife at the throat of the UMWA" which "accepts the massive layoffs of union miners and sanctions the explosive growth of non-union mines." That is exactly what has happened. Today the UMWA covers only 30 percent of the coal mined in the U.S. But Trumka *brags* that he has "increased productivity 200 percent, cut costs and made the coal companies hundreds of millions in profits" (letter to the *New York Times*, 21 October).

Parroting the "workplace of the future" rhetoric of his friend Clinton, Trumka lectures the miners that "it's not just business that must change. Unions must change too. Both must leave behind the adversarial, 'us vs. them' mentality of the past." But it's Trumka's "selective strike" that has ripped the union to shreds, beginning with its first use in the disastrous A.T. Massey strike in 1984-85.

Four miners from that strike—Donnie and David Thornsbury, Arnold Heightland and James Smith—remain in prison on sentences of 35-45 years because they defended their union. As in the Logan County case today, the UMWA tops refused to lift a finger in their defense.

Vanita Thornsbury, the wife of local union president Donnie Thornsbury, spoke to *Workers Vanguard* of how the prosecution was an attempt to intimidate the entire labor movement:

> "The whole bunch of them tried to make an example of Donnie and them, to show if you were even thinking about having any kind of strike you're looking at 40 years."

Two years after the courts sentenced the A.T. Massey miners, eight miners in Milburn, West Virginia were jailed on another frame-up, and abandoned by the union; seven of those miners are still in jail.

The Partisan Defense Committee has demanded that the charges against the Logan County miners be dropped. The Mine Workers union must mobilize its strength to defend these victimized union men. But that will take a sharp fight *inside* the UMWA against a leadership that has sold out union conditions, sold out union militants and presided over the decimation of a union that was once proud to be the shock troops of American labor.

From West Virginia to Illinois, the coal miners are seeing the price that workers and minorities pay for being chained to the Democratic Party. The union tops hustled votes for open shop Clinton, but workers know they got jobbed as the yuppie bubba flaunts his hatred of the unions, blacks and Hispanics, immigrants and the poor. As capitalists trumpet the "death of communism," they intensify their exploitation of workers from Mexico to the coal fields of West Virginia.

There must be an outpouring of powerful labor support for the Logan County miners and their union. To put an end to the capitalist frame-up system once and for all, we must build a workers party that will fight for socialist revolution. ■

Trade War...

(continued from page 1)

jobs." In fact, what "free trade" poses is the rape of the Mexican economy by the far more powerful U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie. Meanwhile, Clinton played the racist "yellow peril" card to sell NAFTA, arguing that the alternative would be the Japanese using Mexico as a low-wage production platform to flood the U.S. with cheap products. In fact, U.S. rulers want to use Mexico as a low-wage production platform to flood Japan, Europe and the rest of the world (including the U.S.) with cheap products. It is vitally necessary to forge an *internationalist* proletarian leadership—in North America, Europe and around the world—capable of uniting the working masses across national borders in joint class struggle against the capitalists' reactionary offensive.

NAFTA and Imperialist Trade War

The capitalist world is coalescing into three rival imperialist trade blocs, with the German Fourth Reich and Japan Inc. seeking, just as Wall Street has done with the NAFTA agreement, to consolidate their own hinterlands as an exclusive market, source of raw materials and supply of cheap labor. As the *New York Times* (23 August 1992) put it: "With the end of the cold war and the stagnation of negotiations aimed at simultaneously lowering trade barriers globally, these regional pacts are emerging as the trade side of what has been widely called the New World Order." In Southeast Asia, Japan is moving toward the formation of a modern-day version of its 1930s East Asian "Co-Prosperity Sphere." The Frankfurt bankers, who already dominate West Europe, are now gobbling up East Europe—what Hitler was unable to hold with the Wehrmacht the Fourth Reich is annexing with the D-mark.

"Everything is in place—after 500 years—to build a true 'new world' in the Western Hemisphere." That is the triumphalist evaluation of NAFTA by former Chase Manhattan Bank chairman David Rockefeller, summing up the U.S. bourgeoisie's belief in its "Manifest Destiny" to lord it over two continents. The wholesale takeover of the Mexican economy by Wall Street means superprofits for the corporate fat cats at the expense of the workers of the U.S., Canada *and* Mexico. And after Mexico, Washington intends to progressively tear down protective tariffs and huy up industry throughout its Latin American sphere of influence. The other countries of the Western Hemisphere have all—except for Cuba—signed agreements to join the trade pact. And the Cuban deformed workers state is in the cross hairs of Yankee imperialism. Class-conscious workers around the world must defend Cuba!

Despite the cynical ballyhoo about "free trade," NAFTA is a profoundly protectionist measure aimed at freezing out imperialist rivals. The myriad so-called "rules of national origin" in the NAFTA agreement would put up stiff protectionist barriers against goods not made primarily in North America. Imagine how Wall Street would be screaming about trade restraints if Tokyo decided to require 62.5 percent "Japanese content" for all cars sold in their country.

The mounting trade warfare between the imperialist powers is reflected in their bitter conflicts in the so-called Uruguay Round negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which must be concluded by a U.S.-imposed December 15 deadline. Clinton turned last month's Seattle meeting of the heretofore obscure Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum into a sounding board for his proposal for a Pacific Rim "free trade zone." The *New York Times* (19 November) reported that "part of the Administration's strategy is to use the specter of an Asian trading agreement as a spur—some say a threat—to the European Community, particularly France, to make the agricultural concessions needed to conclude the GATT negotiations." Germany has decided to call its French junior partner to order, as *Le Monde* (26 November) made clear with its headline, "Germany: It Must Be Signed!"

In the meantime, under pressure from Washington, Japan has now agreed to open its rice market to foreign imports. But what provoked the change was a record low rice harvest, not a shift away from Japan's historic policy of self-sufficiency ("food security") as protection against an embargo by its imperialist rivals. The U.S., harkening back to the 1920s and '30s, is seeking to use its military muscle to edge out its imperialist competitors. But this time around, Japan is not about to accept the "5:5:3" ratio in naval strength agreed to in the 1922 Washington conference, which gave it only 60 percent as many warships as the U.S. or Britain.

In the period following World War II when the U.S. was the uncontested hegemonic imperialist power, the American bourgeoisie sang the praises of "free trade" and cynically contrasted the U.S.'s supposedly "democratic" spirit to its capitalist rivals who had colonial empires and formal spheres of influence. The U.S. imperialists could present themselves as opponents of barriers to "free trade" since their economic strength assured them the advantage over their capitalist competitors. But behind the "free trade" rhetoric was the same vicious exploitation and immiseration of the Third World as the classic colonial powers.

The present policy of the Clinton White House goes back to the previous Democratic administration under Jimmy Carter, which was taken with the grand design of "trilateralism." The Trilateral Commission was set up by David Rockefeller in the 1970s, bringing together leaders from the U.S., Europe and Japan. But while the trilateralists purported to solve the world's problems through imperialist cooperation, piously intoning that "a minimum of social justice and reform will be necessary for stability" (Trilateral Commission, *Towards a Renovated International System* [1977]), the Carter administration was propping up grisly dictators like Nicaragua's Somoza, staging "human rights" coups in Bolivia and El Salvador, and its National Security Council was headed by the strident Cold Warrior (and Trilateral Commission Executive Director) Zbigniew Brzezinski. Today under Trilateralist

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Airlines...

(continued from page 16)

were fighting mad by strike time. A "flashlight vigil" at O'Hare Airport in Chicago on the night of November 17 turned into a militant rally of 600 angry flight attendants. The next day 20 percent of all air travel in the U.S. was grounded.

From the beginning, APFA announced they would strike for just 11 days, rashly trusting that government regulations on training new attendants would prevent the hiring of scabs. Crandall responded by announcing that 4,000 of their jobs were "history." The need for immediate solidarity strike action was as clear as day. And there was plenty of sentiment for it. The flight attendants strike was hugely popular. At New York's LaGuardia Airport, picketing flight attendants were joined by 200 members of the overwhelmingly black and Hispanic Local 1199 hospital workers union. In Los Angeles, unions from the Pipefitters to the Screen Actors Guild were planning a solidarity rally for November 24.

With the heavily unionized airline workers facing job losses and pay cuts across the board, there was widespread sentiment for joining the American flight attendants in strike action, particularly at United, where the pilots and Machinists unions began an ineffective "work to rule" the day *after* American went back to work. Facing a corporate giant with a $2 billion war chest, workers knew a victory for Crandall would intensify United's campaign to wrench multi-billion dollar givebacks from its unions, under the threat to set up non-union spin-off operations.

A United Airlines shop steward in San Francisco told *WV* that Denver UA Machinists had staged a solidarity "sick-out" on the first day of the strike. A Northwest Machinist in the Bay Area told us there was tremendous sentiment at his union meeting to link up with the AA strikers. In Boston, members of Teamsters Local 25 clogged the Callahan Tunnel leading to Logan to protest huge wage cuts at an airport fuel supplier. USAir flight attendants were preparing to picket the shuttle over big cuts imposed by owner Citibank. In NYC, USAir wiped out the jobs of ground service workers just short of retirement, including the heroic unionists who saved the lives of scores of passengers when a USAir jet skidded off the runway at LaGuardia last year.

But leaders of the Transport Workers Union (TWU), representing thousands of grounds crew workers at American, criminally hid behind a no-strike clause and ordered their members to continue working. Picket lines mean don't cross! Yet APFA leaders actually *encouraged* American pilots to keep flying, and also pushed ugly anti-immigrant racism when they called the FBI and Immigration cops to check the citizenship status of some scabs on a Miami-L.A. flight.

When Clinton intervened to stop the strike, APFA leaders led pickets in Dallas in chanting, "Thank you Bill!" But a harbinger of what the flight attendants can expect from this open shop Democrat was given when Clinton's FAA gave Crandall the go-ahead to slash the training time for flight attendants from six weeks to ten days to speed up the hiring of scab replacements. Under arbitration, Crandall—whose draconian contract remains in effect for the time being—will get many of the economic and work rule concessions he demanded.

More significantly, Clinton stepped into the fray in order to head off widening labor unrest in the airline industry. Republican or Democratic, the government belongs to the bosses and is backing their drive for a higher rate of exploitation by "restructuring" the airline industry on the backs of the workers. Notably, the White House called every major U.S. airline for approval of Clinton's arbitration plan before he went public with it. Here we see in action the *bourgeois state*—the executive committee for the entire capitalist class.

The Democrats' "friend of labor" veneer has worn pretty damn thin. It was Democrat Jimmy Carter's White House that cooked up the blueprint which Republican Reagan later used to smash the PATCO air traffic controllers union—with the help of Machinists chief Winpisinger and the rest of the AFL-CIO tops who kept the airplanes flying. Now Clinton's labor secretary Robert Reich threatens: "The jury is still out on whether the traditional union is necessary for the new workplace."

With "friends" like that, labor doesn't need enemies. What labor *does* need is a workers party, not a toothless electoral machine for labor reformism, but a leadership for militant working-class struggle fighting for a workers government. This means ousting the pro-capitalist union leaders who shackle labor to the Democrats and liquidate any struggle that goes beyond the bounds of capitalist "law and order."

Class-struggle leadership is urgently needed in the airline industry, where the bosses' divide-and-rule tactics are constantly pitting worker against worker and union against union. What's necessary today is a drive to organize the unorganized and to forge a single industrial union of all airline workers to stand against the bosses. Many workers today accept a key lesson of the PATCO strike—that solidarity *in action* to shut down the airports could have stopped Reagan's union-busting cold, saving a lot of jobs and livelihoods in the 1980s. Today, as Clinton carries on Reagan's dirty work, we must act on that lesson. ■

American Airlines Mugs AIDS Patient

Not only does American Airlines management want their flight attendants to look like ever-smiling Barbie dolls, they also treat people with AIDS like criminals. On November 14, Chicago cops boarded a San Francisco-bound plane at O'Hare Airport and dragged Timothy Holless off the flight, charging him with disorderly conduct. His crime? Holless had "refused to cover sores on his skin and cease giving himself intravenous treatment," reported the *San Francisco Chronicle* (18 November). Fellow passengers, who were outraged by the airline's vicious bigotry, said Holless "was dragged by two police officers down the aisle on his stomach, screaming in pain."

At first American tried to alibi the affair by claiming they were only trying to ensure other passengers were "not exposed" to a communicable disease, but they quickly dropped this line. AIDS is not communicated by sitting on a seat and breathing air. Their second story was that Holless was not pulled off the flight because he had AIDS, but because the crew wanted to ensure he was healthy enough to make the flight. Clearly, the airline was not trying to help the passenger but to victimize him. Only after the incident was widely publicized on national TV did American's management issue a public "apology."

What breathtaking hypocrisy! The airline industry routinely and *willfully exposes people to infectious diseases like tuberculosis*, which *is* communicable through the air, in order to *cut fuel costs*. Since the mid-'80s, the airlines have stopped pumping fresh air through the passenger cabin, substituting a mixture of 50 percent fresh air and 50 percent recirculated air and reducing the rate of circulation by half. Federal health officials report 23 Continental Airlines crew members were infected with tuberculosis, after exposure on several long international flights.

The airline unions have been pushing to correct this. Chris Witkowski, director of air safety and health of the Association of Flight Attendants said, "Aircraft ventilation systems need to be designed assuming that TB is present." The Centers for Disease Control, the Transportation Secretary and Congress are still "investigating." For that matter, a major reason the airlines have banned smoking is not concern about the passengers' or crew members' health, which they obviously could care less about, but in order to get away with their drastically reduced air flow. Public health is part of labor's fight against capitalism.

Clinton, behind the Seattle "vision statement" about a "brave new era for trade" what is developing is a three-cornered trade war.

Trade Wars Lead to Shooting Wars

Not surprisingly, the crystallization of imperialist trading blocs has been accompanied by military moves as the imperialist powers gear up to defend their spheres of influence. Germany and Japan, which have a long way to go to bring their military force into line with their economic strength, both recently used UN "humanitarian" missions (the former to Somalia, the latter to Cambodia) to break constitutional bans on sending troops abroad. In the face of longstanding pacifist sentiment among the Japanese population, which recalls the horrors of the American A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, senior Japanese leaders have recently begun openly talking of developing nuclear weapons capacity, supposedly to deal with the "threat" from North Korea. At July's Group of Seven summit in Tokyo, Japan quietly resisted a statement in favor of indefinitely extending the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, which presently runs out in 1995.

And amid all the manufactured alarm over North Korea (which has one small operating nuclear reactor), the Japanese government recently imported several *tons* of plutonium. The plutonium will be used to fuel the next generation of Japanese atomic reactors, but it can also be used to build nuclear weapons. Meanwhile, for years *South* Korea has been crawling with nuclear weapons and American troops targeted at the North Korean deformed workers state. Imperialist hands off North Korea!

Mainichi Newspaper Company

To placate U.S. and British imperialism, under the 5:5:3 ratio of naval tonnage decreed by the 1922 Washington conference the Japanese Navy was forced to destroy Battleship Tosa and other warships.

But the most clear and present danger to humanity remains the U.S., the most powerful imperialist power and the only one to ever use atomic weapons on human beings. With the destruction of the Soviet Union, U.S. leaders are intent on maintaining their hegemonic military position. A 1991 document supervised by the Pentagon's Director of Net Assessment declared that the main risk to the U.S. was "Germany and/or Japan disconnecting from multilateral security and economic arrangements and pursuing an independent course" (*International Security*, Spring 1993).

The various schemes being mooted about for international cooperation are a cover for a growing drive toward war. The idea of interimperialist cooperation has a long pedigree, from the founding of the United Nations to its predecessor, the League of Nations. Opportunist "socialists" have often given credence to such utopias. During World War I, the social-pacifist Kautsky called for "peace" under what he called "ultra-imperialism." Lenin's book *Imperialism* (1916) was an extended polemic against this illusion. Elsewhere Lenin, the leader of the 1917 October Revolution, wrote:

> "There is no doubt that the trend of development is *towards* a single world trust absorbing all enterprises without exception and all states without exception. But this development proceeds in such circumstances, at such a pace, through such contradictions, conflicts and upheavals—not only economic but political, national, etc.—that inevitably imperialism will burst and capitalism will be transformed into its opposite *long before* one world trust materialises, before the 'ultra-imperialist', world-wide amalgamation of national finance capitals takes place."
>
> —"Preface to N. Bukharin's Pamphlet, Imperialism and the World Economy" (December 1915)

Only under an international socialist system can there be a harmonious development of productive forces. Under capitalism, rivalries among imperialist powers are ultimately settled by war, for the international extension of production is in contradiction with the outmoded nation-state. As mounting trade war and interimperialist rivalry point toward war, it is desperately necessary for the world proletariat—above all in the belly of the U.S. imperialist beast—to overthrow the capitalist system. This is the task of a Trotskyist world party of socialist revolution, forged in the internationalist tradition of Lenin's Bolsheviks and the early Communist International. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Binding Arbitration: Trap for Labor

Flight Attendants Clip American's Wings

CHICAGO—A solid five-day strike by 21,000 flight attendants beginning November 18 caught American Airlines bosses with their pants down. Arrogant American Airlines CEO Robert Crandall thought he could bully the largely female Association of Professional Flight Attendants (APFA) into submission, threatening to replace the strikers with scabs if they didn't surrender unconditionally. But, in their first strike ever, the American flight attendants held their ground and gave Crandall a well-deserved lesson.

At least 80 percent of the company's flights were canceled, piling up losses as high as $25-50 million a day. Militant, vocal picket lines surrounded American terminals at 40 airports across the country. One of 350 chanting picketers at New York's Kennedy Airport vowed, "I'll walk here as long as I have to, even if I have to die on a picket line." But the flight attendants could not beat back American's union-busting on their own. Airline workers were inspired by the victorious strike of Air France workers last month, when they took over the runways and shut down Paris airports. And that's what was needed here—to *shut down the airports* through a powerful nationwide airline industry strike which would reverse the tide of defeat begun by the disastrous betrayal of the 1981 PATCO air traffic controllers strike.

WV Photo

Striking flight attendants at JFK Airport in New York City, November 18. Solid strike shut down the airline, but union tops folded it into binding arbitration.

But from the outset, the APFA leadership was intent on pressuring the anti-labor Clinton administration to impose an arbitrated settlement. Three days after the strike began, the union unsuccessfully called on Crandall to join it in appealing for binding arbitration. Crandall likes to be known as "Fang" for his "take no prisoners" tactics. When he finally accepted, after secretly phoning the White House to ask for intervention, it was only because the flight attendants were putting a huge dent in the company's profit margin. After five days, the strike was grounded by intervention from the Clinton White House. While many strikers saw this as a victory over Crandall, we warn that binding arbitration and government intervention are weapons in the companies' hands. The workers can only rely on their own organized strength.

The strike was a battle for survival for flight attendants, who have seen their pay plummet 40 percent under giveback terms imposed ten years ago. Under a two-tier wage system introduced by Crandall, flight attendants make *as little as $14,000 a year* after several years on the job. Many single mothers working for American have been forced to apply for food stamps to make ends meet. Fueling the strikers' anger was the company's openly sexist treatment of the 85 percent female union. "Just a bunch of skirts" is how one picket summed up the company's attitude toward the workers, who are forced into getting company-approved haircuts and humiliating "courtesy classes" when they are hired. Crandall believes flight attendants should get out of the job market and into the kitchen after being exploited by American for a few years.

Crandall entered the current contract struggle pleading poverty and determined to wring more profits out of APFA. The company trained its guns on seniority and scheduling rights, demanding that all flight attendant slots over the FAA minimum be staffed by "reserves," who must work on as little as two hours' notice. When a 30-day "cooling off period" expired on October 29, Crandall imposed these contractual terms and canceled all vacations for the next two months, daring APFA to strike.

After American declared third-quarter profits of $118 million, APFA members

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Clinton's Anti-Labor Vendetta

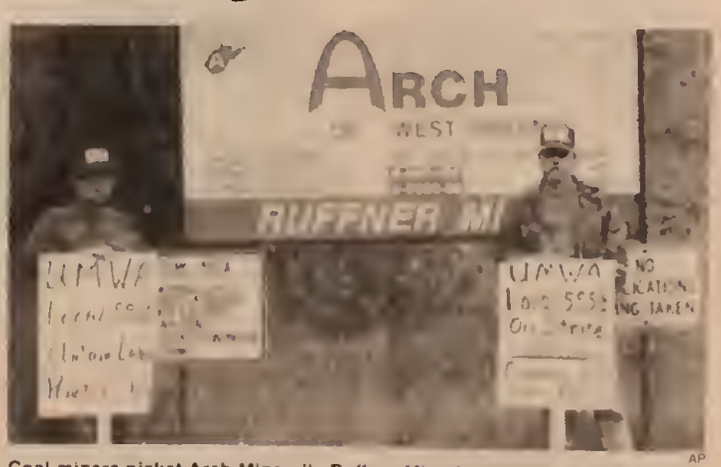
Defend Logan County Miners!

Framed-Up Miners Face 25-50 Years

NOVEMBER 29—In a savage attack by the Clinton administration on all labor, eight striking members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) in Logan County, West Virginia have been framed up on federal conspiracy charges. UMWA Local 5958 president Ernie Woods, strike captain Fred Carver, miners Daynor Adkins, Curtis Browning, Jerry May, Larry Ray Perry and Luther Shell face 25 years in prison and half-million dollar fines. Another strike captain and chair of the local's mine safety committee, Jerry Dale Lowe, faces a virtual life sentence: 50 years in jail and a $1 million fine.

This frame-up flows directly from the coal bosses' all-out effort to shatter the union. The coal fields have been inundated with gun thugs, federal marshals and state troopers during the union's almost ten-month "selective strike" against some companies in the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). All eight union men are being framed up on "conspiracy to interfere with interstate commerce," for allegedly throwing rocks at a convoy of scab vehicles in July at Arch Mineral's Ruffner mine in Yoyln in Logan County. Lowe faces additional conspiracy charges in connection with the death of a scab contractor at the same time. The charges are a classic example of the frame-up system long used to terrorize workers and minorities and destroy their will to fight.

Thus far, the UMWA International and president Richard Trumka have refused to lift a finger for the eight unionists, who are slated to go to trial on January 24. Trumka *took down picket lines* before a strike settlement was reached, turning the disastrous "selective strike" into a rout and giving the coal bosses a clear signal that he was abandoning the indicted miners. There must be an urgent fight in the UMWA to mobilize in defense of the Logan County miners!



AP

Coal miners picket Arch Mineral's Ruffner Mine in May. Clinton's FBI/BATF frame-up of West Virginia miners targets all labor.

The entire union and all of labor must come to their aid! An injury to one is an injury to all!

The eight miners are being railroaded because they did their duty on the picket line. At the Ruffner mine, Arch hired scores of provocative gun thugs from a professional union-busting outfit from North Carolina called Elite Security. Shots have been fired into the union picket shack and Arch's goons escort

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 590 17 December 1993

Russian Strongman Dances to Washington's Tune

Czar Boris' Electoral Circus

DECEMBER 13—The elections held yesterday in Russia were intended as a fig leaf for the bloody coup carried out by President Boris Yeltsin over two months ago. Since ordering the elimination of the elected parliament (Supreme Soviet) in September, sealed by the October 4 tank assault on the "White House" parliament building which left hundreds dead, Yeltsin has ruled by decree. He granted himself supreme powers and announced a vote "under the barrels of machine guns," as one provincial leader called it. The toothless legislature and makeshift "constitution" put to Russia's voters on December 12 were designed to lend a façade of legality to Yeltsin's dictatorial rule.

But the result was an embarrassment to Yeltsin and his imperialist sponsors. The election saw a huge protest vote, whose main beneficiary was the fascist "Liberal Democratic Party" of Vladimir Zhirinovsky. The success of this virulent anti-Semite and crazed Russian nationalist—who wants to reclaim Finland, Poland and the rest of the former tsarist empire—shocked Western capitals, and underlined that the Russian counterrevolution can veer off from the course outlined by Washington and the International Monetary Fund.

Also getting a sizable vote was the refounded Communist Party-Russian Federation (KPRF), which despite its name made utterly clear that it stands for a capitalist market economy. While Yeltsin claimed a majority for his constitution, the regime's own figures of a paltry 53 percent voter turnout was effectively an admission of defeat. Notwithstanding the seemingly strong vote for Yeltsin's nationalist and Stalinist opponents, the new pseudo-parliament is designed to be nothing more than a sounding board for the president's dictates. But given its composition, it could still be a thorn in his side.

Der Spiegel

Would-be dictator Boris Yeltsin after the bloody storming of the Russian parliament White House last October.

The purpose of this electoral farce is to satisfy the "democratic" pretensions of Yeltsin's imperialist backers in Washington. While fervently backing czar Boris' every dictatorial move to push through the "free market" immiseration of Russia's working people and

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After Israel-PLO "Peace" Accords

Zionist Killers Rampage Against Palestinians

Israeli Troops, Settlers Out of the Occupied Territories!

DECEMBER 10—The bitter fruit of the September 13 "peace" agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is being harvested in the blood of the Palestinian people. In recent weeks, Israeli troops and fascistic "settlers" in the Occupied Territories have escalated a terror campaign aimed at murdering grassroots Palestinian leaders and terrorizing the population as a whole. Day after day, heavily armed settlers rampage through Palestinian communities, burning down Arab homes and schools, stoning cars and firing into crowds of unarmed Palestinian civilians. The Israeli army stands guard over these terrorist pogroms, while shooting down Palestinians who defend themselves.

From the moment it was announced, we condemned the so-called "Gaza-Jericho first" deal between the Zionist "Labor" government of Yitzhak Rabin and PLO leader Yasir Arafat as an ignominious betrayal. While supposedly granting the PLO control over these two areas as a step toward autonomy throughout the Occupied Territories, in fact the PLO would act as

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Baz/AFP

"Peace process" in action: Israeli soldiers take aim at Palestinian youth in Gaza.

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Free Leonard Peltier!

For 17 years, American Indian Movement (AIM) leader Leonard Peltier has been locked away in prison hells for an alleged crime the government knows he did not commit. A victim of the notorious FBI COINTELPRO war against Indian activists, Peltier was framed up in 1977 following the shooting deaths of two FBI agents during a massive siege of the Pine Ridge Reservation, and sentenced to two life sentences. The government assault and the vicious persecution of the AIM activists is recounted in the 1992 documentary by Robert Redford, *Incident at Oglala*.

To combat the enforced poverty, degradation and continued theft of Native American lands by Washington and the energy companies (looking to get their hands on the rich uranium deposits in western South Dakota), in 1972 residents of Pine Ridge formed the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization and attempted to replace the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA)-run tribal government. The FBI unleashed a massive COINTELPRO operation, pouring hundreds of BIA and FBI thugs into the Reservation, to build what one G-man called "a colonial police force" for Pine Ridge.

By 1975 Pine Ridge was a war zone. BIA puppet chief Richard Wilson assembled a GOON (Guardians of the Oglala Nation) squad, paid for, armed and trained by the feds, to terrorize the "traditionals" and crush the AIM activists. Between 1973-1976 these paramilitary GOONs carried out more than 300 physical assaults resulting in at least 69 murders of tribe members in the Pine Ridge area. At the request of "traditionals" at Pine Ridge, AIM activists settled in at Jumping Bull ranch to protect the camp from this government-armed death squad.

In the early morning of 26 June 1975, FBI agents Jack Coler and Ron Williams led an assault on Pine Ridge. At its peak 250 G-men surrounded 30 Indians. Williams and Coler didn't survive. Peltier and three others were charged with their deaths. Charges were dropped against Jimmy Eagle. AIM activists Dino Butler and Bob Robideau were acquitted in 1976 by a Cedar Rapids, Iowa jury who stated they had not believed "much of anything" said by government witnesses and that it seemed "pretty much a clear-cut case of self-defense."

Following their setback in Cedar Rapids, the feds moved the venue for Peltier's trial to Fargo, North Dakota and made sure they locked him away forever. After a series of meetings with the FBI and prosecutors, Judge Paul Benson ruled inadmissible any evidence of anti-Indian violence—rendering impossible an acquittal on grounds of self-defense. The prosecution concealed ballistics evidence that established Peltier's gun wasn't the weapon used in the shooting. One agent, Fred Coward, testified he saw Peltier, whom he'd never seen before, running from the dead agents' car. Coward's positive ID—of Peltier's "profile"!—was purportedly made through a low-power riflescope at a distance of a half mile. The court denied defense requests to have the feat duplicated for the jury. Documents obtained years later revealed that the FBI's own attempts to duplicate such a long-distance riflescope identification all turned up negative. This fact was withheld at trial.

Around the world, Peltier has come to symbolize racist American injustice against the remnants of this country's indigenous peoples. Before counterrevolution triumphed in the ex-USSR, over a million Soviet men and women had sent letters to Washington calling for Peltier's release. Despite the outpouring of support, the capitalist courts are determined to keep this courageous fighter for Indian rights behind bars for life. On July 7 the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals again turned down Peltier's appeal, despite an admission by Prosecutor Lynn Crooks that the government has no idea who shot the two agents.

Eli Reichman

American Indian Movement leader Leonard Peltier.

On November 22 an application for executive clemency was filed by Peltier's attorney, Ramsey Clark. The Partisan Defense Committee has repeatedly protested Peltier's continued imprisonment and contributed to his defense. On December 14 we wrote President Clinton demanding Peltier's immediate release. For more information contact the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, P.O. Box 583, Lawrence, KS 66044, (913) 842-5774.

Workers Must Fight Great Russian Chauvinism!

TROTSKY

LENIN

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union has brought not only brutal economic immiseration but also bloody nationalist strife. Boris Yeltsin's drive to cohere a new strong Russian state, under the guardianship of U.S. imperialism, is intended to suppress the working masses and to subjugate and dominate the non-Russian peoples of the region. Great Russian chauvinism is the common coin of Yeltsin, the fascist Zhirinovsky and the Stalinist "patriots." Lenin waged political war on Great Russian chauvinism, which bound backward workers to the tsarist autocracy, landlords and capitalists. The Bolshevik cadre were steeled in mortal combat against the fascistic Black Hundreds who launched pogroms against the Jews in the name of "Holy Mother Russia." The Soviet Union can be reforged only on the basis of proletarian internationalism

Let us consider the position of an oppressor nation. Can a nation be free if it oppresses other nations? It cannot. The interests of the freedom of the Great-Russian population require a struggle against such oppression. The long, centuries-old history of the suppression of the movements of the oppressed nations, and the systematic propaganda in favour of such suppression coming from the "upper" classes have created enormous obstacles to the cause of freedom of the Great-Russian people itself, in the form of prejudices, etc.

The Great-Russian Black Hundreds deliberately foster these prejudices and encourage them. The Great-Russian bourgeoisie tolerates or condones them. The Great-Russian proletariat cannot achieve *its own* aims or clear the road to its freedom without systematically countering these prejudices.

—V.I. Lenin, *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination* (February-May 1914)

The proletarian revolution calls for a prolonged education of the workers in the spirit of the *fullest* national equality and brotherhood. Consequently, the interests of the Great-Russian proletariat require that the masses be systematically educated to champion—most resolutely, consistently, boldly and in a revolutionary manner—complete equality and the right to self-determination for all the nations oppressed by the Great Russians. The interests of the Great Russians' national pride (understood, not in the slavish sense) coincide with the *socialist* interests of the Great-Russian (and all other) proletarians. Our model will always be Marx, who, after living in Britain for decades and becoming half-English, demanded freedom and national independence for Ireland in the interests of the socialist movement of the British workers.

—V.I. Lenin, "On the National Pride of the Great Russians" (December 1914)

Stop the Persecution of Transit Worker James Frazier

In the early morning hours of October 24, black New York City transit worker James Frazier was driving his car to visit a friend at Kings County Hospital in Brooklyn when he was cut off by a police car, on the pretext that the car driven and owned by Frazier lacked license plates. One cop approaching the car shot Frazier from behind—the bullet exiting his left eye. Frazier, who has lost all vision in the eye, was taken to Kings County Hospital, where police told medical personnel that he was "DOA." After they admitted Frazier and treated him anyway, he was brutally assaulted by the cop assigned to "guard" him.

The cops initially charged their victim with possession of a stolen vehicle, operating a car without license plates, possession of a stolen weapon and attempted murder of a police officer. Except for the weapons charge, all these frame-up charges have been dropped.

Upon his release from the hospital weeks later, Frazier went to the Transit Authority for his back pay. Instead he was informed that he was being "terminated." Frazier's union brothers and sisters have rallied to his side. In accordance with a motion passed by TWU Local 100 track division, they have circulated a petition demanding the officers who tried to kill Frazier be charged with attempted murder.

On December 10, Frazier was an honored guest at the PDC's Holiday Appeal benefit for class-war prisoners, where he addressed the 175 participants about the cops' assassination attempt. Frazier next appears in court on January 5 at 9:30 a.m. His union brothers and all opponents of racist cop terror should be there in force. Pack the courtroom: 120 Schermerhorn Street, Brooklyn, Part AP1, 6th Floor.

* * *

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

Correction

In *WV* No. 589 (3 December) a front-page box on "Class Struggle Explodes in West Europe" refers to the November 25 Belgian general strike as the country's "first general strike in nearly 60 years." While the accompanying lead article correctly noted that this was the first time since 1936 that the major unions had *called* a general strike, a workers upsurge beginning in December 1960 spontaneously spread into an effective general strike which shut the country down for several weeks.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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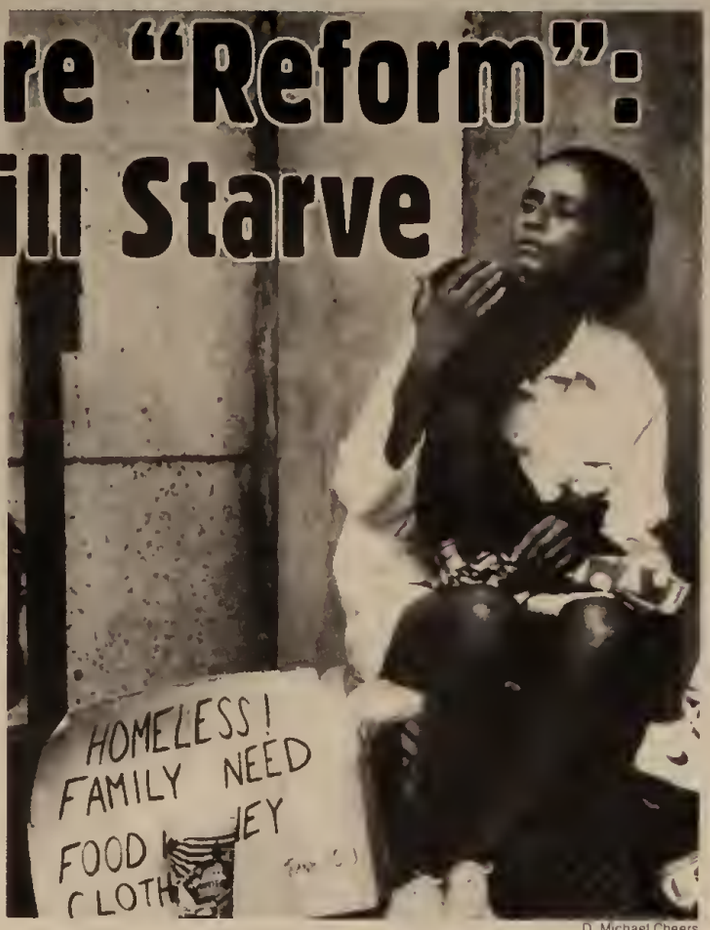
Clinton's Welfare "Reform": Blacks, Poor Will Starve

Yuppie Racism in Action



D. Michael Cheers

From medieval Europe to fascistic mercenaries today, "Kill them all, let god sort them out," has been the battle cry of barbarism. This could also be the inscription on the plans by the racist rulers of America to, in the words of Democratic president Bill Clinton, "end welfare as we know it." *Fourteen million* people—over three-quarters of them children, the majority desperately poor blacks and Hispanics for whom the current meager, sub-poverty welfare benefits "guarantee" a life of starvation and raw misery—now face getting cut off without a cent.

This is a prescription for "Genocide U.S.A."—the headline of our article on the 1988 "workfare" law which Clinton is aiming to enforce with a cruel vengeance. As we wrote at the time: "The aim of this legislation is to see to it that layers of the minority population *die*, because this decrepit capitalist system no longer needs them" (*WV* No. 463, 21 October 1988). Today, "two years and out" is the rallying cry of the yuppie racist Democrats in the White House. During the first two years, welfare recipients will be required to enroll in education and job training programs. After that, chop—get a job or starve.

But there are no jobs. By official count, which is only the tip of the iceberg, there are nine million unemployed. In 1992, 1,500 jobs were eliminated *every day*. Of those "lucky" enough to have employment, over one-quarter of the U.S. labor force is employed in what is euphemistically called "contingent work"—otherwise known as temporary or part-time jobs. Meanwhile, some 15 million full-time workers have yearly earnings that are below the poverty level. This is the bankrupt capitalist "marketplace" into which the racist rulers propose to dump some five million welfare mothers who have few if any skills.

As a measure of the viciousness of the current "welfare reform" proposals, the immediate targets are the most destitute recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). *Newsweek* (13 December) lays it out: "The reformers' real target is the minority of AFDC families—estimates range from 1.5 million to 2 million households—who stay on welfare for eight years or more. As a group these welfare mothers represent the poorest of the poor—the least educated and least employable women in America. Many are inner-city blacks."

Those who are unable to find a job will be pressed into "community service." One recalls Ebenezer Scrooge's retort in Dickens' *A Christmas Carol* when asked to give money for the poor: "Are there no workhouses?" A more American image than that of the indentured labor houses of Victorian England is that of the Southern chain gangs of black prisoners breaking rocks. The modern-day equivalent of slave labor will pay no more than current welfare payments, which on average amount to less than 50 percent of the official poverty line in the U.S. (In Clinton's home state of Arkansas, which he holds up as a "model" for welfare reform, AFDC benefits are *less than 25 percent* of federal poverty income!)

The "Republicrats"

Echoing Clinton's "two years and out" plan, the Republicans have their own welfare reform plan which they dub "tough love." Obscenely calling it "a compassionate idea that would give the downtrodden the incentive to change," they propose to raise money for training programs by cutting food programs and barring immigrants from welfare benefits. Any single mother who is unable or unwilling to identify the father of her children will get cut off immediately. The

continued on page 6

S.F. Protest: Stop "Operation Matrix" War on the Homeless!

Mayor Jordan Says: Feed the Hungry, Go to Jail

SAN FRANCISCO, December 6—If the Waco massacre is the signature of the Clinton years, events at the SF "Hall of Justice" this morning bore the seal of ex-chief of police Frank Jordan's reign as mayor. A scene from his vicious, barbaric "Operation Matrix" to "improve the quality of life" (of the rich—the poor are to have no life in this city): supporters of the group Food Not Bombs tried again to simply distribute free food to the homeless and hungry, and five of them were arrested within 20 minutes. Arrests Nos. 1 and 3 were for handing someone a bagel, arrest No. 2 for handing someone a banana, and arrest No. 4 for holding a bag of bagels.

One young man angry at his arrest was manhandled by a group of cops and then dragged into the building and thrown to the floor. The thugs in blue confiscated a box of bagels, some bunches of bananas and a couple of apples. Nevertheless, at least two homeless people got something to eat, including a gay white man in his mid-20s who told *Workers Vanguard* this was his first real food in 72 hours, and a black man who came with his work tools (a squeegee and rag).

Keith McHenry of Food Not Bombs, one of those arrested, had expected to go to trial today for an earlier arrest, but the charges were dropped. Yet the arrests continue—the group has taken *over 575 arrests* to date. This is clearly intended to *prevent* the public distribution of food to the poor while avoiding an embarrassing trial. That could challenge the whole "Matrix" program, designed to harass the homeless from the city by such measures as handing out citations for sleeping on the street, taking away their carts and destroying their personal belongings. It's not yet formally a crime to feed the poor—the cops just haul you off to jail if you try.

And it's not just right-wing ex-top cop Jordan who's pushing this "let 'em starve" program: under liberal Democratic mayor Agnos in the late 1980s, SF police regularly busted Food Not Bombs for distributing free food in Golden Gate Park.

Riestere/Oakland Tribune

SF's Golden Gate Park, August 1988: "Food Not Bombs" has been hit with hundreds of arrests for distributing food to the poor.

The body of a homeless woman found outside the headquarters of HUD in Washington, D.C. last week has caused an outpouring of crocodile tears from the Clinton administration. But the brutal reality of this decaying capitalist society is that scores of homeless die *every day*. Thousands more live on the edge of extinction on freezing city streets with no shelter, no food and no prospect for help. The message they've received from Republicans and Democrats alike is: go away and die. Plenty of working people in the U.S. keenly feel that they are only one paycheck away from the street themselves. The multiracial working class must send a message of our own: We will not let the poor, the elderly, the oppressed minorities of this country be sacrificed on the altar of capitalist greed.

At SF City Hall on Tuesday, December 14, the Spartacist League, the Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Partisan Defense Committee are protesting Jordan's war against the homeless and poor and demanding that the SF cops keep their hands off Food Not Bombs, who will be doing one of their regular food distributions at the same time. ■

Cuba Caravan: Ramsey Clark and "Pastors for Peace"

Honolulu, Hawaii
November 2, 1993

Dear members of the Spartacist League:

Jan Norden's speech on Cuba, which appeared in the October 8 issue of Workers Vanguard [No. 585], contained much valuable information on the situation in that country. In general I agree with the analysis presented. But Norden makes a statement about the Cuba solidarity movement in the U.S. which effectively destroys his credibility among those people he is trying to win to a Marxist outlook. Here is the statement:

> "A broad spectrum of reformist leftists in the U.S. and elsewhere have joined forces in a Cuba solidarity movement. For example, people like the 'Committees of Correspondence,' a social-democratic split-off from the Communist Party USA, for whom this waving of the flag of Cuba solidarity is a cheap way of disguising their flight to the right. Because in the 'Cuba solidarity' movement there are now active openly counterrevolutionary forces. There was a recent 'caravan for peace' which got a lot of publicity in Cuba (and very little here) because the American authorities stopped it at Laredo on the Mexican border and wouldn't let it go through. The 'Pastors for Peace' who organized it made a big point of how they were carrying Bibles as well as medicine. But the dead giveaway was the presence on that caravan of one Ramsey Clark, the former attorney general under Lyndon Johnson who ordered the Chicago cops to beat up on the antiwar protesters at the 1968 Democratic convention (along with a lot of other crimes)."

Reuters

Former U.S. attorney general Ramsey Clark, AIM activist Dennis Banks, and author Alice Walker arrive in Havana last May with a shipment of medicine.

José Palacios

The "Little Yellow School Bus," held hostage by U.S. Customs in Laredo, Texas.

What is the remark about the Committees of Correspondence supposed to mean? That the Spartacist League would prefer this group to *abandon* its efforts to oppose the blockade? If Norden is criticizing the CoC for not being active enough in Cuba solidarity work, why not just say so, instead of implying that SL doesn't want their participation at all? Shouldn't revolutionaries try to pressure other non-revolutionary groups and individuals to participate? Shouldn't the decision of other groups to participate be viewed as something positive? So, according to Norden, it's easy for the CoC to get involved in the Cuba solidarity movement because "counterrevolutionaries" such as Ramsey Clark are involved in it. What does this mean? That revolutionaries should attempt to *stop* Ramsey Clark from participating in these caravans? If an effort like this is attracting "openly counterrevolutionary forces," something must be fundamentally wrong with it. Norden stops short of making such a statement, because it leads to another question: does SL or doesn't SL support the effort to break the blockade? By its abstention from this movement, SL is in practice answering in the negative, and evidently Norden has to try to cover up this embarrassing position with the rather strange, confusing statements about "openly counterrevolutionary forces."

Norden says that the pastors "made a big point of how they were carrying Bibles." What's this supposed to mean? That they should have made a "small point" of it? That they shouldn't have mentioned Bibles at all? Is it so strange that Christian ministers would want to distribute the Bible? Is distribution of the Bible itself a counterrevolutionary act? The reader is left in a fog. Maybe Norden should award the Order of Lenin to the Federal border thug at the border in Laredo who ripped a Bible from a minister's hands in the process of assaulting him. After all, the Federal agent was countering the influence of "counterrevolutionary forces," wasn't he? And what effect does Norden think that scene had on Christians around the country?

Christians around the world have been justifiably angry at the policies of the former Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe and elsewhere which have persecuted Christians and which have forbidden the dissemination of the Bible. In Cuba this does not happen, and in this case it is the U.S. government which is trying to prevent the distribution of Bibles (along with medicines, bicycles, etc.) in Cuba. Bringing this to the attention of the Christians of the United States will cause more Christians in the U.S. to begin questioning U.S. policy toward Cuba. Why is that so hard to understand?

"But the dead giveaway was the presence on that caravan of one Ramsey Clark." "Dead giveaway" to what? What did Clark's presence "give away"? The presence of "openly counterrevolutionary forces," as Norden puts it? If Clark is "openly counterrevolutionary," then what is Clinton? Or Alpha 66? Does Norden see no difference between Ramsey Clark, who has helped to expose U.S. war crimes in the Gulf War, and the dozens of other "openly counterrevolutionary" politicians who supported that war? What's Norden's definition of "counterrevolutionary"? Clark is a bourgeois liberal. If Norden considers "bourgeois liberal" to be synonymous with "counterrevolutionary," it's everyone's right to choose definitions, but this one doesn't really help clarify anything. Will Norden make another speech attacking Lenin for inviting "openly counterrevolutionary forces" represented by Herbert Hoover to help with famine relief in the U.S.S.R. in 1922?

And *why* did the whole caravan effort not get much publicity? Would Norden care to speculate?

The aims of Norden's statements are transparent: to let those reading Workers Vanguard know that SL members or supporters should not participate in these caravans, and that those expressing any interest in actively opposing the blockade must be made to know that this is not the kind of effort that SL approves of. The power of the example of these hundreds if not thousands of people—rank and file unionists, antiwar activists and others—participating in the revolutionary act of challenging U.S. imperialism's strangulation of the Cuban revolution is amply demonstrated by the fact that Norden has to resort to the most shallow, specious and dishonest arguments in order to try to justify SL's abstention from this movement. Norden hides behind these crude arguments and sectarian remarks about the presence of religious leaders. (One wonders if Norden would feel the same way about a religious leader who might support the Partisan Defense Committee's efforts to free Mumia Abu-Jamal—but that's another subject.) The SL would do well to reject these petty excuses for inaction, and join in this movement of internationalist solidarity. To be sure, the way to end Cuba's isolation is through international revolution. But to counterpose the struggle for world revolution to a movement which is directly challenging the imperialist blockade is ultraleft sectarianism. It is not the road to revolution in the U.S. or anywhere else.

Norden's remarks are all the more irritating since they come in the middle of an otherwise very good article. The first-hand account of Cuba today contains many valuable insights. Then one reads these absurd comments about Pastors for Peace and other groups. It is as if one is having a conversation with someone who is being very pleasant and amiable, and then suddenly slaps you in the face.

As a revolutionary Marxist, as a former member of the YSA who has come to reject the politics of the SWP leadership, I hope that the Spartacist League will abandon this kind of sectarian politics. I hope also that Workers Vanguard will introduce (or re-introduce?) a letters section. The absence of a letters section is usually a "dead giveaway" (to use Norden's phrase) that the newspaper is not interested in debate with others outside its own coterie. I hope that is not true in the case of the Spartacist League.

Sincerely,
Marc Viglielmo

WV replies: The sheer vindictiveness of the Clinton administration in persecuting those who seek to show solidarity with embattled Cuba was dramatically shown by its treatment of the "U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment" caravan last summer. For 23 days, in stifling 100-degree-plus Texas heat, U.S. border officials at Laredo held hostage a school bus stocked with medical relief supplies and its occupants ranging in age up to 87, before finally relenting and allowing them to head on to Cuba. The Cuban press headlined, "Who's Afraid of a Yellow School Bus?" The U.S. media blacked out the incident, as they have the recent challenge to the travel ban (see "Down with U.S. Travel Ban on Cuba!" on page 5). After more than three decades, the existence of a workers state only "90 miles from Florida" continues to irritate U.S. rulers no end.

Certainly many of those who participated in this caravan and donated medicines, clothing, school supplies and other urgently needed aid were defying the vicious U.S. embargo out of solidarity with the Cuban Revolution. We defend them against repression by the American government and support efforts to break through the starvation blockade. But it should be clear from the Bush/Clinton colonial occupation of Somalia in the guise of "famine relief" how the imperialists cynically manipulate humanitarian concerns for reactionary purposes. What reader Marc V. objects to is our warning that *important counterrevolutionary forces now want to junk the embargo and are trying to use the Cuba "solidarity movement" in the service of restoring capitalism on the island*

Ever since Castro expropriated U.S.

WV Photo

New York, September 1991: Following Soviet cutoff of aid to Cuba after Yeltsin's August '91 countercoup, Spartacist League demonstrates in defensa of Cuba.

Down with U.S. Ban on Travel to Cuba!

—— Feds Seize Passports ——

As the U.S. tightens the noose around Cuba, the Clinton administration is treating American travelers to Cuba like criminals. When a group of 175 U.S. citizens returned October 17 from the besieged island, 60 had their passports seized. Some had their film destroyed, educational materials confiscated and souvenirs impounded. U.S. Customs agents handcuffed one woman from this "Freedom to Travel Challenge" tour when she protested the seizure of her personal diary. A four-year-old was forced to hand over his made-in-Cuba licorice and pretzels.

One of the participants in the October "Freedom to Travel" trip to Cuba, Polly Mann, described her return to the U.S. through Houston, where her passport was taken. "As I delivered my bags onto the counter, a man with my passport and customs declaration in hand asked me to accompany him for interrogation. Two U.S. Customs agents in a tiny cubicle who said that they were not arresting me, nevertheless read me the Miranda warning that anything I said could be used against me." Her statement concluded: "I vigorously protest the confiscation of my passport by a government which by the day, by the hour and by the minute, engages in immoral, if not illegal acts.... The Cubans are not my enemy. They are part of my family."

A spokesman for the INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service) said that the passports were seized in "enforcing the Cuban Embargo Act, the Trading with the Enemy Act and the Cuban Democracy Act of 1992" (Minneapolis *Star Tribune*, 20 October). Due to the *expansion* of the trade ban to U.S. subsidiaries in other capitalist countries under New Jersey Democratic Congressman Robert Torricelli's Cuban Democracy Act, Cuba will suffer an additional loss of $800 million this year. The Torricelli bill passed Congress last year only after Democrat Clinton, on the campaign trail in Florida, lambasted the Bush administration about missing "a big opportunity to put the hammer down on Fidel Castro and Cuba." The corporate subsidiary trade was concentrated in medicines and food, where severe shortages are causing hardship for the Cuban masses.

In late October Torricelli personally appealed to former Florida D.A. Janet Reno to prosecute American tourists traveling to Cuba for violating the U.S. embargo. He told a meeting of the far-right Cuban-American National Foundation he would not rest until all of the participants in the "Travel Challenge" were in jail, according to Pam Montanaro of Global Exchange, one of 50 organizations in the Freedom to Travel Coalition. Meanwhile, the *gusano* terrorist organization Alpha 66 is distributing flyers at the Miami airport threatening that "Traveling to Cuba can be dangerous to your health." Earlier this year, the Miami-based "Comandos L" group sent a boat to strafe the luxurious Spanish-Cuban Hotel Melia in Veradero with machine-gun fire.

AP

Members of group defying ban on travel to Cuba received *gusano* death threat (shown at left), had passports confiscated by U.S. Customs agents.

In the wake of the destruction of the USSR and its lifeline to the Cuban deformed workers state, the 32-year-old U.S. embargo has become a virtual starvation blockade. With a disastrous 1992-93 sugar harvest on an island where sugar normally makes up 80 percent of its exports and lacking oil to run its industry, many of Cuba's factories are shut down and 70 percent of its public transport has been eliminated. Castro is still seeking the will o' the wisp of "peaceful coexistence," hoping to attract sufficient foreign investment from the Latin American bourgeoisies and European imperialists to counter the intractable hostility of Yankee imperialism. Domestically the Stalinist bureaucratic regime is floundering among a series of dead-end alternatives, encouraging the development of a dollar-economy sector and undertaking the decentralization of state farms.

Nevertheless, a September 1993 UNICEF report found the child survival rate in Cuba—which has the core of its collectivized economy still intact—to be the best in all of Central America and the Caribbean and just below the average for industrialized countries. An eye disease epidemic that struck 50,000 Cubans was brought under control thanks to the country's mobilization of the resources necessary to halt it, an effort that has brought praise from international health experts. Cuba's Ministry of Public Health last April called the U.S. embargo "the epidemic's main ally." The sanctions continue to rain their hammer blows on the impoverished Cuban working masses, while the U.S. military blockade supposedly targeting the brutal capitalist dictatorship next door in Haiti ultimately has its guns pointed at Castro and Havana.

Defend Cuba—Down with the U.S. starvation embargo! U.S. out of Guantánamo! U.S./OAS/UN hands off Haiti! Down with the U.S. ban on travel to Cuba! No prosecution of the "Challenge" travelers—Return their passports now!

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capitalist interests and sent the Havana bourgeoisie packing off to Miami, the American ruling class has been obsessed with "taking back Cuba." For years they were stymied: their *gusano* mercenaries got creamed at the Bay of Pigs, numerous attempts to assassinate Castro failed, and above all the power of the USSR stood in the way, with a Soviet army brigade stationed on the island as a trip wire. Since the collapse of the Stalinist-ruled Soviet degenerated workers state cut off Cuba's main international support, the imperialists see their big chance to come back. But they are divided over how best to achieve their counterrevolutionary aims. While Washington has tightened the embargo, seeking to squeeze Cuba into submission, many of Clinton's supporters think this will *build* support for Castro.

The Spartacist tendency has always opposed the embargo, a blatant act of war by the U.S., just as we demand the U.S. Navy get out of Guantánamo, as part of our unconditional defense of Cuba against Yankee imperialism. But it is also our duty to state that a growing wing of the American bourgeoisie now sees the embargo as counterproductive to linking up with and encouraging counterrevolution from within. Thus for anti-imperialists breaking the blockade must be combined with an intransigent stand in defense of the Cuban Revolution.

"Capitalism Through the Back Door"

Capitalist counterrevolution in Cuba need not be only through economic warfare or U.S. imperialist invasion. There is another road, as was demonstrated in East Europe. Or look what is happening in China today. Far from embargoing China, U.S. and Japanese imperialism have greatly expanded their trade and direct investment with an aim toward strengthening counterrevolutionary currents within the massively corrupt Chinese bureaucracy.

Let's look closer at Marc V.'s arguments. First, he would identify "counterrevolutionaries" with *gusano* terrorists like Alpha 66, or presumably supporters of the Batista dictatorship around Jorge Mas Canosa's Cuban-American National Foundation. But they're not the only ones trying to bring down the Cuban Revolution. The *New York Times* (25 April) quoted an organizer of the Basta (Enough) "solidarity" group in Key West, which sent an embargo-busting flotilla to Cuba last spring, John Leslie, as saying: "The more openness we can get going, the greater the chance that the embargo can be lifted. Once the embargo is lifted, Castro is gone."

In Miami, Cuban exile leader Eloy Gutiérrez Menoyo—*the founder of Alpha 66!*—recently formed a group, Cambio Cubano (Cuban Change), which favors "dialogue with anybody" in Havana and calls for loosening the embargo. This is also the line of many pro-imperialist opponents of the Castro regime inside Cuba. In July, Elisardo Sánchez Santa Cruz, who for years has been the main symbol of the liberal "democratic opposition" for Western newsmen, traveled to Washington urging the Clinton administration to drop the boycott. Sánchez argued that "by maintaining open hostility the United States is helping Castro" ("Cuban Dissident, in the U.S., Says Embargo Is a Mistake," *New York Times*, 3 August).

Marc V. asks, "What's Norden's definition of 'counterrevolutionary'? Clark is a bourgeois liberal." Well, John F. Kennedy was also a bourgeois liberal, and he ordered the Bay of Pigs invasion, not to mention the Vietnam War, which was a counterrevolutionary imperialist war against social revolution. Our reader also objects to saying that the presence of Ramsey Clark on the Pastors for Peace caravan was a "dead giveaway." "What did Clark's presence 'give away'?" he demands. What was revealed by the participation of LBJ's former top cop, *who used to enforce the embargo on trade with Cuba*, is that a whole section of the American ruling class considers that the embargo, while once an effective means of imperialist pressure and "containment" of Cuba, has become an obstacle to promoting *internal* counterrevolution. For U.S. imperialism's brutal choke hold visibly demonstrates there is an *external* enemy that makes life worse for each and every Cuban.

Moreover, by extending the embargo with the "Cuban Democracy Act," sponsored by New Jersey Democrat Torricelli (and endorsed by Democratic presidential candidate Clinton when Republican president Bush was still wavering), which tries to enforce the embargo on subsidiaries of U.S.-owned companies in other countries, Washington has come into conflict with U.S. allies. Referring to the recent United Nations vote of 88 to 4 condemning the U.S. boycott of Cuba (only Israel, Paraguay and Albania joined Washington in voting no), a *New York Times* (8 November) editorial argues that the Torricelli Act, which was "meant to isolate the Castro regime, has embarrassingly isolated the United States." Not to mention the fact that American businesses are losing out while Canadian, Spanish, Mexican, French and German companies are rushing to invest in the Cuban tourist industry.

The *Times* editorial favorably cited a study by the Twentieth Century Fund calling for "relaxation of travel bans and the trade embargo as first steps, to be followed by direct negotiations on compensating U.S. companies whose assets were seized after the revolution." This study, *Cuba in Transition*, by Gillian Gunn of the Georgetown University Cuba Project, cites editorials from the *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Boston Globe* and *San Francisco Chronicle* sounding the same refrain. But it's not just the liberal media. William Ratliff, senior research fellow at the conservative Hoover Institution, and Roger Fontaine, a member of Reagan's National Security Council, wrote in the *Washington Times* calling for "unilaterally repeal[ing] the embargo on everything except military-related technology," and also co-authored an op-ed piece in the *Washington Post* titled "Foil Castro—Lift the Embargo."

The Twentieth Century Fund represents the liberal Democratic establishment (its board includes Kennedy/Carter administration stalwarts such as Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and Ted Sorenson). The study argues that due to economic undermining of the revolution (represented by multiplying capitalist joint ventures, the spread of the dollar economy, etc.), "Cuba is already caught up in a self-reinforcing cycle of economic reform that can only be slowed, not stopped." Their "Plan for Success" is a "peaceful transition" to a "democratic, market-oriented Cuba," even if the resulting government might "still call itself 'socialist'." The alternative they fear would be "violent upheaval" that would produce "uncontrolled immigration," and "peace and stability could take many years to be restored." Indeed, armed resistance to counterrevolution could send shock waves throughout the region.

So yes, Ramsey Clark is a "dead giveaway" that leading U.S. imperialist policymakers are banking on counterrevolution from within Cuba. Gillian Gunn quotes a Cuban economist saying the regime's present policies are leading to "capitalism through the back door." The liberals are *for* this because they want to undo the revolution; we warn *against* this because we fight for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy in order to save the Cuban

continued on page 11

Richards/AFP

Richards/Magnum

Clinton *glitterati* on the town (left), while welfare mother and kids struggle to survive.

Welfare "Reform"...

(continued from page 3)

Republicans' ultraright black spokesman Charles Murray put it baldly: "I want to cut everything. I want to get rid of food stamps, subsidized housing—all of it."

Clinton says Murray has the "right diagnosis" but the "wrong prescription." But the Democrats' sometimes efforts to give their "welfare reform" plans a "kinder, gentler" image—by promising real job training programs, childcare and education—are a cynical sham. This is a *bipartisan* war on the poor. It represents the consensus of the entire capitalist class, a supreme expression of Gore Vidal's statement that there is only one party in America, the property party, with two right wings.

Clinton recently gave the nod to Wisconsin's Republican governor Tommy Thompson to impose a two-year limit on AFDC benefits starting in January. Recipients will be required to work for their benefits in the second year and then it's over, no more cash, not even the offer of continued slave labor for the "community." Another member of the Clinton "welfare reform team" is Michigan's Republican governor, John Engler, who cut 83,000 people off the general assistance rolls in that state in 1991. Only 8 percent found any work and those jobs they found paid on average $120/week! Some 21 percent of these "able-bodied adults" had chronic physical or mental problems. Over 35 percent lost their homes, tripling the number of beds in Detroit's homeless shelters. Engler is a quintessential capitalist bloodsucker. Of those he axed from the state's welfare rolls, many supplement whatever meager earnings they have by selling their blood for $20 a pint.

In the 1980s, Reagan reviled the "homeless who are homeless, you might say by choice." Now Clinton declares that the poor are poor by choice, arguing that his "welfare reform" will "remove the incentive for staying in poverty" and "reinforce the work ethic"! Playing on this theme of the moral turpitude of the poor, a column in the *Los Angeles Times* (22 November) with the Orwellian headline, "Pull the Plug on Welfare to Solve Poverty," asks: "hy what moral logic should a taxpayer be asked to give a part of his earnings to sustain a child fathered by a young man who disappears, leaving mother and child wards of the state?"

This is truly perverse. It is the U.S. government that makes receipt of AFDC benefits contingent on there being no "man in the house"! And when a HUD task force proposed to continue welfare payments with a father present, there was a howl of outrage from the same racist crowd that blames poverty on the breakdown of the black family and "deadbeat dads." In fact, the rise of single welfare mothers in the inner cities coincides directly with the disappearance of jobs for black men—who were among the first to get axed in the massive layoffs of the '80s.

Portraying the "nation's five million welfare families as an indolent lot in need of a moral tonic," Republican conservative Newt Gingrich pronounced, "You can't maintain civilization with 12-year-olds having babies and 15-year-olds killing each other and 17-year-olds dying of AIDS" (*New York Times*, 11 November). So after bilking the economy, deindustrializing the country, eliminating jobs wholesale, smashing unions and turning the inner cities of America into vast urban wastelands of poverty, disease and death, the rulers now deride the poor as "uncivilized."

The "New Democrats"

The *Economist* (13 March) noted that in the 1992 election campaign "welfare reform, and especially Mr. Clinton's embrace of a two-year time-limit on receiving assistance" together with support for the death penalty "were among the most powerful symbols that he was a 'new Democrat'." This year, Clinton, who took time out of his campaign schedule to personally supervise the execution of a brain-damaged black man in Arkansas, donated the White House Thanksgiving turkey to a children's petting zoo grotesquely citing this as his first "official pardon."

A White House aide boasted, "'Two years and out' always looked good in the campaign.... Now that we're here, we have to be willing to say that nobody is automatically entitled to the safety net." Indeed, in America the "safety" net has been replaced by the dragnet. There's no money for welfare, but under Clinton's new racist "anti-crime" bill there's millions for high-tech prisons, a hundred thousand more cops and the electric chair.

This week a proposal by U.S. Surgeon General Joyce Elders to legalize drugs was met with an outcry of protest in Washington. Why? Elders' proposal is eminently sane and rational. The decriminalization of drugs would take the profit and correspondingly much of the violent crime out of dealing. But the rulers of this country are insane and irrational. While they scream about drug-related crimes, the capitalists have a vested interest in keeping drugs illegal precisely because it provides the rationale for gearing up their machinery of death and repression aimed at keeping the working class and oppressed cowed and subservient.

Similarly, "welfare reform" is a broadside attack against all of the working class. In their book, *Regulating the Poor* (Random House, 1993) Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward point out that welfare recipients are to be treated in a manner that is "so degrading and punitive as to instill in the laboring masses a fear of the fate that awaits them should they relax into beggary and pauperism. To demean and punish those who do not work is to exalt by contrast even the meanest labor at the meanest wages."

In racist America, where labor and wages are only getting meaner and leaner, the overlay to preserving a system of raw exploitation and oppression is the black question. The forcible segregation of the black population in this country at the bottom of society has long been wielded by the capitalist rulers of America as an effective club in retarding working-class struggle. Once serving as what Karl Marx called a "reserve army of labor" to be brought in during economic "booms," under decaying American capitalism ghetto blacks are now deemed to be a surplus population, an "unprofitable" mass not worth even being maintained at the most meager subsistence level.

The calls for "welfare reform" are openly racist, portraying blacks in the inner cities as a lazy and an immoral drain on society, a burden which is costing "hard-working folks." But in absolute numbers the overwhelming majority of the poor, the unemployed, the single welfare mothers are white. The rulers play the race card because that's how they think they can get away with the further impoverishment of the entire working class. And they calculate that the destitute masses of the inner cities have no social power—a calculation which is reinforced by the trade-union misleaders.

These racist labor cops for the rule of capital haven't lifted a finger in defense of the homeless and poor, many of whom are the product of the trade-union tops' giveback contracts over the past two decades which saw the "sacrifice" of hundreds of thousands of jobs, millions in wages and the decline of unionized workers from 29 to 17 percent of the labor force. Now the hureaucrats complain that an influx of workers paid at welfare level would threaten union jobs: A labor movement worth its salt would fight to organize the unemployed, demanding a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to spread the available work around, union-run minority hiring and upgrading programs, a massive public works program at union wages, welfare payments at a living rate—*for a start.*

The way out of the all-sided desperation, union-busting, poverty, homelessness and racist genocide that is today's America is through sharp and hard-fought working-class struggle. The working people created all the wealth of this country; to claim the fruits of their labor and employ it to the benefit of the majority of society requires breaking the power of the bourgeoisie. The working class has the numbers, the organization and the power to do this. What it lacks is the revolutionary consciousness and leadership to do it. For that we need a workers party, one that doesn't "respect" the property rights of the capitalist rulers, one that will fight as a tribune of all the oppressed, that will organize the power of labor in its own interests and for its own rule through socialist revolution. ■

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Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

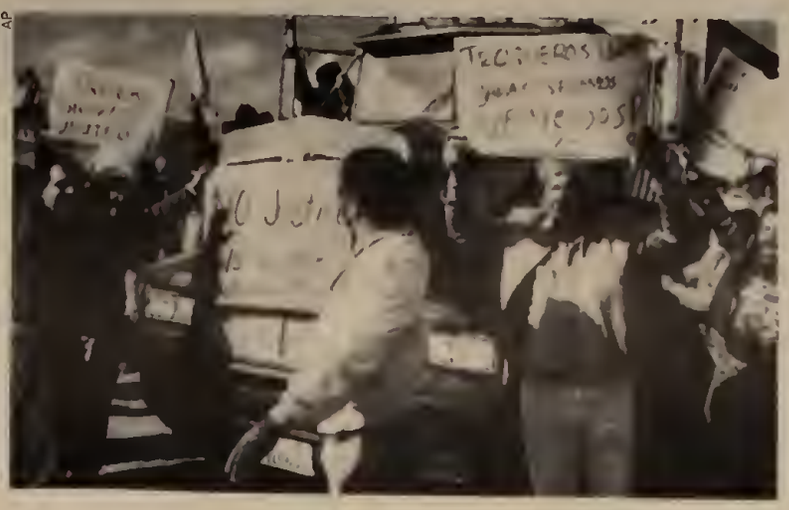
Latino Truckers Shut Down L.A. Port

LOS ANGELES—In what began as part of a week-long nationwide independent truckers protest strike against rising diesel fuel prices and NAFTA, nearly 3,000 striking drivers effectively paralyzed the Los Angeles and Long Beach ports for eleven days last month. "Truckers Protest Shuts L.B., L.A. Ports," reported the *Long Beach Press Telegram* (12 November) and "Truck Strike Taking Its Toll—Port Traffic Down 85%" (13 November). The heavily Latino strikers, many of them Central American immigrants, faced down heavy cop harassment and victimization. Strikers were booked for throwing down cigarette butts while scabs who tried to run down picketers were let go. On November 17, cops used tear gas and rubber bullets in attacking 150 strikers picketing a container rail facility. Two days later, 60 cops in riot gear forced strikers from their rallying site at Terminal Island.

The truckers are mostly short-haul drivers who own their own rigs and transport cargo that is unloaded on the docks to local rail yards for further distribution. Their standard of living has been steadily eroded since trucking was deregulated under Reagan, as the flat rates they are paid per haul have gone down while maintenance, fuel and insurance costs have skyrocketed. The long waits between hauls go unpaid, while the trucking companies that act as brokers take half or more of the hauling fees. The drivers currently want Teamsters Local 692 to represent them, eliminating the parasitic brokers and forcing the companies to accept a contract with health benefits, vacation and sick pay.

The Latino drivers have shown tremendous militancy and solidarity, recalling last year's strike by largely Mexican drywall construction workers in Southern California. Truckers told *WV* that the strike was 98 percent solid, despite the lack of formal organization, mobilizing leaflets or even an office. But like the drywallers, they have been left by the labor bureaucracy to face the cops and companies alone, receiving token support at best. Local 692 tops are eager to get drivers' dues, but haven't lifted a finger to help them on the picket lines, refusing even to aid the legal defense of arrested strikers! Scandalously, some 2,000 Teamsters continued to work in the harbor area during the strike. When the truckers tried to join International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 13, the ILWU tops cynically pleaded that it was outside their "jurisdiction"—and refused to honor the picket lines!

Over NAFTA, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy joined with right-wing billionaire Ross Perot in spreading jingoist poison against Mexican workers. But Latino immigrant workers in the Los Angeles area, from janitors to *drywaleros* and truckers, have injected a militant spirit into the labor movement. They can also serve as a "human bridge" for common class struggle north and south of the border, often against the same bosses (GM, Ford). What's needed is class-struggle leadership with an internationalist program to mobilize the multiracial proletariat against the racist protectionism of the union bureaucracy. Organize the unorganized! Full citizenship rights for immigrant workers—*Migra* cops keep out!



November 12: Combative Latino truckers struck L.A. ports demanding union representation and contract. Sign in Spanish reads: "Truckers United Will Never Be Defeated!"

CAT and Staley: Bureaucrats Play Losing "Inside Game"

Some 13,000 Caterpillar workers walked out at the world's largest maker of heavy earth-moving equipment for three days in mid-November, highlighting an ongoing series of bitter class battles in downstate Illinois. The walkout came more than a year and a half after United Auto Workers (UAW) leaders liquidated the union's 163-day strike against CAT. Since that despicable betrayal, Illinois has witnessed a capitalist offensive of lockouts and strikebreaking against coal miners, power workers, teachers and Staley corn processing workers. Now the Ku Klux Klan is threatening to bring its murderous racism and union-busting to Springfield, the state capital, on January 15—Martin Luther King's birthday.

Mass, militant labor struggle is needed to beat back the bosses' offensive. But the union misleaders, including so-called "reformers" cherished by most of the left, have dished up one defeat after another. For all the hot air they blow off at union rallies, the labor bureaucrats all bow before the bosses' bottom line: profits and private ownership. When the capitalist cops, courts and politicians say jump, their labor lieutenants say, how high.

In the more than two years since the UAW's contract with Caterpillar expired, the Solidarity House bureaucrats have made *not one attempt to shut down the entire company*, not even during the long Peoria-based strike of 1991-92. Instead they caved in to anti-picketing injunctions and allowed massive scabbing even at struck facilities. After scuttling the strike, the UAW tops then fooled around with an impotent "in-plant strategy" such as refusing voluntary overtime while begging company stockholders and customers to pressure CAT bosses to be "nice" to the workforce! The balance sheet on this losing game is that workers get screwed around by management on the shop floor, while company profits soar ($432 million in the latest quarter).

Frustrated and fed up, CAT workers have embarked on a series of short, localized strikes. The latest shutdown began on November 11, sparked by the suspension of a union rep in Mossville, Illinois, and quickly spread across the state and to Pennsylvania and Colorado. Company spokesmen immediately threatened to replace the strikers with scabs. UAW members attended special union meetings over the weekend in a mood of apprehension, knowing damned well the cowardly "Sacrifice House" crowd never intended to take the CAT to the mat. Sure enough, the strike was over by the Monday morning shift.

With UAW leaders demonstrating their bankruptcy, Illinois bosses have gone on a union-busting offensive. Their current target is the struggle by 780 members of Allied Industrial Workers Local 837 to win a contract at the Decatur Staley plant. Chief advisers to Local 837 are Jerry Tucker, a St. Louis UAW bureaucrat who until this month led a "reform" caucus called New Directions, and "Corporate Campaign, Inc." honcho Ray Rogers (see "Illinois Workers Rally in the 'War Zone'," *WV* No. 581, 30 July). In 1986, Rogers led the P-9 Hormel packinghouse workers strike in Austin, Minnesota to defeat by looking to community support and a consumer boycott, while the UFCW International was herding scabs in to work! What was needed was not some new gimmick but old-fashioned class struggle, including a strikers' occupation of Hormel's flagship plant.

Today various fake-left groups promote these characters as an alternative to the proven sellouts around International president Owen Bieber. The social-democratic "Solidarity" grouping published an article (*Against the Current*, July 1993) praising the Decatur Staley struggle, in which Rogers was working to "isolate the company from the corporate community"(!), while Tucker ran the "in-plant strategy" of "work to rule" (under a company-imposed contract!). But on June 27, Staley management responded by locking the entire membership of Local 837 out of the plant and began hiring scabs. Mass picket lines should have been set up immediately, with a call for the rest of the labor movement to join them and to "hot-cargo" Staley products. But, fearing to tread on the bosses' anti-union laws, Tucker vowed, "We wouldn't ask workers to refuse to handle the products" (*In These Times*, 15 November).

These "reformers" offer nothing but pro-capitalist policies in new packaging. The heart of the "in-plant strategy" is *not striking*—they are pushing the bosses' lie that strikes don't work anymore. No, what doesn't work is strikes led by bureaucratic sellout artists and corporate campaigners who play by the bosses' rules.

At a November 7 rally, Local 837 members and supporters were clearly looking for a fighting program to win: over 150 copies of *Workers Vanguard* were sold and hundreds of the *WV* supplement "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win" were handed out. Yet demoralization with the bureaucrats' losing strategy was evident: the turnout of a thousand was way down from a previous rally just before the lockout. Those who showed up heard the same poisonous crap pushed by the UAW International and the rest of the AFL-CIO officialdom: lobby Congress, elect phony "pro-labor" Democrats, screw foreign workers. One anti-NAFTA flyer turned Yankee imperialism's rape of Latin America on its head, claiming that the trade pact "undercuts American sovereignty"! But it's American capitalists who are taking over the Mexican economy, not the other way around.

The labor misleaders push a *defeatist* line, and then alibi themselves by shifting the blame to foreign workers. What's needed is a strategy to *win*, a program to mobilize labor's power—one that shuts down production and rings the factory with mass pickets, while fighting for international class solidarity and labor/black mobilization to stop racist terror. And that requires a class-struggle leadership fighting for a workers party that aims not to appease the bosses, but to expropriate them under a workers government. ■

Angry CAT workers walked out for three days last month to protest suspension of union representative in Mossville, Illinois. Walkout spread to Pennsylvania and Colorado.

Israel...

(continued from page 1)

enforcers of the Zionist occupation and place its "seal on the national oppression of the long-suffering Palestinian Arab masses" (*WV* No. 583, 10 September). The recent settler/army actions represent an attempt to wreck this agreement *from the right*, through a bloodthirsty fascistic revolt carried out in collusion with at least sections of the Zionist political establishment. However, all wings of the Israeli ruling class are committed to the suppression of Palestinian national rights. We demand: *All* Israeli troops and settlers out of *all* of the Occupied Territories, now!

Only days before the once-promised December 13 deadline for implementation of the accord, Israel flooded the Occupied Territories with massive troop reinforcements. And on December 9, the anniversary of the Palestinian *Intifada* revolt, fascist settlers murdered three Palestinian laborers near Hebron. The "peace" deal was brokered by the U.S. in an attempt to impose an imperialist Pax Americana on the Near East. As a result of the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, Washington has sponsored a number of "peace" deals as part of a U.S.-dominated "New World Order," including between the Salvadoran guerrillas and America's death squad client state and a bogus "power sharing" agreement between the ANC and the apartheid regime in South Africa. But as the photo-op of Rabin shaking hands with Arafat on the White House lawn is eclipsed by scenes of crazed Zionist zealots and soldiers shooting Arabs in the back, U.S. president Clinton is trying to distance himself from the increasingly bloody "peace process."

Israel barely waited for the ink to dry on the sham accord before resuming—and stepping up—its murderous manhunt of Palestinian activists. In late September, an army raid in the West Bank grabbed PLO "Black Panther" commander Ahmed Awad Ikmail and five others. Days later, troops in the Gaza Strip blasted rocket-propelled grenades at a headquarters of Hamas, which opposes the accord, killing two members of the Islamic fundamentalist group and arresting 16. Army officials claimed "their activities were specifically aimed at smashing Hamas gunmen and not at PLO factions which support the peace process" (London *Independent*, 4 October). But army death squads have also been going after activists in Arafat's Fatah group.

In late November, troops gunned down the 18-year-old son of a leading Fatah activist in the West Bank town of Ramallah. Several days later, on November 28, an army undercover unit posing as Arab vegetable vendors assassinated 23-year-old Ahmed Abu ar-Reesh and 21-year-old Farid Imtair, members of the youth group Fatah Hawks, as they stood outside the former's house in Khan Yunis in the Gaza Strip. Shortly before his murder, ar-Reesh had turned his gun in to Israeli authorities as part of an amnesty program for supporters of the accord. This cold-blooded execution was such a blatant and deliberate provocation that army chief of staff Ehud Barak was compelled to issue an unprecedented apology. But the killing continues unchecked.

Jerome Delay

Fascistic settlers, backed by Israeli army, have been carrying out pogrom against Palestinians in West Bank town of Hebron.

Just in the month after the signing of the accord, some two dozen Palestinians were killed by Israeli soldiers. Two weeks ago, Israeli television cameras captured the horrific scene of a young Palestinian being executed with a bullet through the head, as troops fired directly into Gaza crowds protesting an earlier murder of a Hamas activist. Moreover, three leading Fatah officials in the Occupied Territories have been assassinated in the last three months in mysterious circumstances, killings which Hamas and other anti-Fatah Palestinian groups have explicitly condemned. Particularly given Israel's past campaigns targeting PLO officials for wholesale execution, and the recent exposure of an Israeli spy in the PLO's inner council, the long arm of the Mossad secret service is certainly not to be excluded.

Meanwhile, hard-core racist settlers have been terrorizing Palestinian towns and villages throughout the Occupied Territories. For six weeks now, fascistic gangs have blockaded highways with burning tires and stoned cars with Arab license plates. The West Bank town of Hebron has become the scene of a virtually uninterrupted Zionist pogrom, as settler mobs marauded through the streets with clubs swinging and guns blazing, shattering windows of homes and shops, shooting one Palestinian through the head. In village after village, Arab homes, greenhouses, refugee camps and classrooms have been attacked and set ablaze by crazed Israeli fascists. Meanwhile, the army has begun openly recruiting settlers into the armed Civil Guard auxiliary, while Rabin's cabinet is split over whether to endorse a newly formed settler militia.

The army high command made no secret of its dissatisfaction with the Rabin-Arafat deal. One in five reservists say they will disobey orders to evacuate the territories or ask to be relieved from duty. The army's current behavior brings to mind the so-called "Lavon affair" of the 1950s, when military intelligence agents around longtime "Labor" Zionist leader David Ben-Gurion carried out unauthorized raids against Egypt in order to sabotage secret peace talks between then prime minister Levi Eshkol and Egyptian president Nasser. Lavon was forced to resign as "defense" minister—despite his insistence that the attacks had been carried out without his instructions—paving the way for Ben-Gurion's return.

The Zionist "ultras" are up in arms over the prospect of even the most cosmetic concessions to the PLO, particularly the proposed creation of a lightly armed Palestinian police force. Settler spokesman Aharon Domb rants: "Any armed Arab policeman is a terrorist as far as we're concerned, and if we run into him on a highway, I'll open fire." These threats are echoed in the halls of the Israeli parliament, the Knesset, by the head of the Molodet party, which stands for the forcible expulsion of the Palestinians. Ultrarightist former military commander Ariel Sharon has called on the settlers to fight any government attempt to remove them.

The aim of the proposed Palestinian force is not to police the violently anti-Arab settlers, but to protect them. PLO negotiator Nabil Shaath made this explicit on the CBS news program *60 Minutes* (5 November). When asked if "a Palestinian policeman, perhaps a former member of the *Intifada*, is going to arrest his Palestinian brother to protect an Israeli settler," Shaath replied "yes." The new police force, which is to include a 3,000-strong secret intelligence force to track down Palestinian "terrorists," is being hand-picked by Arafat loyalists in Tunis to weed out potential "troublemakers." The man chosen to be police commander in Gaza served for nearly 30 years as a cop for the Israeli occupiers, until forced to resign by the *Intifada* uprising six years ago.

Through its capitulation to the Israeli regime, the petty-bourgeois nationalist PLO has encouraged the current wave of Zionist-fascist outrages. Not only have Arafat & Co. backtracked on their previous position for a minimal Palestinian statelet in the Occupied Territories, they have repudiated even the call for getting rid of the militarized settlements. As fascist terror besets the Palestinian people, PLO spokesman Faisal al-Husseini issues impotent appeals for "an international force to serve as a buffer between us and the settlers" (*New York Times*, 9 November). When Palestinian militants fired at a car carrying a leader of the fascistic Gush Emunim movement last month, Arafat quickly caved in to demands by Rabin and U.S. president Clinton that he denounce "violence" against settlers—with not a hint of condemnation of the rampant Zionist terror being inflicted on the Palestinian people.

Initial, albeit skeptical, support for Arafat's plan among the Palestinian masses in the Occupied Territories has steadily evaporated as its true content becomes clear. In the first electoral test of support for the agreement, in student elections at Bir Zeit University in the West Bank, an anti-accord political bloc of the fundamentalist Hamas and the self-styled "Marxists" of the Popular Front (PFLP) and Democratic Front (DFLP) defeated a pro-Fatah slate. Even within Fatah, particularly among the young Hawks, there is widespread disgruntlement with Arafat and the accord.

Jadallah/Reuters

Palestinians in Gaza demonstrate in outrage over murder of Hamas leader by Israeli troops.

Meanwhile, what passes for a left in Israel marches in lockstep behind Rabin. The Meretz bloc in the Israeli cabinet sees the accord as the culmination of its years of Zionist "dove" appeals for "peace now." Meretz spokesman Yossi Sarid sympathizes with "the sorrow of the settlers" and haughtily dismisses Arafat's apology as "not enough." His colleague Shulamit Aloni insists that Arafat call on the Palestinian people as a whole to condemn "terror."

The Stalinists of the Israeli Hadash parliamentary bloc (whose base is almost exclusively Arab) and the Palestinian

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NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips a week in December.**

Our next issue will be dated January 7.

Israel Wants Their Spy Back

Swap Pollard for Mordechai Vanunu!

Heroic Technician Imprisoned for Exposing Zionist Nuclear Arsenal

AP

Mordechai Vanunu's revelations in 5 October 1986 London *Sunday Times* exposed that Israel had hundreds of nukes. Left: Following his abduction in Rome by the Mossad, the courageous nuclear technician flashed message to reporters from police van.

The following letter has been submitted to the New York Times.

14 December 1993

The New York Times
New York, NY

To the Editor:

Amid the campaign by the Israeli government, U.S. rabbis and others for the release of Jonathan Jay Pollard, sentenced to life imprisonment for spying for U.S. ally Israel, a letter to the *Times* (26 November) by an official of the American Friends Service Committee advocated the simultaneous release of Pollard and Mordechai Vanunu. Vanunu is the courageous Israeli nuclear technician who in 1986 revealed to the world the existence of Israel's vast nuclear weapons arsenal. Your editorial of 10 December 1993, "No Special Deal for Mr. Pollard," takes the opposite tack, stating "Mr. Pollard's sentence is harsh, but not unjustly so. Mordechai Vanunu, an Israeli citizen, has sat in Israeli prisons for eight years for disclosing the open secret of Israel's nuclear weapons program."

It was in fact an "open secret" that Israel possessed nuclear weapons, but they had been presumed to be small and primitive. What Vanunu, a technician at Israel's Dimona nuclear facility, revealed was that Israel was the world's sixth-largest nuclear power, providing detailed information, substantiated with scores of photographs, that Israel had stockpiled at least 200 warheads. For exposing the Zionists' doomsday machine, he was kidnapped in Italy by the Mossad spy agency, hauled back to Israel in a cargo ship, and thrown into a Shin Beth (secret police) dungeon where he remains today.

Workers Vanguard (21 November 1986) newspaper pointed out, "A dozen or so A-bombs could nuke every Arab capital and make Hitler's Holocaust look like child's play.... But 200 nukes would mean the warmongers in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem have a much bigger target in mind: *Russia*. Is this a joint operation with Washington in preparation for nuking the Soviets?... Or are the Israelis preparing to go solo? The Zionist madmen could very easily—and perhaps deliberately—trip over the trip wire for World War III." Washington targeted Saddam Hussein as a supposed military threat because he might have been building an A-bomb, and now they're doing the same with North Korea—but the Israeli government already has the nuclear capacity to set off a global conflagration.

The Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee have waged an international campaign demanding "free Mordechai Vanunu"; all of humanity owes a debt of gratitude to this heroic man. Sentenced to 18 years in prison, Vanunu has spent virtually all of the past eight years in rigorous solitary confinement, and supporters are increasingly concerned for his health. The European Parliament has three times called for his release; in 1988, Australian MPs nominated him for the Nobel Peace Prize. Last year the *Sunday Times* of London, which first printed his revelations, launched a public clemency campaign for Vanunu. Mordechai Vanunu should be freed, now, and if the Israeli government wants Pollard, let them pay for him by releasing Vanunu.

There is a secondary sinister thread to the Pollard affair, and that is the strain of anti-Semitism which runs through this country's ruling class—particularly virulent among the "Moral Majority" right-wing Republicans with whom the Zionists were then in cahoots (e.g., Contragate). Israel is a U.S. ally, but the anti-Semites had a field day with the Pollard trial, questioning the "loyalty" of all Jews in America. We recall the anti-Semitic Cold War witchhunt of the heroic Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were also accused of spying for an ally (the USSR in World War II) and after a frame-up trial were murdered in the electric chair in 1953.

Sincerely,
Rachel Wolkenstein
Staff Counsel,
Partisan Defense Committee

People's (formerly Communist) Party in the Occupied Territories fulsomely support the treacherous Israel-PLO accord. While Hadash leader Tawfiq Zayyad begs the government to disarm settlers "using weapons other than in self-defense"(!), People's Party head Ghazan el-Khateeb denounces Hamas for "sabotaging the peace process" (*People's Weekly World*, 6 November). It is precisely this kind of liberal Stalinist pablum which fosters the growth of Islamic fundamentalists like Hamas, who seek to enslave Palestinian women behind the stultifying veil. In fact, Hamas quickly arrived at a "live and let live" agreement with Fatah, but we defend them and other opponents of the accord like the PFLP and DFLP against Zionist repression when they undertake actions against armed Israeli occupation forces, whether in or out of uniform.

The fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) of Ernest Mandel, in its consistent support for Palestinian nationalism, has gone from enthusing over indiscriminate anti-Jewish terror in the early '70s to now cozying up to this conqueror's "peace." For international consumption, USec leader Salah Jaber makes a passing reference to the accord as a "Zionist *diktat*" (*International Viewpoint*, October 1993). But in an "Open letter to a friend from Peace Now," Israeli USec leader Michel Warschawsky, lamely criticizing the PLO deal as being "far from satisfying," waxes poetic about the "vision of Israeli-Palestinian coexistence" and the "unconditional joy of peace." This self-styled "Trotskyist" vows his commitment "to bring about the full implementation of the Oslo agreement, in hopes that the new arrangement will prepare the ground for a true peace between Israel and Palestine" (*News From Within*, 5 October). Meanwhile, the quirky ex-Trotskyist American Socialist Workers Party supported the accord outright!

The wretched Rabin-Arafat deal is not even the smallest step toward peace in the Near East, much less anything approaching the national emancipation of the Palestinian people. As we wrote at the time of its announcement, the "Gaza-Jericho first" agreement amounts to little more than "'community control' over a couple of impoverished slums." As Israeli and PLO negotiators quibble over the size of the proposed Jericho bantustan (ranging from 10 to 150 square miles), what is emerging is a plan for a series of disconnected, isolated Palestinian "cantons" (in reality, ghettos) in the Occupied Territories, a proposal openly pushed by Sharon (including in private meetings with Rabin). In fact, the essence of this scheme was laid out in the "Allon plan" proposed by "Labor" immediately after the conquest of the territories in 1967.

The ever-expanding Jerusalem metropolitan area already consists of much of the central third of the West Bank. Newly elected Likud mayor Olmert vows to go on "creating facts on the ground," the Zionist euphemism for expropriating Arab land. The Rabin government has just approved a further extension of the limits of Jerusalem—consolidating existing settlements as far east as Jericho and south to Hebron into a new "housing development"—which would effectively split the Palestinian population of the West Bank in two. Meanwhile the Israelis insist on maintaining control over a three-mile strip bordering the Jordan River and a "hill line" to the east of Jericho, as well as roads connecting the numerous West Bank settlements.

The national and social liberation of the oppressed Palestinian masses requires the destruction of the Zionist garrison-state (as well as the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan) through socialist revolution, in which the Hebrew-speaking workers must necessarily play a central role. While demonstrating considerable economic militancy, as in a recent takeover of Tel Aviv airport by El Al strikers, the Hebrew workers must be broken from the stranglehold of Zionist ideology and won to the defense of Palestinian national rights if they are to successfully combat their own exploiters.

Only joint class struggle by all the workers of the region, standing at the head of the peasants and myriad oppressed nationalities, can lead to a progressive, just and equitable resolution to the conflicting national claims of the numerous peoples of the Near East, assuring the right of self-determination for both the Palestinian and Hebrew-speaking peoples. The key lies in forging an internationalist Trotskyist vanguard party, in which Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews will be comrades in struggle against the Zionist capitalist exploiters and oppressors. ■

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Russia...

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devastation of its industrial base, the imperialists still want to maintain the image that Yeltsin is, in the words of U.S. secretary of state Warren Christopher, "the best exponent of democracy and progress in Russia." But while Russia's new mafia millionaires and their big brothers in Wall Street and the City of London feast on Russian caviar, the working masses suffer from widespread and growing malnutrition, homelessness and the destruction of social services. The governor of Nizhni Novgorod province, a pacesetter in privatizing industry, warns: "Unfortunately the next year in Russia will be a year of tremendous inflation, unemployment, strikes, factory closures and very acute political conflicts. I see nothing good in the future."

Yeltsin aspires to be a Russian version of Pilsudski, Poland's dictator in the 1920s and '30s. However, Pilsudski came to power in a bonapartist coup which had both wide popular support and the backing of a cohesive military. Yeltsin has neither. He is a bonaparte, a would-be dictator, but a very weak one, whose firmest support lies in the financial capitals of the West. The army's backing remains tentative and unenthusiastic, and is certainly not to be relied on in the event of a mass working-class upsurge. While the world-historic defeat represented by the destruction of the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state has had a devastating impact on the proletariat, several strikes in the weeks before the election point to the possibility of volatile social struggles in response to the ever-deepening immiseration.

Der Spiegel

Troops guard charred "White House" after Yeltsin ordered storming of parliament.

Yeltsin's *Ukaz* Constitution

Even under the most "democratic" capitalist regime, so-called "free elections" serve to distribute power within the ruling class, which exercises its monopoly of control over the media and big money. But in the context of bloody counterrevolution, Yeltsin's elections were intended to give "democratic" sanction to the mass murder of hundreds of defenders of parliament during the October 4 assault on the "White House." More than a dozen political organizations were banned outright for their defense of the former parliament. Class-conscious workers must fight against Yeltsin's anti-democratic ban and call for freeing Rutskoi, Khasbulatov and all the imprisoned supporters of parliament.

A revolutionary workers party in Russia would have fought to independently mobilize the working class and its allies against Yeltsin's bloody assault on parliament, which was aimed at consolidating his bonapartist rule and eliminating what was seen as an obstacle to the imperialist-dictated "free market reforms." In fighting not only to bring down Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary regime but against all the capitalist-restorationist, chauvinist scum, it was necessary to bloc *militarily* with the Rutskoi/Khasbulatov forces defending parliament, but without giving an iota of political support to Yeltsin's bourgeois opponents.

Appropriately enough, the lower house of the new Russian "legislature" is called the Duma, after the impotent "advisory" council under the last tsar. On the eve of the election, Yeltsin restored the old imperial double-headed eagle as the state symbol of the "new" Russia. This was the same emblem under which the tsarist Duma met—and was repeatedly disbanded—before the 1917 Russian Revolution. One woman, whose relatives fought in the Civil War of 1918-20 against the tsarist White Guards, commented bitterly: "They were fighting against the restoration of that evil eagle that meant poverty and slavery for us simple people. And now it is all coming back."

The new constitution enshrines Yeltsin's right to rule by *ukaz* (decree). The president will have the power to unilaterally appoint the prime minister, the powerful security council, top military commanders, the supreme court and the central bank, to set internal and foreign policy and to reject any Duma legislation. The draft, reports the London *Guardian* (10 November), "gives elaborate details on the many new ways in which parliament can be dissolved." The Duma will not be able to reject—or even consider—presidential decrees. Should it reject the president's candidate for prime minister three times, "the Duma is deemed to have dissolved itself." Yeltsin can declare a state of emergency at his whim. His impeachment is made virtually impossible, and the grounds for impeachment do not include violation of the constitution.

While 13 slates were finally allowed to run—ranging from four "reform" blocs to the industrialist Arkady Volsky's Civic Union and the KPRF to the fascist Zhirinovsky—opposition groups were denied effective access to everything from the airwaves to phones and office space. In one two-week period in November, the favored "Russia's Choice" of Yeltsin crony Yegor Gaidar was given 28 minutes on the main Ostankino TV station, as compared to *ten seconds* for a rival "reform" group headed by liberal economist Grigory Yavlinsky. Yeltsin tried to remove the KPRF and another party from the ballot for criticizing the constitution. Yet from early returns, Zhirinovsky garnered a quarter of the votes, the refounded "Communist" Party and its allies of the Agrarian Union (representing collective farmers) together got 20 percent, and Gaidar got only one vote in seven. The "Women of Russia" slate got over 8 percent.

Some of the smaller Stalinist "patriot" groups—including the outlawed Russian Communist Workers Party of Viktor Anpilov—called for a boycott of the elections. In an article in the *Nation* (6 December), Boris Kagarlitsky, head of the small social-democratic Party of Labor, also argued for this position.

Kagarlitsky cited the Russian workers movement response to the 1905 "Bulygin Duma." This was set up as a sop specifically aimed at heading off the workers uprising. But after the revolutionary upsurge had been decisively defeated, Lenin's Bolsheviks participated in the elections to the third Duma in 1907 as a platform for revolutionary propaganda. As Lenin wrote:

> "Active boycott, as the experience of the Russian revolution has shown, is correct tactics on the part of the Social-Democrats only under conditions of a sweeping, universal and rapid upswing of the revolution."
>
> —V.I. Lenin, "Draft Resolution on Participation in the Elections to the Third Duma" (July 1907)

Sham that they were, the current elections did not take place in a period of escalating class struggle; on the contrary, given the present passivity of the Russian proletariat, the call for an *active* boycott policy was empty.

We of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) were for a resounding "no" to Yeltsin's bonapartist constitution. However, in the legislative elections there was no party or group to which revolutionaries could give even the most critical electoral support. The KPRF won votes from many of those who were opposed to the "free market" immiseration represented by the capitalist "reformers" and were also repelled by the violent racism of Zhirinovsky. Yet this largest of the Stalinist "patriot" organizations ran on the basis of explicit and emphatic support to capitalist "free enterprise." Roy Medvedev's Socialist Party of Labor (SPT) threw itself into a "Fatherland" bloc with monarchists and Cossacks, which soon fell apart and took the SPT out of the running.

While denouncing Yeltsin for seeking greater powers than even "the pharaoh, the tsar and the general secretary" and condemning "wild capitalism," KPRF head Gennady Zyuganov insisted: "Privatisation is essential" (*Economist*, 27 November). Zyuganov went out of his way to dissociate his party from anything remotely connected to communism. Lauding the Bible and the Koran, he railed, "There are more former Communists in Boris Yeltsin's government than in my party." Adamantly affirming his support to capitalism, Zyuganov complained that under Yeltsin, "no real reforms have yet begun. They promise us a capitalism like Switzerland's, but it's already more like Colombia here, and may soon be Bangladesh" (London *Guardian*, 25 November).

Behind Zyuganov's pseudo-populist rhetoric is a program for a more nationalist, gradual road to the introduction of full-fledged capitalism. Acknowledging the devastating impact of Yeltsin's "shock therapy," this was common coin for all the electoral groupings. Volsky's Civic Union called for "therapy without shock," while Yeltsin minister Shakhrai (running on a slate independent from Gaidar) called for an "active industrial policy" and his running mate Shokhin, a deputy prime minister, warned that "whole regions of Russia could turn into zones of social catastrophe." Even Gaidar, the architect of Yeltsin's "shock therapy" deindustrialization program, cloaked himself in "centrist" language stressing the need for tariffs and "sensible protection" for Russian industry.

The fascist Zhirinovksy's dramatic vote total is a sinister omen for Jews and non-Russian nationalities. A crazed fanatic who vows to "follow in Hitler's footsteps," Zhirinovsky spewed anti-Semitic filth and railed during the campaign that he would restore Russia to the borders of the tsarist empire. His TV ads showed Russian toughs heating up a dark-skinned person from the Caucasus. While Gaidar is now posturing as an anti-fascist, Yeltsin/Gaidar gave Zhirinovsky extra air time because—as an open advocate of autocratic rule—he was one of the few non-governmental candidates to support Yeltsin's constitution. Zhirinovsky has positioned himself to exploit growing hostility to Yeltsin/Gaidar's economic "shock treatment," directing mass desperation into pogroms against ethnic minorities.

Zhirinovsky was not alone in pushing unalloyed Great Russian chauvinism. The KPRF's Zyuganov was earlier co-chairman of the fascistic Russian National Sobor and a leader of the "red-brown" National Salvation Front. Shakhrai's electoral slate ran on the slogan "Family, Property, Homeland." Gaidar's theme song was titled "Russia Is Risen" and his buttons featured an image of Peter the Great. While thoroughly beholden to Washington, Yeltsin is no less a Great Russian chauvinist than his nationalist opponents. The new constitution does away with even the formal rights to autonomy previously granted to predominantly non-Russian regions such as that of the Volga Tatars and the Chechens in the Caucasus. From the day after parliament was dispersed, Yeltsin and Moscow mayor Luzhkov have waged a pogromist crackdown aimed at driving out dark-skinned people from the capital.

This goes hand in hand with an attempt to expand Russian control in the "near abroad," the non-Russian republics of the former USSR. Largely succumbing to pressure from the military, Yeltsin has explicitly opposed NATO expansion to East Europe. But this is not necessarily counterposed to a pro-Western policy. Washington is in favor of a strong Russian state reasserting its dominance over the domain of the former Soviet Union, so long as it remains a client state subservient to Western interests. As the Lon-

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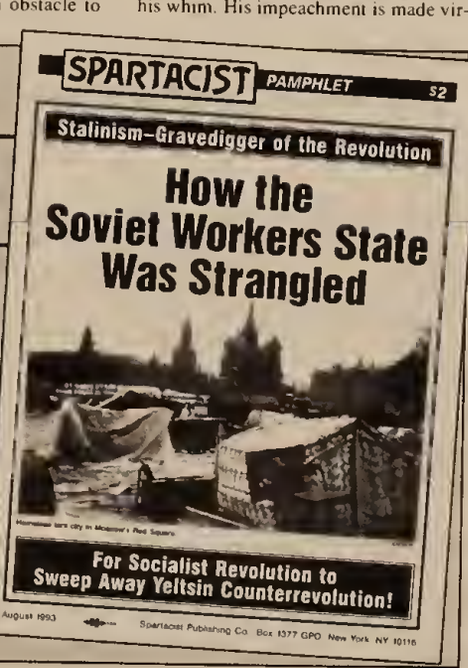

Cuba Caravan...

(continued from page 5)

workers state and extend revolution throughout the hemisphere. Gunn confirms our reports that there was "widespread unease" over Castro's July 26 announcement legalizing the holding of dollars, out of fear that this would "foment social inequality," particularly since "black Cubans are less likely than white Cubans to have wealthy relatives abroad." *The program of "capitalism through the back door" is a mortal threat to the Cuban workers state, and is the main danger threatening Cuba today.*

Those who defend the Cuban Revolution must beware of imperialist liberals who seek to use the "solidarity movement" as a Trojan horse, calling to end the embargo and pretend the siege has been lifted, in order to foment counterrevolution inside the ramparts.

Beware of the Hooverites

This is not the first time in history such questions have arisen. Thinking he has nailed us, Marc V. asks rhetorically if we're going to attack Lenin "for inviting 'openly counterrevolutionary forces' represented by Herbert Hoover to help with famine relief in the U.S.S.R. in 1922." First of all, we didn't criticize *Cuba* for accepting aid from the Pastors for Peace. We defend the right of the besieged deformed workers state to get aid where it can, at the same time as we warn of the dangers of dollarization of the economy. But what about Herbert Hoover's "efforts" on famine relief? In point of fact, after the defeat of the imperialist expeditionary forces and White Guards by Trotsky's Red Army in the Civil War, Hoover *did* attempt to bring in counterrevolution under the cover of famine relief.

In the face of a catastrophic famine, in mid-1921 the Soviets set up an "All-Russian Committee for Aid to the Hungry," including former members of the Provisional Government, prominent Kadets and other non-Bolsheviks, in order to draw funds and support from abroad in the face of this disaster. A few months later, bowing to desperate need, the government concluded an agreement with Hoover's American Relief Administration (ARA). But Hoover, then U.S. Secretary of Commerce, hoped to use the famine to weaken the Soviet government and promptly began maneuvering, refusing to deal with the Bolshevik authorities and attempting to treat the predominantly bourgeois committee as a virtual shadow government. ARA personnel engaged in espionage. The situation grew so threatening that after barely a month of its functioning, the Bolsheviks had to dissolve the committee, and when it refused to disband, had the leading bourgeois members arrested!

You can read about this in volumes 1 and 3 of E.H. Carr's *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-1923*. Moreover, in a series of messages Lenin declared, "Hoover must be punished, he must be *slapped in the face publicly*, for *all the world* to see, and the League of Nations Council as well" (11 August 1921). And again, "concerning the 'Hooverites,' their every step should be watched ...while the worst of them" must be "'tracked down' and caught" (5 September 1921). While the Soviet government found it necessary to deal with Hoover, Lenin insisted that workers send their contributions independently of the bourgeois authorities: "Do all our representatives abroad know that everything should be done to support workers' collections (in aid of the starving) *directly to us*?"

So Lenin, too, warned about counterrevolutionary forces seeking to manipulate relief aid and called on workers to organize independently. And the Communist International, while appealing to workers for donations for Soviet Russia, emphasized that the key aid to the embattled workers state was through using the proletariat's organized strength to stay the hand of the bourgeoisie, and for the proletariat to "come together for the common defensive struggle against capital" at home. A classic example of this was the 1919 Seattle General Strike sparked by the port workers' refusal to ship containers labeled "sewing machines" which turned out to be guns for the counterrevolutionary Whites. So today, while we are for efforts to gather humanitarian aid for Cuba, we must point out that these goods cannot make a dent in the embargo—for Cuba the caravans are important mainly for their propaganda value. To bust the blockade and defend Cuba it is necessary to make socialist revolution throughout Latin America and in the belly of the imperialist beast!

Popular-Front "Solidarity Movement"

Our reader also objects to our noting that the Pastors for Peace emphasized that they were carrying Bibles as well as medicine. "Is distribution of the Bible itself a counterrevolutionary act?" he demands. But the use of religion is not an insignificant factor in counterrevolution. Recall, for instance, the role of the Catholic Church, the godfather of Polish Solidarność. While we warned in 1981 that this favorite "union" of Reagan and of anti-Communist Pope John Paul Wojtyla was pushing for restoration of capitalism, calling to "Stop Solidarność counterrevolution!" the hulk of the left hailed Walesa's outfit. Some even raised "solidarity" aid which was funneled, along with millions of dollars from the U.S. government, through the conduit of the "AFL-CIA." Eight years later, Solidarność came to power and promptly proceeded to restore capitalism.

Marc V. asks what of religious leaders who may have supported the Partisan Defense Committee's efforts to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal? Not only have we approached pastors and priests, we have sought support from black Democratic Party politicians such as Congressman Ron Dellums and Pennsylvania state senator David Richardson on behalf of the former Black Panther on death row. Or in another example, in 1974, we held a protest in New York City in support of striking British miners, which was endorsed by Paul O'Dwyer, then president of the New York City Council. In the first case, opposition to the racist death penalty is a straightforward defense of democratic rights. In the second case, there was a working-class struggle which an individual capitalist politician supported for his own reasons, in this case hatred for British imperialism and his support for Irish nationalism, which enabled us to garner labor backing.

But that is different from joining with a whole section of the bourgeoisie on their program. There is a history to this question as well, the history of the popular front. The reader writes that he is a former member of the YSA, youth group of the Socialist Workers Party. His views in fact coincide with the policies of the SWP in the Vietnam antiwar movement. Arguing that they were organizing a "single issue" coalition to "bring the troops home," they built a popular-front movement on the program of the Democratic Party "doves." While they only succeeded in getting a couple of capitalist politicians, such as Senator Vance Hartke, up on the platform in their "National Peace Action Coalition," the presence of Hartke was a "dead giveaway" to the *bourgeois* class content of this "peace" movement. Their program coincided with those imperialist spokesmen who sought to cut American losses as they were being defeated by the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese.

A *Spartacist* supplement (July 1971) headlined "Against NPAC Pop Fronts: For Class Action Against the War," noted:

> "NPAC is a Popular Front combining the SWP with the liberal bourgeoisie and Cold Warrior 'socialists,' through which the SWP can 'lead' masses of people and rub shoulders with Vance Hartke and Victor Reuther. The SWP is able to 'lead' these masses through the oldest opportunist sleight-of-hand in the world—by adopting the liberal bourgeoisie's program!"

We demanded, "No Liberal Bourgeois Speakers at Anti-War Rallies," "For Labor Political Strikes Against the War," "Break with the Capitalist Parties—For a Political Party of the Working Class," "Smash Imperialism—All U.S. Troops Out of Asia Now" and "Victory to the Indochinese Revolution—No Confidence in Sellout 'Leaders' at Home or Abroad!"

When in July of 1971 the SWP used NPAC's so-called "non-exclusion" policy to keep Vance Hartke on the platform and forcibly exclude communists who tried to shout him down, its pact with the bourgeoisie was sealed in blood. And when U.S. troops were withdrawn from Vietnam after the 1973 Paris "peace" accords, the SWP's vaunted "antiwar" movement suddenly disappeared, although the fighting went on for two more years, for it was built not on a program to defeat imperialism through socialist revolution, but on social-chauvinist appeals for "our boys" (the American army).

Today, the role of the Ramsey Clarks is to once again trap would-be radicals in the bourgeois confines of the popular front. They are aided by the likes of the Committees of Correspondence, the right-wing split-off from the CPUSA. For them, "Cuba solidarity" work is indeed a cover for their program of pressuring the Democratic Party (only now without any "Communist" pretensions). Viscerally opposed to a *class* program of proletarian internationalism, they are doing the donkey work for the liberals who want to get the Clinton administration to replace its "outdated" and "counterproductive" policy with a more effective program *for counterrevolution*. And like the Stalinists in the 1930s heyday of the People's Fronts, they are livid when the Trotskyists expose their shell game by revealing that their "alliance" with the "progressive" bourgeoisie spells doom for the workers' cause.

The best defense of the Cuban Revolution is internationalism, and not the search for political blocs with any wing of the class enemy. It is particularly incumbent on revolutionaries in the U.S. to defend tiny embattled Cuba through proletarian action against the vengeance of the Yankee ruling class. ■

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don *Economist* (4 December) noted in an editorial entitled "Russia Resurgent," "America might even think its interests were being served if Russia acted as a neighborhood cop."

Resurgent Great Russian chauvinism is a deadly danger to the proletariat, whose *multinational* character was shaped by the integrated, collectivized economy in the former Soviet Union. Nationalist demagogy, whether coming from Washington's man Yeltsin, the fascist Zhirinovsky or the Stalinist "patriots," serves to divide the workers and chain the Russian masses to their would-be exploiters.

For Socialist Revolution to Sweep Away Yeltsin!

Whatever the outcome of the elections, it will not solve the fundamental problems facing the fledgling Russian capitalist class. Harvard "shock therapy" architect Jeffrey Sachs complains that only $1.5 billion of the $13 billion in International Monetary Fund aid has actually come through. The *Economist* (6 November) notes that direct foreign investment—barely $100 million in 1992—"is so small that no one in the government appears to be bothering to measure it." Meanwhile, inflation this autumn averaged 20 percent a month, double the rate a year ago. And while formal unemployment stands at under a million, some five million or so are effectively unemployed, laid off or on unpaid "vacation." The lack of fuel means that millions have no heat or hot water during one of the bitterest winters in years.

With the elections over, the Kremlin intends to begin implementing massive closures of bankrupt firms, with even Yeltsin's ministers predicting an unemployment rate of 14 percent—some 10 million jobless—by the end of next year. Whether or not they are able to carry out such a drastic IMF-style "shock therapy" is another matter. But the sheer economic chaos and economic looting is already driving the country to ruin.

A bellwether for the possibility of mass social struggles in the coming period is the recent strike in the Vorkuta coal fields, which has long been a bastion of support for Yeltsin. The Independent Union of Miners (NPG), which was formed with the aid of U.S. imperialism via the anti-Communist AFL-CIO bureaucracy, opposed a one-day strike in early September of 500,000 workers organized by the ex-Stalinist miners union. The NPG also backed Yeltsin's dissolution of parliament later that month. But with over two months of unpaid back wages, the Vorkuta NPG leaders organized a hunger strike in November, culminating in a one-day walkout on November 11. On December 6, they struck again for five days, calling off the walkout on the eve of the elections only after Moscow promised yet again to pay up. But the relatively privileged miners still face massive pit closures if Yeltsin/Gaidar have their way.

Another strike over back payment of wages by gas industry workers in the Siberian city of Nadym virtually shut down the area before ending in victory in early December. Even the pro-Yeltsin *Izvestia* (3 December) reported: "Economic demands receded into the background, while people were urged constantly to vote against the government and to boycott the referendum on the constitution." Thousands of angry strikers surrounded the government's negotiators when they arrived at the airport, and picket signs read: "The thieving government should resign!"

The drive by the new rulers of Russia to consolidate a capitalist state, whether according to the plans of the IMF "shock therapists" or more corporatist-nationalist schemes, portend a horrendous destruction of the living standards of the working class. Burgeoning discontent could explode, whether in inchoate plebeian outbursts, economist trade-union struggles or more political mobilizations against the thieving bloodsuckers. However they arise, it is necessary to put forward a program to deepen defensive struggles, to extend them and transform and lead them toward a working-class political struggle for power. Along this road, what will be necessary is the formation of authentic, elected soviets to unify the proletariat in combat for socialist revolution and to serve as the framework for a reconstituted proletarian state power.

The morale of the proletariat of the former Soviet Union is currently shattered. But to recognize this is not to see the working class condemned to some generations of small and modest economic struggle. The recent strikes demonstrate that the potential is much more explosive—that the Russian proletariat can be impelled, without any particular political consciousness, to challenge the trivial, black-market capitalist class that is coalescing in the ex-Soviet Union. But to take what is impelled by increasing immiseration, unemployment, hunger and exploitation and turn it toward advancing the condition of the working class and its allies requires a revolutionary leadership in the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party.

Down with Yeltsin and his *ukaz* constitution! For proletarian revolution to reforge an authentically egalitarian and voluntary union of soviet republics! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

1993 SUBJECT INDEX

1 January to 17 December 1993 (Issues Nos. 566-590)

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1993, from issue No. 566 (1 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 590 (17 December). During this time, *WV* was published biweekly.
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

  GM Declares War on the Workers, #566, 1 Jan. (12, 11)

  means the headline of the article, issue No. 566, 1 January, beginning on page 12 and continuing on page 11.
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semicolon. Thus:

  Elections—**See New York City; U.S.: General.**

  means that articles on elections can be found by going to the subject head **NEW YORK CITY** and by going to the subject head **UNITED STATES** and looking under the subcategory **General.**
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person.
- Entries relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Unless listed separately for some unusual reason, all foreign political organizations are listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.
- Articles on the various countries in the Confederation of Independent States (the former Soviet Union) are now listed under their individual names (e.g., **RUSSIA**, the **UKRAINE**). The Soviet Union category exists only as a cross reference to articles that relate to the country prior to the triumph of counterrevolution. Articles on the various countries that once comprised Yugoslavia are now listed under **BALKANS.**
- Abbreviations used in entries are:

C Correction	S Series
L Letter	YSp *Young Spartacus* article
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